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THE LIFE

OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

AND

FOUNDER OF THE METHODIST SOCIETIES.

BY RICHARD WATSON.

Εν κόποις περισσοτέρως.—CORINTHIANS.

WITH

NOTES AND TRANSLATIONS, BY THE AUTHOR.

CHRISTIAN LIBRARY EDITION.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

VARIOUS Lives, or Memoirs, of the founder of Methodism have already been laid before the public. But it has been frequently remarked that such of these as contain the most approved accounts of Mr. Wesley, have been carried out to a length which obstructs their circulation, by the intermixture of details comparatively uninteresting beyond the immediate circle of Wesleyan Methodism. The present Life, therefore, without any design to supersede larger publications, has been prepared with more special reference to general readers. But, as it is contracted within moderate limits chiefly by the exclusion of extraneous matter, it will, it is hoped, be found sufficiently comprehensive to give the reader an adequate view of the life, labors and opinions of the eminent individual who is its subject; and to afford the means of correcting the most material errors and misrepresentations which have had currency respecting him. On several points the author has had the advantage of consulting unpublished papers, not known to preceding biographers, and which have enabled him to place some particulars in a more satisfactory light.

LONDON, May 10.

LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY.

CHAPTER I.

JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, the chief founders of that religious body now commonly known by the name of the Wesleyan Methodists, were the sons of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire.

Of this clergyman, and his wife, Mrs. Susannah Wesley, who was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Annesley, as well as the ancestors of both, an interesting account will be found in Dr. Adam Clarke's "Memoirs of the Wesley Family," and in the "Life of Mr. John Wesley," by Dr. Whitehead, and in the more recent one by Mr. Moore. They will be noticed here only so far as a general knowledge of their character may be necessary to assist our judgment as to the opinions and conduct of their more celebrated sons.

The rector of Epworth, like his excellent wife, had descended from parents distinguished for learning, piety, and non-conformity. His father dying whilst he was young, he forsook the Dissenters at an early period of life; and his conversion carried him into high church principles, and political toryism. He was not, however, so rigid in the former as to prevent him from encouraging the early zeal of his sons, John and Charles, at Oxford, although it was even then somewhat irregular, when tried by the strictest rules of church order and custom; and his toryism, sufficiently high in theory, was yet of that class which regarded the rights of the subject tenderly in practice. He refused flattering overtures made by the adherents of James II., to induce him to support the measures of the court, and wrote in favor of the revolution of 1688; admiring it, probably, less in a political view, than as rescuing a protestant church from the dangerous influence of a popish head. For this service, he was presented with the living of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, to which, a few years afterwards, was added that of Wroote, in the same county.

He held the living of Epworth upwards of forty years, and was distinguished for the zeal and fidelity with which he discharged his parish duties. Of his talents and learning, his remaining works afford honorable evidence.

Mrs. Susannah Wesley, the mother of Mr. John Wesley, was, as might be expected from the eminent character of Dr. Samuel Annesley, her father, educated with great care. Like her husband, she also, at an early period of life, renounced non-conformity, and became a member of the established church, after, as her biographers tell us, she had read and mastered the whole controversy on the subject of separation; of which, however, great as were her natural and acquired talents, she must, at the age of thirteen years, have been a very imperfect judge. The serious habits impressed upon both by their education, did not forsake them;—"they feared God, and wrought righteousness;" but we may perhaps account for that obscurity in the views of each on several great points of evangelical religion, and especially on justification by faith, and the offices of the Holy Spirit, which hung over their minds for many years, and indeed, till towards the close of life, from this early change of their religious connections. Their theological reading, according to the fashion of the church people of that day, was now directed rather to the writings of those divines of the English church who were tinctured more or less with a Pelagianized Arminianism, than to the works of its founders; their successors the puritans, or of those eminent men among the non-conformists, whose views of discipline they had renounced. They had parted with Calvinism; but, like many others, they renounced with it, for want of spiritual discrimination, those truths which were as fully maintained in the theology of Arminius, and in that of their eminent son, who revived, and more fully illustrated it, as in the writings of the most judicious and spiritual Calvinistic divines themselves. Taylor, Tillotson, and Bull, who became their oracles, were Arminians of a different class.

The advantage of such a parentage to the Wesleys was great. From their earliest years they had an example in the father of all that could render a clergyman respectable and influential; and, in the mother there was a sanctified wisdom, a masculine understanding, and an acquired knowledge, which they regarded with just deference after they became men and scholars. The influence of a piety so steadfast and uniform, joined to such qualities, and softened by maternal tenderness, could scarcely fail to produce effect. The firm and manly character, the practical sense, the active and unwearied habits of the father, with the calm, reflecting, and stable qualities of the mother, were in particular inherited by Mr. John Wesley; and in him were most happily blended. A large portion of the ecclesiastical principles and prejudices of the rector of Epworth was also transmitted to his three sons; but whilst Samuel and Charles retained them least impaired, in John, as we shall see, they sustained in future life considerable modifications.

Samuel, the eldest son, was born in 1692; John, in 1703; and Charles, in 1708.

Samuel Wesley, junior, was educated at Westminster School; and in 1711 was elected to Christ Church, Oxford. He was eminent for his learning, and was an excellent poet, with great power of satire, and an elegant wit. He held a considerable rank among the literary men of the day, and finally settled as head master of the free school of Tiverton, in Devonshire, where he died in 1739, in his forty-ninth year.

Mrs. Wesley was the instructress of her children in their early years. "I can find," says Dr. Whitehead, "no evidence that the boys were ever put to any school in the country; their mother having a very bad opinion of the common methods of instructing and governing children." She was particularly led, it would seem, to interest herself in John, who, when he was about six years old, had a providential and singular escape from being burned to death, upon the parsonage house being consumed. There is a striking passage in one of her private meditations, which contains a reference to this event;* and indicates that she considered it as laying her under a special obligation "to be more particularly careful of the soul of a child whom God had so mercifully provided for." The effect of this special care on the part of the mother was, that, under the divine blessing, he became early serious; for at the age of eight years, he was admitted by his father to partake of the sacrament. In 1714, he was placed at the Charter House, "where he was noticed for his diligence and progress in learning."† "Here, for his quietness, regularity, and application, he became

* The memory of his deliverance, on this occasion, is preserved in one of his early portraits, which has, below the head, the representation of a house in flames, with the motto, "Is not this a brand plucked from the burning?"

† Whitehead's Life.

a favorite with the master, Dr. Walker; and through life he retained so great a predilection for the place, that on his annual visit to London, he made it a custom to walk through the scene of his boyhood. To most men, every year would render a pilgrimage of this kind more painful than the last; but Wesley seems never to have looked back with melancholy upon the days that were gone; earthly regrets of this kind could find no room in one who was continually pressing onward to the goal."* When he had attained his seventeenth year, he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, "where he pursued his studies with great advantage, I believe under the direction of Dr. Wigan, a gentleman eminent for his classical knowledge. Mr. Wesley's natural temper in his youth was gay and sprightly, with a turn for wit and humor.—When he was about twenty-one years of age, "he appeared," as Mr. Badcock has observed, "the very sensible and acute collegian; a young fellow of the finest classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments."† His perfect knowledge of the classics gave a smooth polish to his wit, and an air of superior elegance to all his compositions. He had already begun to amuse himself occasionally with writing verses, though most of his poetical pieces, at this period, were, I believe, either imitations or translations of the Latin. Some time in this year, however, he wrote an imitation of the sixty-fifth Psalm, which he sent to his father, who says, "I like your verses on the sixty-fifth Psalm; and would not have you bury your talent."‡

Some time after this, when purposing to take deacon's orders, he was roused from the religious carelessness into which he had fallen at college, and applied himself diligently to the reading of divinity. This more thoughtful frame appears to have been indicated in his letters to his mother, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence; for she replies, "The alteration of your temper has occasioned me much speculation. I, who am apt to be sanguine, hope it may proceed from the operations of God's Holy Spirit, that, by taking off your relish for earthly enjoyments, he may prepare and dispose your mind for a more serious and close application to things of a more sublime and spiritual nature. If it be so, happy are you if you cherish those dispositions; and now, in good earnest, resolve to make religion the business of your life; for, after all, that is the one thing which, strictly speaking, is necessary: all things beside are comparatively little to the purposes of life. I heartily wish you would now enter upon a strict examination of yourself, that you may know, whether you have a reasonable hope of salvation by Jesus Christ. If you have, the satisfaction of knowing it will abundantly reward your pains; if you have not, you will find a more reasonable occasion for tears than can be met with in a tragedy. This matter deserves great consideration by all, but especially by those designed for the ministry; who ought, above all things, to make their own calling and election sure; lest, after they have preached to others, they themselves should be cast away."

This excellent advice was not lost upon him; and indeed his mother's admirable letters were among the principal means, under God, of producing that still more decided change in his views which soon afterwards began to display itself. He was now about twenty-two years of age.

The practical books most read by him at this period, which was probably employed as a course of preparation for holy orders, were, "The Christian's Pattern," by Thomas a Kempis; and Bishop Taylor's "Rules of Holy Living and Dying;" and his correspondence with his parents respecting these authors, shows how carefully he was weighing their merits, and investigating their meaning, as regarding them in the light of spiritual instructers. The letters of his mother on the points offered to her consideration by her son, show, in many respects, a deeply thinking and discriminating mind; but they are also in proof that both she and her husband had given up their acquaintance, if they ever had any, with works which might have been recommended as much more suitable to the state of their son's mind, and far superior as a directory to true Christianity. This to him would have been infinitely more important than discussing the peculiar views, and adjusting the proportion of excellency and defect, which may be found in such a writer as Kempis, whose "Christian's Pattern" is, where in reality excellent, a manual rather for him who is a Christian already, than for him who is seeking to become one.

A few things are however to be remarked in this correspondence which are of considerable interest, as showing the bearings of Mr. Wesley's views as to those truths of which he afterwards obtained a satisfactory conviction, and then so clearly stated and defended.

The son, in writing to his mother on Bishop Taylor's book, states several particulars which Bishop Taylor makes necessary parts of humility and repentance; one of which, in reference to humility, is, that "we must be sure, in some sense or other, to think ourselves the worst in every company where we come." And in treating of repentance he says, "Whether God has forgiven us, or no, we know not; therefore be sorrowful for ever having sinned." "I take the more notice of this last sentence," says Mr. Wesley, "because it seems to contradict his own words in the next section, where he says, that by the Lord's supper all the members are united to one another, and to Christ the head. The Holy Ghost confers on us the graces necessary for, and our souls receive the seeds of, an immortal nature. Now, surely these graces are not of so little force as that we cannot perceive whether we have them, or not: if we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, which he will not do unless we are regenerate, certainly we must be sensible of it. If we can never have any certainty of our being in a state of salvation, good reason it is that every moment should be spent, not in joy, but in fear and trembling; and then undoubtedly, in this life, we are of all men most miserable. God deliver us from such a fearful expectation as this! Humility is, undoubtedly, necessary to salvation; and if all these things are essential to humility, who can be humble? who can be saved?"

The mother, in reply, suggests to him some good thoughts and useful distinctions on the subject of humility; but omits to afford him any assistance on the point of the possibility of obtaining a comfortable persuasion of being in a state of salvation, through the influence of the Holy Spirit; which he already discerned to be the privilege of a real believer, though as yet he was greatly perplexed as to the means of obtaining it. At this period too he makes the important distinction between assurance of present, and assurance of future, salvation; by confounding which, so many, from their objection to the Calvinistic notion of the infallible perseverance of the saints, have given up the doctrine of assurance altogether. "That we can never be so certain of the pardon of our sins, as to be assured they will never rise up against us, I firmly believe. We know that they will infallibly do so if ever we apostatize; and I am not satisfied what evidence there can be of our final perseverance, till we have finished our course.

* Southey's Life. † Westminster Magazine.
‡ Whitehead's Life.

But I am persuaded we may know if we are now in a state of salvation, since that is expressly promised in the Holy Scriptures to our sincere endeavors; and we are surely able to judge of our own sincerity."

The latter part of this extract will, however, show how much he had yet to learn as to "the way to the Father." Mrs. Wesley also corrects a defective definition of faith, which her son's letter had contained, in the following sensible remarks; which are just, as far as they go, but below the true scriptural standard, and the proper conception of that saving faith after which her son was inquiring; "You are somewhat mistaken in your notions of faith. All faith is an assent, but all assent is not faith. Some truths are self-evident, and we assent to them because they are so. Others, after a regular and formal process of reason by way of deduction from some self-evident principle, gain our assent. This is not properly faith, but science. Some again we assent to, not because they are self-evident, or because we have attained the knowledge of them in a regular method by a train of arguments, but because they have been revealed to us, either by God or man; and these are the proper objects of faith. The true measure of faith is the authority of the revealer; the weight of which always holds proportion to our conviction of his ability and integrity. Divine faith is an assent to whatever God has revealed to us, because he has revealed it."

Predestination was another subject touched upon in this interesting correspondence. Mr. Wesley was probably led to it by his review of the articles of the church previous to his ordination; and he thus expresses himself on this controverted subject: "What then shall I say of predestination? An everlasting purpose of God to deliver some from damnation, does, I suppose, exclude all from that deliverance who are not chosen. And if it was inevitably decreed from eternity, that such a determinate part of mankind should be saved, and none beside them, a vast majority of the world were only born to eternal death, without so much as a possibility of avoiding it How is this consistent with either the divine justice or mercy? Is it merciful to ordain a creature to everlasting misery? Is it just to punish a man for crimes which he could not but commit? That God should be the author of sin and injustice, which must, I think, be the consequence of maintaining this opinion, is a contradiction to the clearest ideas we have of the divine nature and perfections."*

From these views he never departed; and the terms he uses contain indeed the only rational statement of the whole question.

He was ordained deacon in September, 1725, and the year following was elected fellow of Lincoln college. His previous seriousness had been the subject of much banter and ridicule, and appears to have been urged against him, in the election, by his opponents; but his reputation for learning and diligence, and the excellence of his character, triumphed; and, what was probably to him the greatest pleasure, he had the gratification of seeing the joy this event gave to his venerable parents, and which was emphatically expressed in their letters. Several specimens of his poetry, composed about this time, are given by his biographers, which show that, had he cultivated that department of literature, he would not have occupied an inferior place among the tasteful and elegant votaries of verse; but he soon found more serious and more useful employment.

He spent the summer after his election to the fellowship, with his parents, in Lincolnshire, and took that opportunity of conversing with them at large upon those serious topics which then fully occupied his mind. In September, he returned to Oxford, and resumed his usual studies. "His literary character was now established in the university; he was acknowledged by all parties to be a man of talents, and an excellent critic in the learned languages. His compositions were distinguished by an elegant simplicity of style, and justness of thought, that strongly marked the excellence of his classical taste. His skill in logic, or the art of reasoning, was universally known and admired. The high opinion that was entertained of him in these respects was soon publicly expressed, by choosing him Greek lecturer, and moderator of the classes, on the seventh of November; though he had only been elected fellow of the college in March, was little more than twenty-three years of age, and had not proceeded master of arts."* He took this degree in February, 1727; became his father's curate in August the same year; returned to Oxford in 1728, to obtain priest's orders; and paid another visit to Oxford in 1729; where during his stay, he attended the meetings of a small society formed by his brother Charles, Mr. Morgan, and a few others, to assist each other in their studies, and to consult how to employ their time to the best advantage. After about a month, he returned to Epworth; but upon Dr. Morley, the rector of his college, requiring his residence, he quitted his father's curacy, and in November again settled in Oxford. He now obtained pupils, and became tutor in the college; presided as moderator in the disputations six times a-week; and had the chief direction of a religious society. From this time he stood more prominently forward in his religious character, and in efforts to do good to others; and began more fully to prove that "they that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." It is however necessary to turn to the history of Mr. Charles Wesley, whose labors in the early periods of Methodism were inferior only to those of his brother.

Charles Wesley was, as above stated, five years younger than his brother John; and was educated at Westminster school, under his eldest brother, Samuel, from whom he is said to have derived a still stronger tincture of high church principles than was imbibed under the paternal roof. "When he had been some years at school, Mr. R. Wesley, a gentleman of large fortune in Ireland, wrote to his father, and asked if he had any son named Charles; if so, he would make him his heir. Accordingly, a gentleman in London brought money for his education several years. But one year another gentleman called, probably Mr. Wesley himself, talked largely with him, and asked if he was willing to go with him to Ireland. Mr. Charles desired to write to his father, who answered immediately, and referred it to his own choice. He chose to stay in England."† "Mr. John Wesley, in his account of his brother, calls this a fair escape. The fact is more remarkable than he was aware of; for the person who inherited the property intended for Charles Wesley, and who took the name of Wesley, or Wellesley, in consequence, was the first earl of Mornington, grandfather of Marquis Wellesley and the duke of Wellington."‡

The lively disposition of Charles, although he pursued his studies diligently, and was unblameable in his conduct, repelled all those exhortations to a more strictly religious course, which John seriously urged upon him, after he was elected to Christ's Church. During his brother's absence, as

* Whitehead's Life.

* Whitehead's Life.
† Whitehead's Life, vol. i. p. 98.
‡ Southey's Life.

his father's curate, his letters, however, became more grave; and when Mr. John Wesley returned to Oxford, in November, 1729, "I found him," he observes, "in great earnestness to save his soul." His own account of himself is, that he lost his first year at college in diversions; that the next, he set himself to study; that diligence led him into serious thinking; that he went to the weekly sacrament, persuading two or three students to accompany him; and that he observed the method of study prescribed by the statutes of the university. "This," says he, "gained me the harmless name of *Methodist*."* Thus it appears that Charles was the first modern Methodist, and that he in fact laid the foundations of the religious society which continues to be distinguished by that appellation. To this society Mr. John Wesley joined himself on his return to reside at Oxford; and by his influence and energy gave additional vigor to their exertions, to promote their own spiritual improvement, and the good of others. The union of system and efficiency which this association presented, well accorded with his practical and governing mind; and, no doubt, under the leadings of a superior agency, of which he was unconscious, he was thus training himself to those habits of regular and influential exertion and enterprize which subsequently rendered him the instrument of a revival of religion throughout the land. Of the little society which, by the mere force of his character, he thus became the head, Mr. Hervey, the author of the "Meditations," and the celebrated Whitefield, were members.

CHAPTER II.

The strictly religious profession which Mr. Wesley must now be considered as making at Oxford—a profession so strongly marked as to become matter of public notice, and accompanied with so much zeal as to excite both ridicule and opposition, requires to be carefully examined. After all, he thought himself to be but "almost," and not "altogether," a Christian—a conclusion of a very perplexing kind to many who have set up themselves for better judges in his case than he himself. From a similar cause, we have seen St. Paul all but reproved by some divines, for representing himself "as the chief of sinners," at the time when he was "blameless" as to "the righteousness of the law;" and, but for the courtesy due to an inspired man, he would, probably, in direct contradiction to his own words, have been pronounced the chief of saints; although his heart remained a total stranger to humility and charity.

The Wesleys at Oxford were indeed not only in a *higher*, but in an *essentially different* state of religious experience from that of Saul of Tarsus, notwithstanding his array of legal zeal and external virtue; but if our views of personal religion must be taken from the New Testament, although as to men they were blameless and exemplary, yet, in respect to God, those internal changes had not taken place in them, which it is the office of real Christianity to effect. They were, however, most sincere; they were "faithful in that which is little," and God gave them "the true riches." They "sought God with all their heart;" and they ultimately found him, but in a way which at that time "they knew not." The very writers, Bishop Taylor, and Mr. Law, who so powerfully wrought upon their consciences, were among the most erring guides to that "peace of God which passeth all understanding," for which they sighed; and those celebrated divines, excelled by none for genius and eloquence, who could draw the picture of a practical piety so copious and exact in its external manifestations, were unable to teach that mystic connection of the branches with the vine, from which the only fruits which are of healthy growth and genuine flavor can proceed. Both are too defective in their views of faith, and of its object, the atonement of Christ, to be able to direct a penitent and troubled spirit into the way of salvation, and to show how all the principles and acts of truly Christian piety, are sustained by a life of "faith in the Son of God." To this subject, however, Mr. Wesley's own account of himself will, subsequently, again call our attention.

Bishop Taylor's chapter on purity of intention, first convinced Mr. Wesley of the necessity of being holy in heart, as well as regular in his outward conduct; and having, for the first time, formed an acquaintance with a religious friend, "he began to alter the whole form of his conversation, and to set in earnest upon a new life." "He communicated every week. He watched against all sin, whether in word or deed, and began to aim at, and pray for, inward holiness;"* but still with a painful consciousness that he found not that which he so earnestly sought. His error, at this period, was drawn from his theological guides just mentioned; he either confounded sanctification with justification, that is, a real with a relative change, or he regarded sanctification as a preparation for, and a condition of justification. He had not yet learned the apostle's doctrine, the gratuitous justification of "the ungodly," when penitent, and upon the sole condition of believing in Christ; nor that upon this there *follows* a "death" unto all inward and outward sin; so that he who is so justified can "no longer continue therein." It is, however, deeply interesting, to trace the progress of his mind through its agitations, inquiries, hopes, and fears, until the moment when he found that steadfast peace which never afterwards forsook him, but gave serenity to his countenance, and cheerfulness to his heart, to the last hour of a prolonged life.

The effects of the strong impression which had been made upon him by the practical writings of Taylor and Law promptly manifested themselves. The discipline he maintained, as a tutor over his

* From the name of an ancient sect of physicians, say some of Mr. Wesley's biographers; but probably the wits of Oxford, who imposed the name, knew nothing of that sect of the middle ages. The non-conformists were often called in derision, Methodists; and the name was probably transmitted from them; or it might be given merely from the rigid adherence to method in study by Mr. Charles Wesley. It is, however, somewhat worthy of notice, that before the times of non-conformity, properly so called, we find Methodists mentioned as one of the minor sects in conjunction with the Anabaptists; for, as early as 1639, in a sermon preached at Lambeth, they are rated in good set style for their aversion to rhetorical sermons:—"Where are now our Anabaptists, and *plain pack-staff Methodists*, who esteem all flowers of rhetoric in sermons no better than stinking weeds, and of all elegancies of speech, no better than profane spells?" &c. Their fault in those days, it appears, was to prefer plain preaching; no bad compliment, though an undesigned one. The epithet used to describe them, may also intimate that they were *plain* in dress and manners. At a later period, 1693, some of the non-conformists, who had renounced the imputation of Christ's righteousness in justification, except in the merit of it, and whose views were somewhat similar to those of the Wesleyan Methodists, on the imputation of faith for righteousness, were called by their brethren, the New Methodists. They were not however a sect, but were so denominated from the new method which they took in stating the doctrine of justification. Thus we have a Calvinistic pamphlet, under this date, written against "the principles of the *New Methodists* in the great point of justification."

* Journal.

pupils, was more strict than the university had been accustomed to witness; and for this reason, that it was more deeply and comprehensively conscientious. He regarded himself as responsible to God for exerting himself to his utmost, not only to promote their learning, but to regulate their moral habits, and to form their religious principles. Here his disciplinary habits had their first manifestation. He required them to rise very early; he directed their reading, and controlled their general conduct, by rules to which he exacted entire obedience. This was not well taken by the friends of some; but from others he received very grateful letters; and several of his pupils themselves were not insensible of the obligations they owed to him, not only on a religious account, but for thus enabling them to reap the full advantages of that seat of learning, by restraining them from its dissipations.

The little society of Methodists, as they were called, began now to extend its operations. When Mr. Wesley joined them, they committed its management to him, and he has himself stated its original members:—

"In November, 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln college; Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christ's Church; Mr. Morgan, commoner of Christ's Church; and Mr. Kirkman, of Merton college, began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading chiefly the Greek Testament. The next year, two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732 that Mr. Ingham, of Queen's college, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number. To these, in April, was joined Mr. Clayton, of Brazennose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Hervey was permitted to meet with them, and afterwards Mr. Whitefield."*

Mr. Morgan led the way to their visiting the prisoners in the Oxford jail, for the purpose of affording them religious instruction. They afterwards resolved to spend two or three hours a-week in visiting and relieving the poor and the sick, generally, where the parish ministers did not object to it. This was, however, so novel a practice, and might be deemed by some so contrary to church order, that Mr. Wesley consulted his father upon the point. Mr. Wesley, senior, answered the inquiry in a noble letter, equally honorable to his feelings as a father, and a minister of Christ. They had his full sanction for prosecuting their pious labors; he blessed God who had given him two sons together at Oxford, who had received grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil; he bids them defy reproach, and animates them in God's name to go on in the path to which their Saviour had directed them. At the same time, he advises them to consult with the chaplain of the prison, and to obtain the approbation of the bishop. This high sanction was obtained; but it was not sufficient to screen them from the rebukes of the gravely lukewarm, or the malignantly vicious. Sarcasm and serious opposition robbed them of one of their number, who had not fortitude to bear the shafts of ridicule, or to resist the persuasion of friends; and the opposition being now headed by some persons of influence, Mr. Wesley had again recourse, by letter, to his father's counsel. The answer deserves to be transcribed at length:—

"This day I received both yours, and this evening, in the course of our reading, I thought I found an answer, that would be more proper, than any I myself could dictate; though since it will not be easily translated, I send it in the original.

Πολλή μοι καύχησις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· πεπλήρωμαι τῃ παρακλήσει· ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῃ χαρᾳ.* What would you be? Would you be angels? I question whether a mortal can arrive to a greater degree of perfection than steadily to do good, and for that very reason patiently and meekly to suffer evil. For my part, on the present view of your actions and designs, my daily prayers are, that God would keep you humble; and then I am sure that if you continue "to suffer for righteousness' sake," though it be but in a lower degree, the Spirit of God and of glory shall in some good measure rest upon you. And you cannot but feel such a satisfaction in your own minds, as you would not part with for all the world. Be never weary of well doing; never look back, for you know the prize and the crown are before you; though I can scarce think so meanly of you, as that you should be discouraged with the "crackling of thorns under a pot." Be not high-minded, but fear. Preserve an equal temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with, from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties, (as there is no such thing as works of supererogation,) the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your works are all of a piece; or, which is infinitely more, He by whom actions and intentions are weighed will both accept, esteem, and reward you.

"I hear my son John has the honor of being styled the 'Father of the Holy Club;' if it be so, I am sure I must be the grandfather of it; and I need not say, that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished, than to have the title of His Holiness."†

Thus encouraged, they proceeded in their course with meekness and constancy; to relieve the poor, they sacrificed all the superfluities, and sometimes the conveniences of life; and they redoubled their efforts to produce religious impressions upon their college acquaintance, as well as upon the ignorant, the poor, and the sick. The apology for these pious and praiseworthy efforts, which, on the increase of the outcry made against them, Mr. Wesley published in the modest form of queries, amply indicates the low state of religious feeling in the university; and we may well conclude with one of Mr. Wesley's biographers, that "a voluntary scheme of so much private and public good, such piety, with such beneficence, certainly merited a different return; and, if the university, in general, instead of ridiculing or persecuting them, had had the grace to imitate their example, it would have been much better both for the public and themselves."

Even their eldest brother Samuel added his seasonable exhortations to perseverance, in a short, but vigorous letter:—"I cannot say, I thought you always, in every thing right; but I must now say, rather than you and Charles should give over your whole course, especially what relates to the castle, I would choose to follow either of you, nay both of you, to your graves. I cannot advise you better, than in the words I proposed for a motto to a pamphlet, Στηθ' ἑδραῖος ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος· καλὸν γὰρ ἀθλητὴν δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν. 'Stand thou steadfast as a beaten anvil; for it is the part of a good champion to be flayed alive and to conquer.'"‡

Sickness, and cowardly desertion arising from weariness of the cross, some time after this, reduced the number of this little society of zealous young men, and the brothers were left to stand almost alone; but they still persevered with unabated zeal

* Journal.

* 2 Cor. vii. 4. Great is my glorying of you. I am filled with comfort. I am exceedingly joyful.—*Authorised version.*

† Whitehead's Life.

‡ Whitehead's Life.

and diligence in their attempts to do good, exhibiting a rare example of decision, only to be accounted for by a preparing influence of God upon their hearts, thus training them up for a still more arduous service. This it was which had implanted in them those admirable principles which are unreservedly laid open in a letter of Mr. John Wesley to his brother Samuel, who had begun to think that they were pushing the strictness of their personal piety too far.

"1. As to the end of my being, I lay it down for a rule, that I cannot be too happy, or therefore too holy; and thence infer that the more steadily I keep my eye upon the prize of our high calling, and the more of my thoughts and words and actions are directly pointed at the attainment of it, the better. 2. As to the instituted means of attaining it, I likewise lay it down for a rule, that I am to use them every time I may. 3. As to prudential means, I believe this rule holds of things indifferent in themselves; whatever I know to do me hurt, that to me is not indifferent, but resolutely to be abstained from: whatever I know to do me good, that to me is not indifferent, but resolutely to be embraced." *

Adverting to this charge of over strictness, and being "righteous overmuch," he also earnestly requests his mother to point out any instance in which she might judge, from their unreserved communications to her of every part of their conduct, that they were too superstitious or enthusiastic on the one hand, or too remiss on the other. Some anxiety had indeed been created at home by the singularity of their proceedings, and the opposition they had roused at Oxford, which was probably the chief reason why the father extended his journey from London to Oxford at the close of the year 1731. He was, however, evidently satisfied with his personal observations and inquiries; for on his return to London, he writes to Mrs. Wesley, that he had been well repaid for the expense and labor of his journey to Oxford, "by the shining piety of our two sons."

In the midst of all this zeal, devotedness, and patience of reproach, when the eye of man could see nothing but a mature and vital Christianity, we are enabled to ascertain the state of Mr. Wesley's own heart, as laid open by himself. Speaking of a time a little subsequent to the decided impressions he had received from the reading of Bishop Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," and Mr. Law's "Serious Call," he says, "I was convinced more than ever, of the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the law of God. The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul, that every thing appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help, and resolved not to prolong the time of obeying him as I had never done before. And by my continued endeavor to keep his whole law, inward and outward to the best of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of him; and that I was even then in a state of salvation."

He was now manifestly seeking justification before God by efforts at a perfect obedience to his law; nor was he then quite hopeless as to success. Some time afterward, still clearly convinced as he had been from the first that he was not in that state of mind, that settled enjoyment of conscious peace with God, that love to him, delight in him, and filial access to him, which the New Testament describes as the privilege of a true believer, but still diligently persevering in the rigid practice of every discovered duty in the hope of seizing the great prize by this means, he became greatly surprised that he was so far from obtaining it. He was often dull and formal in the use of ordinances, and was on that account thrown "into distress and perplexity; so that he seemed at a loss which way to proceed, to obtain the happiness and security he wanted." * The deep tone of feeling, and the earnestness of his inquiries, in the following passages from a letter to his mother, written in 1732, present this state of his mind in a very affecting light. He then needed some one more fully instructed in the true doctrine of salvation, than even this excellent and intelligent "guide of his youth," to teach him to lay down the burden of his wounded and anxious spirit, in self-despair as to his own efforts, at the foot of the cross of Christ.

After mentioning Mr. Morgan, he observes: "One consideration is enough to make me assent to his and your judgment concerning the holy sacrament; which is, that we cannot allow Christ's human nature to be present in it, without allowing either con- or tran-substantiation. But that his divinity is so united to us then, as he never is but to worthy receivers, I firmly believe; though the manner of that union is utterly a mystery to me.

"That none but worthy receivers should find this effect is not strange to me, when I observe, how small effect many means of improvement have upon an unprepared mind. Mr. Morgan and my brother were affected, as they ought, by the observations you made on that glorious subject: but though my understanding approved what was excellent, yet my heart did not feel it. Why was this, but because it was pre-engaged by those affections with which wisdom will not dwell? Because the animal mind cannot relish those truths which are spiritually discerned. Yet I have those writings which the good Spirit gave to that end! I have many of those which he hath since assisted his servants to give us; I have retirement to apply these to my own soul daily; I have means both of public and private prayer; and above all, of partaking in that sacrament once a week. What shall I do to make all these blessings effectual? to gain from them that mind which was also in Christ Jesus?

"To all who give signs of their not being strangers to it, I propose this question—and why not to you rather than any?—Shall I quite break off my pursuit of all learning, but what immediately tends to practice? I once desired to make a fair show in languages and philosophy; but it is past; there is a more excellent way; and if I cannot attain to any progress in the one, without throwing up all thoughts of the other, why fare it well! yet a little while, and we shall all be equal in knowledge, if we are in virtue.

"You say, you have renounced the world. And what have I been doing all this time? What have I done ever since I was born? Why I have been plunging myself into it more and more. It is enough: awake thou that sleepest. Is there not one Lord, one Spirit, one hope of our calling? one way of attaining that hope? Then I am to renounce the world as well as you. That is the very thing I want to do: to draw off my affections from this world, and fix them on a better. But how? What is the surest and the shortest way? Is it not to be humble? Surely this is a large step in the way. But the question recurs, How am I to do this? To own the necessity of it, is not to be humble. In many things you have interceded for me and prevailed. Who knows but in this, too, you may be successful? If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening which you formerly bestowed upon me in another manner, I doubt not but it would be as useful now, for correcting my heart, as it was then for forming my judgment.

"When I observe how fast life flies away, and how slow improvement comes, I think one can ne-

* Whitehead's Life.

* Whitehead.

ver be too much afraid of dying before one has learned to live. I mean even in the course of nature. For were I sure that 'the silver cord should not be violently loosed;' that 'the wheel' should not be 'broken at the cistern,' till it was quite worn away by its own motion; yet what a time would this give me for such a work! a moment, to transact the business of eternity! What are forty years in comparison of this? So that were I sure what never man yet was sure of, how little would it alter the case? How justly still might I cry out,

'Downward I hasten to my destined place;
There none obtain thy aid, none sing thy praise!
Soon shall I lie in death's deep ocean drowned;
Is mercy there, is sweet forgiveness found?
O save me yet, while on the brink I stand;
Rebuke these storms, and set me safe on land.
O make my longings and thy mercy sure!
Thou art the God of power.'" *

It was not, therefore, as it has been hastily stated, that he first learned from the Moravians that he was not a true Christian. He had, at Oxford, a most painful conviction that he was far below the evangelical standard. He had then, as this letter sufficiently shows, a large measure of the "spirit of bondage unto fear;" and that after which his perplexed heart panted, was the "Spirit of adoption," by which he might "cry, Abba, Father."

During the summer of this year, 1732, Mr. Wesley visited London, where he formed an acquaintance with several respectable and pious persons. He also made two journeys to Epworth. The latter of these was in order to meet the whole family, which had assembled, upon his father's request, once more before their final separation by death. These and other journeys he performed on foot, partly no doubt, to avoid what he considered needless expense, that he might, according to his rule, have the more to distribute in charity; and partly to accustom himself to fatigue and hardship. "In these excursions, he constantly preached on the Lord's day; so that he might now be called, in some degree, an itinerant preacher." In the following year, he again visited Epworth, Manchester, and some other places; but his occasional absence had a bad effect upon the still persecuted society at Oxford, whose members shrunk from the storm, and took the opportunity of his being away to shake off the strictness of the rules. The five-and-twenty communicants at St. Mary's, he informs his father, had shrunk to five. Still his courage was unshaken, and he exerted himself the more, upon his return, to repair the loss. Towards the end of the year, his exertions of mind and body, with an excess of abstemiousness, greatly affected his health, and induced spitting of blood. His state was such as greatly to alarm his friends; but the vigor of his constitution triumphed; and this attack of disease served to impress him the more deeply with eternal things, and to give renewed ardor to his endeavors after universal holiness, and to his plans for the religious benefit of his fellow-creatures.

A considerable trial to his feelings now awaited him. The declining age of his father, who anxiously desired to provide for the special wants of his parishioners in a suitable manner, joined with the wishes of the people of Epworth, and the concerns of the family for which no provision, it seems, had been made, induced him to write to his son, to make interest for the next presentation to the living. Mr. Wesley, from his reluctance to leave Oxford, where he thought he should be far more useful, and where, according to his own convictions, he was placed in circumstances more conducive to his spiritual improvement, refused the proposal; and the most urgent letters of the different branches of the family were insufficient to bend his resolution. His father wrote him a pathetic letter, in which every consideration was urged which might answer his objections, or move his feelings. His brother Samuel addressed him in a sterner mood, urging that he was not at liberty to resolve against undertaking a cure of souls, to which he was solemnly pledged by his ordination; and ridiculed his notion that he could not, so safely to himself, or so usefully to others, take the charge of a parish priest, as remain at Oxford. To all this he reiterates, that his own holiness and usefulness could be promoted nowhere so effectually as in his present station; that his retirement, his friends, and other advantages were essential to his improvement; that he was inadequate to the charge of two thousand parishioners; and that he did not consider his ordination vows in the same light as his brother. On the last point, indeed, he was supported by the opinion of the bishop who ordained him, and whom he consulted on the question. These and other topics run through the correspondence, which, though it is not necessary to give entire, affords considerable insight into the state of Mr. Wesley's mind. His conduct in this matter has been criticised as unfeeling, without considering that the kindness of his general character is a sufficient pledge, that the refusal of the urgent request of a venerable father, and a beloved mother whose widowhood would be unprovided for, must have been to him sufficiently painful. Dr. Southey thinks the correspondence not "creditable to his judgment;" * but it would be hard to prove that the leading consideration which influenced him, that he was more usefully employed in doing good at the very "fountain" from which the nation was to be so largely supplied with its clergy, than as a country parish priest, was not a very obvious truth. This conclusion, true or false, was at least a very plausible one, and as such concerned his conscience; and his disregard of his own temporal advantage, which certainly lay on the side of the Epworth rectory, and his merging all consideration of the interests of the family in the higher question of what he regarded as a duty, might not appear instances of "good judgment" to worldly minds, and yet be so in reality. His leading reason, drawn from his greater usefulness at Oxford, being strong in itself, that he, with his wonted decision of character, should stand firmly upon it, will create no surprise; but that some of his other reasons are less weighty may be granted. They show that he had more confidence in a certain class of means, to secure his religious safety than in the grace of God. This was the natural effect of those notions of the efficacy of retirement, and self-denial, and "the wisdom of flight" from danger, which he had learned from Bishop Taylor; whilst the views he entertained of the necessity of exercising a minute personal superintendence over every individual committed to his charge, as being equally necessary to his own good conscience, and to their salvation, led him to regard a parish, containing two thousand souls, as too formidable and fearful an undertaking. His *religious* judgment was indeed as yet immature and perplexed; but in reasoning from his own principles, his *natural* judgment showed its usual strength in the conclusions to which it conducted him. Whatever weakness there might be in the case was the result of the imperfect state of his religious experience, and of that dependence upon his own plans of attaining spirituality, to which it gave rise; but connecting him with that great work which he was designed afterwards to effect, we must shut out also the doctrine of providence, if we do not see a higher

* Whitehead's Life.

* Life of Wesley.

hand than that of man in this determination; a hand which is not the less certainly employed, when it works its ends through the secret volitions, aversions, inclinations, and even prejudices of the human heart, than when it more sensibly and immediately interposes to hasten or retard our purposes. Mr. Wesley's father died in April, 1735. He had been manifestly ripening for his change; and in his last moments had the consolation of the presence of his two sons, John and Charles. "He had no fear of death; and the peace of God which he enjoyed appeared sometimes to suspend his bodily sufferings, and, when they recurred, to sustain his mind above them. When, as nature seemed spent, and his speech was failing, his son John asked him whether he was not near heaven, he answered, 'Yes, I am,' distinctly, and with a voice of hope and joy. After John had used the commendatory prayer, he said, 'Now you have done all;' these were his last words, and he passed away so peacefully and insensibly, that his children continued over him a considerable time in doubt whether or not the spirit was departed. Mrs. Wesley, who for several days, whenever she entered his chamber, had been carried out of it in a fit, recovered her fortitude now, and said her prayers were heard, for God had granted him an easy death, and had strenghtened her to bear it." * Brighter views of the doctrine of faith had opened upon his mind, during his sickness, and shed their influence upon his last hours. This his sons afterwards more clearly understood than at the time.†

About the middle of this year, the trustees of the new colony of Georgia, who wished to send out clergymen both to administer to the spiritual wants of the colonists, and also to attempt the conversion of the Indians, directed their attention to Mr. John Wesley, and some of his friends at Oxford, as peculiarly qualified, both by zeal and piety, and their habits of self-denial, for this service. After some delay, and consultation with his family, he accepted the offer; and thus, though Epworth could not draw him from Oxford, an enterprise of a missionary character, and presenting no temptations to ease and sloth, such as he feared in a parish at home, overcame his scruples. This itself is in proof that he had not resolved to remain in Oxford, in preference to accepting the living of Epworth, from selfish motives. In the question of usefulness, the balance before inclined to Oxford; and now that he thought a greater field for doing good opened in America, he yielded to that consideration. This mission was accompanied also with the certainty of great hardships and sufferings, which, according to his then defective, but most sincere views, were necessary to his perfection. His residence at Oxford now terminated, and this portion of his life may be properly concluded by some passages of a letter written by Mr. Gambold, a man of fine genius, as some of his poems show, and of eminent holiness; who, some years afterwards, left the church of England, and became a Moravian bishop. The letter was addressed to one of Mr. Wesley's relations, and contains a lively description of the character and proceedings of a friend whom he did not then expect to see again on earth:

"About the middle of March, 1730, I became acquainted with Mr. Charles Wesley, of Christ Church. After some time he introduced me to his brother John, of Lincoln college. 'For he is somewhat older,' said he, 'than I am, and can resolve your doubts better.' I never observed any person have a more real deference for another than he had for his brother; which is the more remarkable, because such near relations, being equals by birth, and conscious to each other of all the little familiar passages of their lives, commonly stand too close to see the ground there may be for such submission. Indeed he followed his brother entirely; could I describe one of them, I should describe both. I shall therefore say no more of Charles, but that he was a man formed for friendship, who, by his cheerfulness and vivacity, would refresh his friend's heart; with attentive consideration, would enter into, and settle all his concerns as far as he was able; he would do any thing for him, great or small; and, by a habit of mutual openness and freedom would leave no room for misunderstanding.

"The Wesleys were already talked of for some religious practices, which were first occasioned by Mr. Morgan, of Christ Church. From these combined friends began a little society. Mr. John Wesley was the chief manager, for which he was very fit; for he had not only more learning and experience than the rest, but he was blessed with such activity as to be always gaining ground, and such steadiness that he lost none. What proposals he made to any were sure to alarm them, because he was so much in earnest; nor could they afterwards slight them, because they saw him always the same. What supported this uniform vigor was the care he took to consider well every affair before he engaged in it, making all his decisions in the fear of God, without passion, humor, or self-confidence. For though he had naturally a very clear apprehension, yet his exact prudence depended more on his humility and singleness of heart. He had, I think, something of authority in his countenance, yet he never assumed any thing to himself above his companions; any of them might speak their mind, and their words were as strictly regarded by him as his words were by them.

"Their undertaking included these several particulars: to converse with young students; to visit the prisons; to instruct some poor families; to take care of a school, and a parish workhouse. They took great pains with the younger members of the university, to rescue them from bad company, and encourage them in a sober, studious life. They would get them to breakfast, and over a dish of tea endeavor to fasten some good hint upon them. They would bring them acquainted with other well-disposed young men, give them assistance in the difficult parts of their learning, and watch over them with the greatest tenderness.

"Some or other of them went to the Castle every day, and another most commonly to Bocardo. Whoever went to the Castle was to read in the chapel to as many prisoners as would attend, and to talk apart to the man or men whom he had taken particularly in charge. When a new prisoner come, their conversation with him for four or five times was close and searching. If any one was under sentence of death, or appeared to have some inten-

* Southey's Life.

† In some of the biographical notices which have been published of this venerable man, he is represented as of a harsh and stern character. On this point the late Miss Wesley observes, in a MS. letter before me, "I never understood this from any of his children, who idolized his memory, and spoke of his kindness. He certainly never forced his daughter to marry Wright, as it has been suggested." In the same letter, Miss Wesley also corrects the current anecdote respecting the Epworth clerk and the rector's wig, which, though laughable enough, implicates Mr. Wesley in an irreverent act, in the house of God, of which he was not capable. The clerk did appear one Sunday, in church, in the ill-befitting, cast-off wig of his master; and, to the disturbance of the gravity of the congregation, gave out the psalm,

"Like to an owl in ivy bush,
That fearsome thing am I."

But Mr. Wesley had no hand in selecting the psalm, which appears to have been purely accidental.

tions of a new life, they came every day to his assistance, and partook in the conflict and suspense of those who should now be found able, or not able, to lay hold on salvation. In order to release those who were confined for small debts, and to purchase books and other necessaries, they raised a little fund, to which many of their acquaintance contributed quarterly. They had prayers at the Castle most Wednesdays and Fridays, a sermon on Sunday, and the sacrament once a month.

"When they undertook any poor family, they saw them at least once a-week; sometimes gave them money, admonished them of their vices, read to them and examined their children. The school was, I think, of Mr. Wesley's own setting up; however, he paid the mistress, and clothed some, if not all the children. When they went thither, they inquired how each child behaved, saw their work, heard them read and say their prayers, or catechism, and explained part of it. In the same manner they taught the children in the workhouse, and read to the old people as they did to the prisoners.

"They seldom took any notice of the accusations brought against them for their charitable employments; but if they did make any reply, it was commonly such a plain and simple one, as if there was nothing more in the case, but that they had just heard such doctrines of their Saviour, and had believed, and done accordingly.

"I could say a great deal of his private piety, how it was nourished by a continual recourse to God, and preserved by a strict watchfulness in beating down pride, and reducing the craftiness and impetuosity of nature to a childlike simplicity, and a good degree crowned with divine love, and victory over the whole set of earthly passions. He thought prayer to be more his business than any thing else; and I have seen him come out of his closet with a serenity of countenance that was next to shining; it discovered what he had been doing, and gave me double hope of receiving wise directions, in the matter about which I came to consult him. In all his motions he attended to the will of God. He had neither the presumption nor the leisure to anticipate things whose season was not now; and would show some uneasiness whenever any of us, by impertinent speculations, were shifting off the appointed improvement of the present minute.

"Because he required such a regulation of our studies as might devote them all to God, he has been accused as one that discouraged learning. Far from that; for the first thing he struck at, in young men, was that indolence which will not submit to close thinking. He earnestly recommended to them a method and order in all their actions.

"If any one could have provoked him, I should; for I was very slow in coming into their measures, and very remiss in doing my part. I frequently contradicted his assertions; or, which is much the same, distinguished upon them. I hardly ever submitted to his advice at the time he gave it, though I relented afterwards. He is now gone to Georgia as a missionary, where there is ignorance that aspires after divine wisdom, but no false learning that is got above it. He is, I confess, still living; and I know that an advantageous character is more decently bestowed on the deceased. But, besides that his condition is very like that of the dead, being unconcerned in all we say, I am not making any attempt on the opinion of the public, but only studying a private edification. A family picture of him his relations may be allowed to keep by them. And this is the idea of Mr. Wesley, which I cherish for the service of my own soul, and which I take the liberty likewise to deposit with you."*

* Whitehead's Life.

This letter is honorable to Mr. Gambold's friendship; but he was not himself, at that time, of mature spiritual discernment, nor had Mr. Wesley opened the state of his heart to him with the freedom which we have seen in his letters to his mother. The external picture of the man is exact; but he was not inwardly that perfect Christian which Mr. Gambold describes, nor had he that abiding "interior peace." He was struggling with inward corruptions, which made him still cry, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And he as yet put mortification, retirement, and contempt of the world, too much in the place of that divine atonement, the virtue of which, when received by simple faith, at once removes the sense of guilt, cheers the spirit by a peaceful sense of acceptance through the merits of Christ, and renews the whole heart after the image of God. He was indeed attempting to work out "his own salvation with fear and trembling;" but not as knowing that "it is God that worketh in us to will and to do of his good pleasure." He had not, in this respect, learned "to be nothing," that he might "possess all things."

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Wesley now prepared for Georgia, the place where, as he afterwards said, "God humbled me, and proved me, and showed me what was in my heart." But he was not suffered to depart without remonstrances from friends, which he answered calmly and at length, and the scoffs of the profane, to which he made but brief reply. "What is this, Sir?" said one of the latter class to him; "are you turned Quixote, too? Will nothing serve you, but to encounter windmills?" To which he replied, "Sir, if the Bible be not true, I am as very a fool and madman as you can conceive; but if it be of God, I am sober-minded."

Mr. Charles Wesley, although in opposition to the opinion of his brother Samuel, agreed to accompany him to Georgia, and received holy orders. They were accompanied by Mr. Ingham, of Queen's college, and Mr. Delamotte. That Mr. Wesley considered the sacrifices and hardships of their mission in the light of means of religious edification to themselves, as well as the means of doing good to others, is plain from his own account: "Our end in leaving our native country was not to avoid want; God had given us plenty of temporal blessings; nor to gain the dung and dross of riches and honor; but singly this, to save our souls, to live wholly to the glory of God." These observations are sufficiently indicative of that dependance upon a mortified course of life, and that seclusion from the temptations of the world, which he then thought essential to religious safety.

Georgia is now a flourishing state, and the number of Methodist societies in it very considerable: a result not then certainly contemplated by the Wesleys, who labored there with little success, and quitted it almost in despair. The first settlers from England embarked in 1732, with Mr. James Oglethorpe at their head, who was also one of the trustees under the charter. This gentleman founded Savannah, and concluded a treaty with the Creek Indians. Wars with both Spaniards and Indians, however, subsequently arose, as well as domestic feuds; and in 1752 the trustees surrendered their charter to the king, and it was made a royal government. It was, therefore, in the infancy of the colony that the Wesleys commenced their labors.

That they should experience trouble, vexation, and disappointment, was the natural result both of the circumstances in which they were placed, and their own religious habits and views. A small colony, and especially in its infancy, is usually a focus

of faction, discontent, and censoriousness. The colonists are often disappointed, uneasy in their circumstances, frustrated in their hopes, and impatient of authority. This was the case in Georgia: and although Mr. Oglethorpe upon the whole was a worthy governor, he was subject to prejudices, and prone to be misled by designing men. He certainly did not support the Wesleys with that steadiness and uniformity which were due to them;* and on the other hand they were not faultless, although their intentions were entirely upright. They had high notions of clerical authority; and their pastoral faithfulness was probably rigid and repulsive; for in spite of the excellence of their own natural temper, an austere cast had been given to their piety. They stood firmly on little things, as well as great; and held the reins of ecclesiastical discipline with a tightness unsuitable to infant colonists especially, and which tended to provoke resistance. Their integrity of heart, and the purity of their intentions, came forth without a stain: they must also be allowed to have proceeded according to the best light they had; but they knew not yet "the love of Christ," nor how to sway men's hearts by that all-commanding and controlling motive; and they aimed at making men Christians, in the manner they sought that great attainment themselves—by a rigid and ascetic discipline.

On their passage, an exact plan for the employment of time was arranged, and observed; but the voyage is most remarkable for bringing Mr. Wesley acquainted with the members of the Moravian church; for, among the settlers taken out, were twenty-six Germans of this communion. Mr. Wesley immediately began to learn German, in order to converse with them; and David Nitchman, the Moravian bishop, and two others, received lessons in English. On the passage they had several storms, in which Mr. Wesley felt that the fear of death had not been taken away from him, and concluded therefore that he was not fit to die; on the contrary, he greatly admired the absence of all slavish dread in the Germans. He says, "I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behavior. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired and would receive no pay; saying, it was 'good for their proud hearts, and their loving Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness, which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the main-sail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, No.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'"†

Thus he had the first glimpse of a religious experience which keeps the mind at peace in all circumstances, and vanquishes that feeling which a formal and defective religion may lull to temporary sleep, but cannot eradicate—"the fear of death."

They landed on the 6th of February, 1736, on a small uninhabited island; from whence Mr. Oglethorpe proceeded to Savannah, and returned the next day, bringing with him Mr. Spangenberg, one of the Moravian pastors, already settled there.

"I soon found," says Mr. Wesley, "what spirit he was of; and asked his advice with regard to my own conduct. He said, 'My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit, that you are the child of God?' I was surprised, and knew not what to answer. He observed it, and asked, 'Do you know Jesus Christ?' I paused and said, I know he is the Saviour of the world. 'True,' replied he; 'but do you know he has saved you?' I answered, I hope he has died to save me. He only added, 'Do you know yourself?' I said I do. But I fear they were vain words."*

Mr. Charles Wesley took charge of Frederica, and Mr. John, of Savannah, where, the house not being ready, he took up his residence with the Germans, with whose spirit and conduct he became still more favorably impressed, and whose mode of proceeding in the election and ordination of a bishop carried him back, he says, to those primitive times "where form and state were not; but Paul the tent-maker, and Peter the fisherman, presided; yet with demonstration of the Spirit, and power."

Mr. Wesley had not been long at Savannah before he heard from Charles of his troubles and opposition at Frederica. His presence among the licentious colonists, and the frequent reproofs he administered, made him an object of great hatred, and "plots were formed either to ruin him in the opinion of Oglethorpe, or to take him off by violence."† Oglethorpe was for a time successfully practiced upon, treated him with coldness, and left him to endure the greatest privations. He lay upon the ground in the corner of a hut, and was denied the luxury of a few boards for a bed. He was out of favor with the governor; even the servants on that account insulted him; and, worn out with vexation and hardships, he fell into a dangerous fever. In this state he was visited by his brother John, who prevailed upon him to break a resolution which "honor and indignation" had induced him to form, of "starving rather than ask for necessaries." Soon after this Mr. Oglethorpe discovered the plots of which he had been the victim, and was fully reconciled to him. He then took charge of Savannah, whilst John supplied his place at Frederica; and in July, 1736, he was sent to England, charged with despatches from Mr. Oglethorpe to the trustees and the board of trade, and in December, arrived at Deal; thus terminating a service in which he had preached with great fidelity and zeal; but had met with very unworthy returns.

Of the two places, Savannah appears to have been more hopeful than Frederica; and as Mr. John Wesley did not find the door open for preaching to the Indians, he consulted with his companions, in what manner they might be most useful to the flock at Savannah. It was agreed, 1. To advise the more serious among them, to form themselves into a little society, and to meet once or twice a-week, in order to reprove, instruct, and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other; which might be forwarded partly by their conversing singly with each, and inviting them all to Mr. Wesley's house: and this accordingly they deter-

* Oglethorpe's good opinion of the brothers was, however, shown by his anxiety to persuade Charles to return again to the colony, after he had visited England; and by the marked respect and even reverence with which at a future period he treated John.

† Journal.

* Journal. † Whitehead's Life.

mined to do every Sunday in the afternoon. "Here," says Dr. Whitehead, "we see the first rudiments of the future economy of classes and bands." *

In this respect he probably learned something from the Moravians, and the whole plan fell in with his previous views of discipline and method. The character of his mind was eminently practical; he was in earnest, and he valued things just as they appeared to be adapted to promote the edification and salvation of those committed to his charge. A school was also established; and the children regularly catechised by Mr. Wesley, both in private and in the church. Evening meetings for the more serious were also held at his house: so actively did he apply himself not only to the public services of the sanctuary, but to every kind of engagement by which he might make "full proof of his ministry." The religious state of his own mind, however, remained much the same. He saw another striking instance of the power of faith, in the peaceful and edifying death of one of the Moravians; and had another proof that he himself was not saved from "the fear which hath torment," in a severe storm of thunder and lightning. Both indicated to him that he had not attained the state of "the sons of God;" but his views were still perplexed and obscure. From a conversation which he had with some Indians who had visited Savannah, he concluded that the way was opened for him to preach among the Choctaws, and this he was desirous of attempting; but as Savannah would have been left without a minister, the governor objected; and his friends were also of opinion, that he could not then be spared from the colony.

In his visits to Frederica he met with great opposition and much illiberal abuse; in Savannah he was, however, rapidly gaining influence, when a circumstance occurred which issued in his departure from Georgia altogether. He had formed an attachment to an accomplished young lady, a Miss Hopkey,† niece to the wife of Mr. Causton, the chief magistrate of Savannah, which she appears to have returned, or at least encouraged. The biographers of Mr. Wesley, Dr. Whitehead and Mr. Moore, differ as to the fact, whether this connection was broken off by him, or by the lady herself in consequence of his delays. The latter professes to have received the whole account from Mr. Wesley, and must therefore be presumed to be the best authority. From his statement it appears that Mr. Delamotte suspected the sincerity of the lady's pretensions to piety, and thought his friend Mr. Wesley, whose confiding and unsuspecting heart prevented him at all times from being a severe judge of others, was likely to be the victim of artifices which he had not the skill, or the inclination to discern. His remonstrances led Mr. Wesley to refer the question of his marriage with Miss Hopkey to the judgment of the elders of the Moravian church, which he thought he was at liberty to do, since the acquaintance, though it had ripened into regard and thoughts of marriage, had not, it seems, proceeded to any thing determinate. The Moravians advised him to proceed no further; and his conduct towards Miss Hopkey became cautious and distant, very naturally to her mortification, and perhaps pain. An entry in his journal shows that he had a considerable struggle with his own feelings, and that his sense of duty had exacted a great sacrifice from his heart. The lady soon afterwards married a Mr. Williamson; but a hostile feeling towards him had been left in the minds of her friends, which the gossiping and censorious habits of a small colony would not fail to keep alive. Though Mr. Wesley did not certainly see her married to another with perfect philosophy, it was not in his generous nature to allow his former affection to turn into resentment, which was the fault subsequently charged upon him; and as he soon saw many things in her to reprove, it is probable that he thought his escape a fortunate one. Perhaps, considering the singularity of his habits at that time, it was well for the lady also; which seems, indeed, jocosely intimated in a passage of a letter of his brother Samuel to him on the occasion—"I am sorry you are disappointed in one match, because you are unlikely to find another."

An opportunity for the manifestation of the secret prejudice which had been nourished by the friends of the niece of Mrs. Causton was afforded in about five months after her marriage. Mr. Wesley adhered to the rubric of the church of England as to the administration of the sacrament, without respect to persons, and with a rigidness which was not at all common. He repelled those whom he thought unworthy; and when any one had neglected the ordinance, he required him to signify his name the day before he intended to communicate again. Sometime after Mrs. Williamson's marriage, he discovered several things which he thought blameable in her conduct. These, as she continued to communicate, he mentioned to her, and she in return became angry. For reasons therefore, which he stated to her in a letter, he repelled her from the communion. This letter was written by desire of Mr. Causton, who wished to have his reasons for repelling his niece, in writing:

"At Mr. Causton's request I write once more. The rules whereby I proceed are these: 'So many as intend to partake of the holy communion shall signify their names to the curate, at least some time the day before.' This you did not do.

"'And if any of these—have done any wrong to his neighbor by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the curate shall advertise him, that in anywise he presume not to come to the Lord's table, until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.'

"If you offer yourself at the Lord's table on Sunday, I will advertise you, as I have done more than once, wherein you have done wrong: and when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the mysteries of God."*

The storm now broke forth upon him. A warrant was issued, and he was brought before the recorder and magistrates, on the charge of Mr. Williamson, 1. That he had defamed his wife. 2. That he had causelessly repelled her from the holy communion. Mr. Wesley denied the first charge; and the second being wholly ecclesiastical, he would not acknowledge the authority of the magistrate to decide upon it. He was however told that he must appear before the next court, holden at Savannah.

The Causton family became now most active in their efforts to injure him. By them, the reason why Mr. Wesley had repelled Mrs. Williamson from the Lord's table was stated to be his resentment against her for having refused to marry him; which they knew to be contrary to the fact. Garbled extracts of his letters were read by Causton to

* There was however nothing new in this. Mr. Wesley had doubtless heard, in his visits to London, of the religious societies described by Dr. Woodward, which were encouraged by the more serious clergy, and held weekly private meetings for religious edification. It is probable that he had even attended such meetings in the metropolis. Wherever indeed a revival of serious religion has taken place, and ministers have been in earnest to promote it, we see similar means adopted, as by Baxter at Kidderminster, during his eminently successful ministry there.

† Incorrectly called Miss Causton by Mr. Wesley's biographers.

* Journal.

those whom he could collect to hear them, probably in order to confirm this; and Mrs. Williamson was prevailed upon to swear to and sign a paper containing assertions and insinuations injurious to his character.*

The calm courage of the man who was thus so violently and unjustly persecuted, was not, however, to be shaken. "I sat still at home," says Mr. Wesley, "and I thank God, easy, having committed my cause to him, and remembered his word, 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.'"†

As the sitting of the court drew near, Causton used every art to influence the grand jury; and when they met, gave them "a long and earnest charge, 'to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new illegal authority which was usurped over their consciences.' Mrs. Williamson's affidavit was read; and he then delivered to them a paper, entitled, a List of Grievances, presented by the grand jury for Savannah, this —— day of August, 1737. In the afternoon Mrs. Williamson was examined, who acknowledged that she had no objections to make against Mr. Wesley's conduct before her marriage. The next day Mr. and Mrs. Causton were also examined, when she confessed, that it was by her request Mr. Wesley had written to Mrs. Williamson on the 5th of July; and Mr. Causton declared, that if Mr. Wesley had asked his consent to have married his niece, he should not have refused it. The grand jury continued to examine these ecclesiastical grievances, which occasioned warm debates till Thursday; when Mr. Causton being informed they had entered on matters beyond his instructions, went to them, and behaved in such a manner, that he turned forty-two, out of the forty-four, into a fixed resolution to inquire into his whole behavior. They immediately entered on that business and continued examining witnesses all day on Friday. On Saturday, Mr. Causton finding all his efforts to stop them ineffectual, adjourned the court till Thursday, the first of September, and spared no pains, in the mean time, to bring them to another mind. September 1. He so far prevailed, that the majority of the grand jury returned the list of grievances to the court, in some particulars altered, under the form of two presentments, containing ten bills, only two of which related to the affair of Mrs. Williamson; and only one of these was cognizable by that court, the rest being merely ecclesiastical. September 2. Mr. Wesley addressed the court to this effect: 'As to nine of the ten indictments against me, I know this court can take no cognizance of them; they being matters of an ecclesiastical nature, and this not an ecclesiastical court. But the tenth, concerning my speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson, is of a secular nature; and this, therefore, I desire may be tried here, where the facts complained of were committed.' Little answer was made, and that purely evasive.

"In the afternoon he moved the court again, for an immediate trial at Savannah; adding, 'that those who are offended may clearly see whether I have done any wrong to any one; or whether I have not rather deserved the thanks of Mrs. Williamson, Mr. Causton, and of the whole family.' Mr. Causton's answer was full of civility and respect. He observed, 'Perhaps things would not have been carried so far had you not said, you believed if Mr. Causton appeared, the people would tear him to pieces; not so much out of love to you, as out of hatred to him for his abominable practices.' If Mr. Wesley really spake these words, he was certainly very imprudent, considering the circumstances in which he was placed. But we too often find in disputes, that the constructions of others on what had been said, are reported as the very words we have spoken; which I suspect to have been the case here. Mr. Causton, however, sufficiently discovered the motives that influenced his conduct in this business.

"Twelve of the grand jurors now drew up a protest against the proceedings of the majority, to be immediately sent to the trustees in England. In this paper they gave such clear and satisfactory reasons, under every bill, for their dissent from the majority, as effectually did away all just ground of complaint against Mr. Wesley, on the subjects of the prosecution."*

"He attended the court holden on November the third; and again at the court held on the twenty-third; urging an immediate hearing of his case, that he might have an opportunity of answering the allegations alleged against him. But this the magistrates refused, and at the same time countenanced every report to his disadvantage; whether it was a mere invention, or founded on a malicious construction of any thing he did or said. Mr. Wesley perceiving that he had not the most distant prospect of obtaining justice; that he was in a place where those in power were combined together to oppress him; and could any day procure evidence (as experience had shown) of words he had never spoken, and of actions he had never done; being disappointed, too, in the primary object of his mission, preaching to the Indians; he consulted his friends what he ought to do; who were of opinion with him, that by these circumstances Providence did now call him to leave Savannah. The next day he called on Mr. Causton, and told him he designed to set out for England immediately."†

The magistrates made a show of forbidding him to leave the colony; but he embarked openly, after having publicly advertised his intention, no man interposing to prevent him; one leading object of these persecutions, being to drive him away. His sermons had been too faithful, and his reproofs too poignant, to make his continuance desirable to the majority of an irreligious colony.

The root of all this opposition no doubt lay in the enmity of his hearers to truth and holiness; but its manifestation might be occasioned in part by the strictness with which he acted upon obsolete branches of ecclesiastical discipline, and the unbending manner in which he insisted upon his spiritual authority. In the affair of Mrs. Williamson, he stands perfectly exculpated from the base motives which his enemies charged upon him; but in the first stages, it neither appears to have been managed with prudence, nor a proper degree of Christian courtesy. His enemies have sneered at his declaration, that, after he left Georgia, he discovered that he who went out to teach others Christianity, was not a Christian himself; but had he been a Christian in that full, evangelical sense which he meant; had he been that which he afterwards became, not only would the exclusion of Mrs. Williamson from the sacrament have been effected in another manner, but his mission to Georgia would probably have had a very different result. His preaching was defective in that one great point, which gives to preaching its real power over the heart, "Christ crucified;"* and his spirit, although naturally frank and amiable, was not regenerated by that "power from on high," the first and leading fruits of which are meekness and charity.

In the midst of his trials, Mr. Wesley received very consolatory letters from his friends, both in England and in America; and there were many in

* Journal. † Ibid.

* Whitehead's Life. † Ibid.

Georgia itself, who rightly estimated the character and the labors of a man who held five or six public services on a Lord's day, in English, Italian, and French, for the benefit of a mixed population;—who spent his whole time in works of piety and mercy, and who distributed his income so profusely in charity, that for many months together, he had not "one shilling in the house." His health, whilst in America continued good; and it is in proof of the natural vigor of his constitution, that he exposed himself to every change of season, frequently slept on the ground, under the dews of the night in summer, and in winter with his hair and clothes frozen to the earth. He arrived in London, February 3d, 1738, and notwithstanding his many exercises, reviewed the result of his American labors with some satisfaction:—"Many reasons I have to bless God for my having been carried into that strange land contrary to all my preceding resolutions. Hereby I trust he hath in some measure 'humbled me, and proved me, and shown me what was in my heart.' Hereby I have been taught to 'beware of men.' Hereby God has given me to know many of his servants, particularly those of the church of Hernhuth. Hereby my passage is open to the writings of holy men, in the German, Spanish, and Italian tongues. All in Georgia have heard the word of God; some have believed, and began to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American heathens. Many children have learned 'how they ought to serve God,' and to be useful to their neighbor. And those whom it most concerns have an opportunity of knowing the state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations."

CHAPTER IV.

The solemn review which Mr. Wesley made of the state of his religious experience, both on his voyage home, and soon after his landing in England, deserves to be particularly noticed, both for general instruction, and because it stands in immediate connection with a point which has especially perplexed those who have attributed his charges against himself, as to the deficiency of his Christianity at this period, to a strange and fanatical fancy. By the most infallible of proofs, he tells us—that of his feelings—he was convinced of his having "no such faith in Christ" as prevented his heart from being troubled; and he earnestly prays to be "saved by such a faith as implies peace in life and death." "I went to America to convert the Indians; but O, who shall convert me! Who is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer religion; I can talk well, nay, and believe myself, while no danger is present; but let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled, nor can I say, 'To die is gain.'

'I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore.'"

He thought, therefore, that a faith was attainable, which should deliver him entirely from guilty dread, and fill him with peace; but of this faith itself, his notions were still confused. He manifestly regarded it generally, as a principle of belief in the gospel, which, by quickening his efforts to self-mortification and entire obedience, would raise him, through a renewed state of heart, into acceptance and peace with God. This error is common. It regards faith, not so much as the personal trust of a guilty and helpless sinner upon Christ for salvation and all the gifts of spiritual life, but as working out sanctifying effects in the heart and life, partly by natural, partly by supernatural process, and thus producing peace of conscience.—But he goes on with this interesting history of his heart.

"I was early warned against laying too much stress on outward works, as the Papists do, or on a faith without works, which, as it does not *include*, so it will never lead to, true hope or charity."*

Here he manifestly confounds the faith by which a man is justified, which certainly does not "include" in itself the moral effects of which he speaks, with the faith of a man who is in a justified *state*, which necessarily produces them because of that vital union into which it brings him with Christ, his Saviour, by whom he is saved from the power and love, as well as from the guilt, of sin.

"I fell among some Lutheran and Calvinist authors, whose confused and indigested accounts magnified faith to such an amazing size, that it quite hid all the rest of the commandments."†

This is perhaps a proof that he did not understand these writers, any more than he did the Moravians in Georgia, who failed to enlighten him on the subject of faith, although he saw that they in fact possessed a "peace through believing," which he had not, and yet painfully felt to be necessary. The writers he mentions, probably represented faith only as necessary to justification; whilst he conceived them to teach, that faith only is necessary to final salvation.

"The English writers, such as bishop Beveridge, bishop Taylor, and Mr. Nelson, a little relieved me from these well-meaning, wrong-headed Germans. Their accounts of Christianity I could easily see to be, in the main, consistent both with reason and Scripture."‡

Beveridge would have met his case more fully than either Taylor or Nelson, had he been in a state of mind to comprehend him; and still better would he have been instructed by studying, with as much care as he examined Taylor and Law, the Homilies of his own church, and the works of her older divines.

The writings of the fathers then promised to give him further satisfaction; but to them he at length took various exceptions. He finally resorted to the Mystic writers, "whose noble descriptions of union with God, and internal religion, made every thing else appear mean, flat, and insipid. But in truth they made good works to appear so too, yea, and faith itself, and what not? These gave me an entire new view of religion, nothing like any I had before. But, alas! it was nothing like that religion which Christ and his apostles lived and taught. I had a plenary dispensation from all the commands of God; the form ran thus, 'Love is all; all the commands beside are only means of love; you must choose those which you feel are means to you, and use them as long as they are so.' Thus were all the bands burst at once. And though I could never fully come into this, nor contentedly omit what God enjoined, yet, I know not how, I fluctuated between obedience and disobedience. I had no heart, no vigor, no zeal in obeying, continually doubting whether I was right or wrong, and never out of perplexities and entanglements. Nor can I at this hour give a distinct account how or when I came a little back toward the right way; only my present sense is this:—all the other enemies of Christianity are triflers; the Mystics are the most dangerous of its enemies. They stab it in the vitals; and its most serious professors are most likely to fall by them. May I praise Him who hath snatched me out of this fire likewise, by warning all others that it is set on fire of hell."§

He was, however, delivered from the errors of the Mystics, only to be brought back to the point

* Journal. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

from which he set out; but his humble conclusion from the whole shows that the end of this long and painful struggle was about to be accomplished:—he was now brought fully to feel and confess his utter helplessness, and was not "far from the kingdom of God."

"And now," says he, "it is upwards of two years since I left my native country, in order to teach the Georgia Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned myself in the mean time? Why, (what I least of all suspected,) that I who went to America, to convert others, was never converted myself. 'I am not mad,' though I thus speak; but 'speak the words of truth and soberness;' if haply some of those who still dream may awake, and see, that as I am, so are they.

"Are they read in philosophy? So was I. In ancient or modern tongues? So was I also. Are they versed in the science of divinity? I too have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently upon spiritual things? The very same I could do. Are they plenteous in alms? Behold, I give all my goods to feed the poor.

"Do they give of their labor as well as their substance? I have labored more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country; I have put my life in my hand, wandering into strange lands; I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched up with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God shall please to bring upon me. But does all this (be it more or less, it matters not) make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did, or can know, say, give, do, or suffer, justify me in his sight? yea, or the constant use of all the means of grace? (which, nevertheless, is meet, right, and our bounden duty;) or that I know nothing of myself, that I am, as touching outward, moral righteousness, blameless? or, to come closer yet, the having a rational conviction of all the truths of Christianity? Does all this give a claim to the holy, heavenly, divine character of a Christian? By no means. If the oracles of God are true, if we are still to abide by 'the law and the testimony,' all these things, though when ennobled by faith in Christ, they are holy, and just, and good, yet without it are 'dung and dross.'

"This then have I learned in the ends of the earth, that I am fallen 'short of the glory of God;' that my whole heart is 'altogether corrupt and abominable,' and, consequently, my whole life; (seeing it cannot be, that 'an evil tree' should 'bring forth good fruit;') that my own works, my own sufferings, my own righteousness, are so far from reconciling me to an offended God, so far from making any atonement for the least of those sins which 'are more in number than the hairs of my head,' that the most specious of them need an atonement themselves, or they cannot abide his righteous judgment; that having the sentence of death in my heart, and having nothing in or of myself to plead, I have no hope but that of being justified freely 'through the redemption that is in Jesus;' I have no hope, but that if I seek, I shall find the Christ, and 'be found in him, not having my own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.'

"If it be said that I have faith, (for many such things have I heard from many miserable comforters,) I answer, So have the devils—*a sort* of faith; but still they are strangers to the covenant of promise. So the apostles had even at Cana in Galilee, when Jesus first 'manifested forth his glory;' even then they, in a sort, 'believed on him;' but they had not then 'the faith that overcometh the world.' The faith I want is 'a sure trust and confidence in God, that through the merits of Christ, my sins are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favor of God. I want that faith which St. Paul recommends to all the world, especially in his epistle to the Romans—that faith which enables every one that hath it to cry out, 'I live not; but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.' I want that faith which none has, without knowing that he hath it; (though many imagine they have it, who have it not;) for whosoever hath it is freed from sin; the whole 'body of sin is destroyed' in him: he is freed from fear, 'having peace with God through Christ, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.' And he is freed from doubt, 'having the love of God shed abroad in his heart, through the Holy Ghost which is given unto him; which Spirit itself beareth witness with his spirit, that he is a child of God.' "*

A spirit thus breathing after God, and anxious to be taught "the way more perfectly," could not be left in its darkness and solicitude. A few days after his arrival in London, he met with Peter Bohler, a minister of the Moravian church. This was on February 7th, which he marks as "a day much to be remembered," because the conversation which he had with Bohler on the subject of saving faith, a subject probably brought on by himself, first opened his mind to true views on that subject, notwithstanding the objections with which he assaulted the statements of the Moravian teacher, and which caused Bohler more than once to exclaim, "My brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away." At Oxford, whither he had gone to visit Charles, who was sick, he again met with his Moravian friend, "by whom," he says, "in the hand of the great God, I was clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved with the full Christian salvation."

"He was now convinced that his faith had been too much separated from an evangelical view of the promises of a free justification, or pardon of sin, through the atonement and mediation of Christ alone, which was the reason why he had been held in continual bondage and fear."† In a few days he met Peter Bohler again—"who now," he says, "amazed me more and more, by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith, the holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it. The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolving to abide by 'the law and the testimony,' being confident that God would hereby show me whether this doctrine was of God." ‡

In a fourth conversation with this excellent man, he was still more confirmed in the view, "that faith is, to use the words of our church, a sure trust and confidence which a man has in God, that, through the merit of Christ, his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favor of God." Some of his objections to Bohler's statements on instantaneous conversion were also removed by a diligent examination of the Scriptures. "I had," he observes, "but one retreat left on this subject: Thus, I grant God wrought in the first ages of Christianity; but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe he works in the same manner now? But, on Sunday, 22d, I was beat out of this retreat, too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses, who testified God had so wrought in themselves, giving them in a moment such a faith in the blood of his Son, as translated them out of darkness into light, and from sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, 'Lord, help thou my unbelief!' "

* Journal. † Whitehead's Life. ‡ Journal.

He now began to declare that doctrine of faith which he had been taught; and those who were convinced of sin gladly received it. He was also much confirmed in the truth, by hearing the experience of Mr. Hutchins, of Pembroke college, and Mrs. Fox: "Two living witnesses," he says, "that God can, at least, if he does not always, give that faith whereof cometh salvation, in a moment, as lightning falling from heaven."*

Mr. Wesley and a few others now formed themselves into a religious society, which met in Fetter-Lane. But although they thus assembled with the Moravians, they remained members of the church of England; and afterwards, when some of the Moravian teachers introduced new doctrines, Mr. Wesley and his friends separated from them, and formed that distinct community which has since been known as "The Methodist Society." The rules of the Fetter-Lane society were printed under the title of "Orders of a Religious Society, meeting in Fetter-Lane; in obedience to the command of God by St. James, and by the advice of Peter Bohler, 1738."

As yet Mr. Wesley had not attained the blessing for which he so earnestly sought, and now with clearer views. His language as to himself, though still that of complaint, was become, in truth, the language of a broken and a contrite heart. It was no longer in the tone of a man disappointed as to the results of his own efforts, and thrown into distressing perplexity, as not knowing where to turn for help. He was now bowed in lowly sorrow before the throne; but he knew that it was "the throne of grace;" and his cry was that of the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner." In a letter to a friend, he says:—

"I feel what you say, though not enough; for I am under the same condemnation. I see that the whole law of God is holy, just and good. I know every thought, every temper of my soul, ought to bear God's image and superscription. But how am I fallen from the glory of God! I feel that 'I am sold under sin.' I know that I too deserve nothing but wrath, being full of all abominations, and having no good thing in me to atone for them, or to remove the wrath of God. All my works, my righteousness, my prayers need an atonement for themselves. So that my mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is holy; I am unholy. God is a consuming fire: I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed.

"Yet I hear a voice, (and is it not the voice of God?) saying, 'Believe and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth is passed from death unto life. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'"†

In this state of mind he continued till May the 24th, 1738, and then gives the following account of his conversion:—

"I think, it was about five this morning, that I opened my Testament on those words, 'There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature.' 2 Peter i. 4. Just as I went out, I opened it again on those words, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.' In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, 'Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my voice. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But there is mercy with thee; therefore thou shalt be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord, for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sins.'

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate-street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the 'law of sin and death.'

"I began to pray with all my might, for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me, and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there, what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, 'This cannot be faith, for where is thy joy?' Then was I taught, that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation; but that as to the transports of joy, that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth them, according to the counsels of his own will."*

After this he had some struggles with doubt; but he proceeded from "strength to strength," till he could say, "Now I was always conqueror." His experience, nurtured by habitual prayer, and deepened by unwearied exertion in the cause of his Saviour, settled into that steadfast faith and solid peace, which the grace of God perfected in him to the close of his long and active life.

His brother Charles was also made partaker of the same grace. They had passed together through the briers and thorns, through the perplexities and shadows of the legal wilderness, and the hour of their deliverance was not far separated. Bohler visited Charles in his sickness at Oxford, but "the Pharisee within" was somewhat offended when the honest German shook his head at learning that his hope of salvation rested upon "his best endeavors." After his recovery, the reading of Halyburton's Life produced in him a sense of his want of that faith which brings "peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Bohler visited him again in London, and he began seriously to consider the doctrine which he urged upon him. His convictions of his state of danger, as a man unjustified before God, and of his need of the faith whereof cometh salvation, increased, and he spent his whole time in discoursing on these subjects, in prayer, and reading the Scriptures. Luther on the Galatians then fell into his hands, and on reading the preface he observes:—

"I marvelled that we were so soon and entirely removed from him that called us into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel. Who would believe that our church had been founded on this important article of justification by faith alone? I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine; especially while our articles and homilies stand unrepealed, and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away. From this time I endeavored to ground as many of our friends as came to see me in this fundamental truth—salvation by faith alone, not an idle, dead faith, but a faith which works by love, and is incessantly productive of all good works and all holiness."†

"On Whit-Sunday, May 21st, he awoke in hope and expectation of soon attaining the object of his wishes, the knowledge of God reconciled in Christ Jesus. At nine o'clock his brother and some friends came to him and sung a hymn suited to the day. When they left him he betook himself to prayer. Soon afterwards a person came and said, in a very solemn manner, 'Believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth and thou shalt be healed of all thine infir-

* Journal. † Ibid.

* Journal. † Ibid.

mities.' The words went through his heart, and animated him with confidence. He looked into the Scripture, and read, 'Now, Lord, what is my hope? truly my hope is even in thee.' He then cast his eye on these words, 'He hath put a new song into my mouth, even thanksgiving unto our God; many shall see it and fear, and put their trust in the Lord.' Afterwards he opened upon Isaiah xl. 1.: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith our God; speak comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.' In reading these passages of Scripture, he was enabled to view Christ as set forth to be a propitiation for his sins, through faith in his blood; and he received that peace and rest in God which he had so earnestly sought.

"The next day he greatly rejoiced in reading the 107th Psalm, so nobly descriptive, he observes, of what God had done for his soul. He had a very humbling view of his own weakness; but was enabled to contemplate Christ in his power to save to the uttermost all those who come unto God by him." *

Such was the manner in which these excellent men, whom God had been long preparing for the great work of reviving scriptural Christianity throughout these lands, were at length themselves brought "into the liberty of the sons of God." On the account thus given, a few observations may not be misplaced.

It is easy to assail with ridicule such disclosures of the exercises of minds impressed with the great concern of salvation, and seeking for deliverance from a load of anxiety in "a way which they had not known;" and flippantly to resolve all these shadowings of doubt, these dawnings of hope, and the joyous influence of the full day of salvation, as some have done, into fancy, nervous affection, or natural constitution. To every truly serious mind, these will however appear subjects of a momentous character; and no one will proceed either safely or soberly to judge of them, who does not previously inquire into the doctrine of the New Testament on the subject of human salvation, and apply the principles which he may find there, authenticated by infallible inspiration, to the examination of such cases. If it be there declared that the state of man by nature, and so long as he remains unforgiven by his offended God, is a state of awful peril, then the all-absorbing seriousness of that concern for deliverance from spiritual danger, which was exhibited by the Wesleys, is a feeling becoming our condition, and is the only rational frame of mind which we can cultivate. If we are required to be of "a humble and broken spirit," and if the very root of a true repentance lies in a "godly sorrow" for sin; then their humiliations and self-reproaches were in correspondence with a state of heart which is enjoined upon all by an authority which we cannot dispute. If the appointed method of man's salvation, laid down in the gospel, be *gratuitous pardon through faith in the merits of Christ's sacrifice*, and if a method of seeking justification by works of moral obedience to the divine law, be plainly placed by St. Paul in opposition to this, and declared to be vain and fruitless; then, if in this way the Wesleys sought their justification before God, we see how true their own statement must of necessity have been, that with all their efforts they could obtain no solid peace of mind, no deliverance from the enslaving fear of death and final punishment, because they sought that by imperfect works which God has appointed to be attained by faith alone. If it be said, that their case was not parallel to that of the self-righteous Jews, who did not receive the Christian religion, and therefore that the argument of the apostle does not apply to those who believe the gospel, it will remain to be inquired, whether the circumstance of a mere belief in the Christian system, when added to works of imperfect obedience, makes any essential difference in the case; or, in other words, whether justification may not be sought by endeavors to obey the law, although the Judaism necessarily implied in it may be arrayed in the garb of Christian terms and phrases. If indeed by "works of the law" St. Paul had meant only the ceremonial observances of the Jewish church, the case would be altered; but his epistle to the Romans puts it beyond all doubt, that in his argument respecting justification he speaks of the moral law, since his grand reason to prove that by the works of the law no man can be justified, is, that "by the law is the knowledge of sin." That law is recognized and embodied in the New Testament, but its first office there is to give "the knowledge of sin," that men may be convinced, or, as St. Paul forcibly says, "slain" by it; and it stands there in connection with the atonement for sin made by the sacrifice upon the cross. Nor is the faith which delivers men from the condemnation of a law which has been broken, and never can be perfectly kept by man, a mere *belief* in the truth of the doctrine of Christ, but *reliance* upon his sacrifice, in which consists that personal act by which we become parties to the covenant of free and gratuitous justification, and which then only stands sure to us, because then only we accept the mercy of God, as exercised towards us through Christ, and on the prescribed conditions. If therefore in the matter of our justification, like the Wesleys before they obtained clearer light, and the divines who were their early guides, we change the office of the moral law, though we may still regard it as in some way connected with the gospel, and call it by the general term of Christianity, of which it in truth forms the preceptive part, and resort to it, not that we may be convinced of the greatness of our sins, and of our utter inability to commend ourselves to a holy God, the requirements of whose law have never been relaxed; but as the means of qualifying ourselves by efforts of obedience to it, for the reception of divine mercy, and acquiring a fitness and worthiness for the exercise of grace towards us; then we reject the perfection and suitableness of the atonement of Christ; we refuse to commit our whole case in the matter of our justification to that atonement, according to the appointment of God; and as much seek justification by works of the law, as did the Jews themselves. Such was the case with the Wesleys, as stated by themselves. Theirs was not indeed a state of heartless formality, and self-deluding Pharisaism, aiming only at external obedience. It was just the reverse of this: they were awakened to a sense of danger, and they aimed, nay, struggled with intense efforts after universal holiness, inward and outward. But it was not a state of salvation; and if we find a middle state like this described in the Scriptures; a state in transit from dead formality to living faith and moral deliverance, the question with respect to the truth of their representations, as to their former state of experience, is settled. Such a middle state we see plainly depicted by the apostle Paul in the seventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans. There the mind of the person described "consents to the law that it is good," but finds in it only greater discoveries of his sinfulness and danger; there the effort too is after universal holiness: "to will is present," but the power is wanting; every struggle binds the chain tighter; sighs and groans are extorted till self-despair succeeds, and the true Deliverer is seen and trusted in—"O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

* Whitehead's Life.

thank God through Jesus Christ my Lord. * The deliverance also in the case described by St. Paul is marked with the same characters as that exhibited in the conversion of the Wesleys, "There is now no *condemnation* to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh; but after the Spirit; for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death."—"Therefore being justified by faith we have *peace* with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ." Every thing in the account of the change wrought in the two brothers, and several of their friends about the same time, answers therefore to the New Testament. Nor was their experience, or the doctrine upon which it was founded, new, although in that age of declining piety unhappily not common. The Moravian statement of justifying faith, was that of all the churches of the Reformation; and through Peter Bohler Mr. Wesley came first to understand the true doctrine of that church of which he was a clergyman. His mind was never so fully imbued with the letter and spirit of that article in which she has so truly interpreted St. Paul, as when he learned from him, almost in the words of the article itself, that "we are justified by faith only;" and that this is "a most wholesome doctrine." For the joyous change of Mr. Wesley's feelings, upon his persuasion of his personal interest in Christ through faith, those persons who, like Dr. Southey,† have bestowed upon it several philosophic solutions, might have found a better reason had they either consulted St. Paul, who says, "We *joy* in God, by whom we have received the reconciliation," or their own church, which has emphatically declared that the doctrine of justification by faith is not only very wholesome, but also "very full of *comfort*."

CHAPTER V.

From this time Mr. Wesley commenced that laborious and glorious ministry, which directly or indirectly was made the instrument of the salvation of a multitude, not to be numbered till "the day which shall make all things manifest." That which he had experienced he preached to others with the confidence of one who had "the witness in himself;" and with a fulness of sympathy for all who wandered in paths of darkness and distress, which could not but be inspired by the recollection of his own former perplexities.

At this period the religious and moral state of the nation was such as to give the most serious concern to the few remaining faithful. There is no need to draw a picture darker than the truth, to add importance to the labors of the two Wesleys, Mr. Whitefield, and their associates. The view here taken has often been drawn by pens unconnected with and hostile to Methodism.

The reformation from Popery which so much promoted the instruction of the populace in Scotland, did much less for the people of England, a great majority of whose lower classes, at the time of the rise of Methodism, were even ignorant of the art of reading; in many places were semi-barbarous in their manners; and had been rescued from the superstitions of Popery, only to be left ignorant of every thing beyond a few vague and general notions of religion. Great numbers were destitute even of these; and there are still agricultural districts in the southern and western counties, where the case is not even at this moment much improved. A clergyman has lately asserted in print, that in many villages of Devonshire the only form of prayer still taught their children by the peasantry are the goodly verses handed down from their popish ancestors,—

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Bless the bed that I lie on," &c.

The degree of ignorance on all scriptural subjects, and of dull, uninquiring irreligiousness which prevails in many other parts, is well known to those who have turned their attention to such inquiries, and would be incredible to those who have not.* A great impression was made in many places by the zealous preachers who sprang forth at the reformation; and in the large towns especially, they turned many of the people "from darkness to light." But the great body of the popish parish priests went round with the reformation, without conviction, and performed the new service, as they performed the old, in order to hold fast their livings. As what was called Puritanism prevailed, more zealous preaching and more careful instructions were employed; and by such ministers as the two thousand who were silenced by the act of uniformity, with many equally excellent men who conformed to the re-established church, a great body of religious and well-instructed people were raised up; and indeed before the civil wars commenced, the nation might be said to be in a state of hopeful moral improvement. These troubles however arose before the effect produced upon a state of society sunk very low in vice and ignorance, could be widely extended; and the keen and ardent political feelings which were then excited, and the demoralizing effects of civil warfare, greatly injured the spirit of piety, by occupying the attention of men, and rousing their passions by other, and often unhallowed, subjects. The effect was as injurious upon the advocates of the old church discipline as upon those of the new, and probably worse; because it did not meet in them, for the most part, with principles so genuine and active to resist it. In many of the latter, Antinomianism and fanaticism became conspicuous; but in the former a total irreligion, or a

* "All the time I was at Savannah I was thus beating the air. Being ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, which, by a living faith in him, bringeth salvation 'to every one that believeth,' I sought to establish my own righteousness, and so labored in the fire all my days. I was now properly under the law; I knew that 'the law of God was spiritual;' 'I consented to it that it was good. Yea, I delighted in it, after the inner man.' Yet I was 'carnal, sold under sin.' Every day was I constrained to cry out, 'What I do, I allow not; for what I would I do not, but what I hate, that I do. To will is indeed present with me; but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the good which I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. I find a law that when I would do good, evil is present with me: Even the law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and still bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.'

"In this state, I was indeed fighting continually, but not conquering. Before, I had willingly served sin; now it was unwillingly; but still I served it. I fell, and rose, and fell again. Sometimes I was overcome, and in heaviness: sometimes I overcame, and was in joy. For as in the former state, I had some foretastes of the terrors of the law, so had I in this of the comforts of the gospel. During this whole struggle between nature and grace, which had now continued above ten years, I had many remarkable returns to prayer, especially when I was in trouble: I had many sensible comforts, which are indeed no other than short anticipations of the life of faith. But I was still under the law, not under grace, the state most who are called Christians are content to live and die in. For I was only striving with, not freed from, sin: Neither had I 'the witness of the Spirit with my spirit.' And indeed could not; for 'I sought it not by faith, but, as it were, by the works of the law.'"—*Wesley's Journal.*

† Life of Wesley.

* By far the greater number of the peasants in Hampshire and Berkshire, lately tried under the Special Commissions for riots and stack-burning, were found unable to read.

lifeless formality, produced a haughty dislike of the spiritualities of religion, or a sneering contempt of them. The mischief was completed by the restoration of the Stuarts; for whatever advantages were gained by that event in a civil sense, it let in a flood of licentiousness and impiety which swept away almost every barrier that had been raised in the public mind by the labors of former ages. Infidelity began its ravages upon the principles of the higher and middle classes; the mass of the people remained uneducated, and were Christians but in name, and by virtue of their baptism; whilst many of the great doctrines of the reformation were banished both from the universities and the pulpits. Archbishop Leighton complains that his "church was a fair carcass without a spirit;" and Burnet observes, that in his time "the clergy had less authority, and were under more contempt, than those of any church in Europe; for they were much the most remiss in their labors, and the least severe in their lives." Nor did the case much amend up to the period of which we speak. Dr. Southey says, that "from the restoration to the accession of the house of Hanover, the English church could boast of its brightest ornaments and ablest defenders, men who have never been surpassed in erudition, in eloquence, or in strength and subtlety of mind." This is true: but it is equally so, that, with a very few exceptions, these great powers were not employed to teach, defend, and inculcate the doctrines of that church on personal religion as it is taught in her liturgy, her articles, and her homilies, but what often was subversive of them; and the very authority therefore which such writers acquired by their learned and able works was in many respects mischievous. They stood between the people and the better divines of the earlier age of the church, and put them out of sight; and they set an example of preaching which, being generally followed, placed the pulpit and the desk at perpetual variance, and reduced an evangelical liturgy to a dead form which was repeated without thought, or so explained as to take away its meaning. A great proportion of the clergy, whatever other learning they might possess, were grossly ignorant of theology, and contented themselves with reading short unmeaning sermons, purchased or pilfered, and formed upon the lifeless theological system of the day. A little Calvinism remained in the church, and a little evangelical Arminianism; but the prevalent divinity was Pelagian, or what very nearly approached it. Natural religion was the great subject of study, when theology was studied at all, and was made the test and standard of revealed truth. The doctrine of the *opus operatum* of the Papists, as to sacraments, was the faith of the divines of the older school; and a refined system of ethics, unconnected with Christian motives, and disjoined from the vital principles of religion in the heart, was the favorite theory of the modern. The body of the clergy neither knew nor cared about systems of any kind. In a great number of instances they were negligent and immoral; often grossly so. The populace of the large towns were ignorant and profligate; and the inhabitants of villages added to ignorance and profligacy brutish and barbarous manners. A more striking instance of the rapid deterioration of religious light and influence in a country scarcely occurs, than in our own, from the restoration till the rise of Methodism. It affected not only the church, but the dissenting sects in no ordinary degree. The Presbyterians had commenced their course through Arianism down to Socinianism; and those who held the doctrines of Calvin had, in too many instances, by a course of hot-house planting, luxuriated them into the fatal and disgusting errors of Antinomianism. There were indeed many happy exceptions; but this was the general state of religion and morals in the country, when the Wesleys, Whitefield, and a few kindred spirits came forth, ready to sacrifice ease, reputation, and even life itself, to produce a reformation.

Before Mr. Wesley entered upon the career which afterwards distinguished him, and having no preconceived plan or course of conduct, but to seek good for himself and to do good to others, he visited the Moravian settlements in Germany. On his journey he formed an acquaintance with several pious ministers in Holland and Germany; and at Marienbourn was greatly edified by the conversation of count Zinzendorf, and others of the brethren, of whose views he did not however in all respects even then approve. From thence he proceeded to Hernhuth, where he staid a fortnight, conversing with the elders, and observing the economy of that church, part of which with modifications he afterwards introduced among his own societies. The sermons of Christian David especially interested him; and of one of them, on "the ground of our faith," he gives the substance; which we may insert, both as excellent in itself, and as it so well agrees with what Mr. Wesley afterwards uniformly taught:—

"The word of reconciliation which the apostles preached, as the foundation of all they taught, was, that 'we are reconciled to God, not by our own works, nor by our own righteousness, but wholly and solely by the blood of Christ.'

"But you will say, must I not grieve and mourn for my sins? Must I not humble myself before my God? Is not this just and right? And must I not first do this before I can expect God to be reconciled to me? I answer, it is just and right. You must be humbled before God. You must have a broken and contrite heart. But then observe, this is not your own work. Do you grieve that you are a sinner? This is the work of the Holy Ghost. Are you contrite? Are you humbled before God? Do you indeed mourn, and is your heart broken within you? All this worketh the self-same Spirit.

"Observe again, this is not the foundation. It is not this by which you are justified. This is not the righteousness, this is no part of the righteousness, by which you are reconciled unto God. You grieve for your sins. You are deeply humble. Your heart is broken. Well. But all this is nothing to your justification.* The remission of your sins is not owing to this cause, either in whole or in part. Nay, observe farther, that it may hinder your justification: that is, if you build any thing upon it; if you think, I must be so or so contrite; I must grieve more, before I can be justified. Understand this well. To think you must be more contrite, more humbled, more grieved, more sensible of the weight of sin, before you can be justified, is, to lay your contrition, your grief, your humiliation, for the foundation of your being justified: at least for a part of the foundation. Therefore it hinders your justification; and a hinderance it is which must be removed, before you can lay the right foundation. The right foundation is, not your contrition, (though that is not your own,) not your righteousness, nothing of your own; nothing that is wrought in you by the Holy Ghost; but it is something without you, viz., the righteousness and blood of Christ.

"For this is the word, 'To him that believeth on God, that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted

*"This is not guarded. These things do not merit our justification, but they are absolutely necessary in order to it. God never pardons the impenitent."—*Wesley's Journal.*

for righteousness.' See ye not, that the foundation is nothing in us? There is no connection between God and the ungodly. There is no tie to unite them. They are altogether separate from each other. They have nothing in common. There is nothing less or more in the ungodly, to join them to God. Works, righteousness, contrition? No. Ungodliness only. This then do, if you will lay a right foundation:—Go straight to Christ with all your ungodliness. Tell him, Thou whose eyes are as a flame of fire, searching my heart, seest that I am ungodly. I plead nothing else. I do not say, I am humble or contrite: but I am ungodly. Therefore bring me to Him that justifieth the ungodly. Let thy blood be the propitiation for me; for there is nothing in me but ungodliness.

"Here is a mystery. Here the wise men of the world are lost, are taken in their own craftiness. This the learned of the world cannot comprehend. It is foolishness unto them. Sin is the only thing which divides men from God. Sin (let him that heareth understand) is the only thing which unites them to God; that is, the only thing which moves the Lamb of God to have compassion upon them, and by his blood to give them access to the Father.

"This is the word of reconciliation which we preach. This is the foundation which never can be moved. By faith we are built upon this foundation: and this faith also is the gift of God. It is his free gift, which he now and ever giveth to every one that is willing to receive it. And when they have received this gift of God, then their hearts will melt for sorrow that they have offended him. But this gift of God lives in the heart, not in the head. The faith of the head, learned from men or books, is nothing worth. It brings neither remission of sins, nor peace with God. Labor then to believe with your whole heart. So shall you have redemption through the blood of Christ. So shall you be cleansed from all sin. So shall ye go on from strength to strength, being renewed day by day in righteousness and all true holiness."*

"I would gladly," says Mr. Wesley, "have spent my life here; but my Master calling me to labor in another part of his vineyard, I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place. O when shall this Christianity cover the earth, as the 'waters cover the sea!'" He adds in another place, "I was exceedingly comforted and strengthened by the conversation of this lovely people; and returned to England more fully determined to spend my life in testifying the gospel of the grace of God."†

He arrived in London in September, 1738. His future course of life does not appear to have been shaped out in his mind; no indication of this appears in any of his letters, or other communication: so little ground is there for the insinuation, which has been so often made, that he early formed the scheme of making himself the head of a sect. This, even those inconsistencies, considering him as a churchman, into which circumstances afterwards impelled him, sufficiently refute. That he was averse to settle as a parish minister, is certain; and the man who regarded "the world as his parish," must have had large views of usefulness. That he kept in mind the opinion of the bishop who ordained him, that he was at liberty to decline settling as a parish priest, provided he thought that he could serve the church better in any other way, is very probable; and if he had any fixed purpose at all, at this time, beyond what circumstances daily opened to him, and from which he might infer the path of duty, it was to attempt to revive the spirit of religion in the church to which he belonged and which he loved, by preaching "the gospel of the grace of God," in as many of her pulpits as he should be permitted to occupy. This was the course he pursued. Wherever he was invited, he preached the obsolete doctrine of salvation by grace through faith. In London great crowds followed him; the clergy generally excepted to his statement of the doctrine; the genteeler part of his audiences, whether they attended to the sermon or not, were offended at the bustle of crowded congregations; and soon almost all the churches, of the metropolis, one after another, were shut against him. He had, however, largely labored in various parts of the metropolis in churches, rooms, houses, and prisons; and the effects produced were powerful and lasting. Soon after, we find him at Oxford, employed in writing to his friends abroad, communicating the good news of a great awakening both in London and in that city. To Dr. Koker, of Rotterdam, he writes, Oct. 13, 1738: "His blessed Spirit has wrought so powerfully both in London and Oxford, that there is a general awakening, and multitudes are crying out, What must we do to be saved? So that till our gracious Master sendeth more laborers into his harvest, all my time is much too little for them." And to the church at Hernhuth, he writes under the same date: "We are endeavoring here, also, by the grace which is given us, to be followers of you, as ye are of Christ. Fourteen were added to us since our return; so that we have now eight bands of men, consisting of fifty-six persons, all of whom seek for salvation only in the blood of Christ. As yet we have only two small bands of women, the one of three, the other of five persons. But here are many others who only wait till we have leisure to instruct them how they may most effectually build up one another, in the faith and love of Him who gave himself for them.

"Though my brother and I are not permitted to preach in most of the churches in London, yet, thanks be to God, there are others left, wherein we have liberty to speak the truth as it is in Jesus. Likewise every evening, and on set evenings in the week, at two several places, we publish the word of reconciliation, sometimes to twenty or thirty, sometimes to fifty or sixty, sometimes to three or four hundred persons, met together to hear it."

In December he met Mr. Whitefield, who had returned to London from America, "and they again took sweet counsel together." In the spring of the next year, he followed Mr. Whitefield to Bristol, where he had preached with great success in the open air. Mr. Wesley first expounded to a little society,* accustomed to meet in Nicholas

* Journal. † Ibid.

* The "Societies" which Mr. Wesley mentions in his journals as visited by him, for the purpose of expounding the Scriptures, in London and Bristol, were the remains of those which Dr. Woodward describes, in an account first published about 1698 or 1699. They began about the year 1667, among a few young men in London, who, under Dr. Horneck's preaching, and the morning lectures in Cornhill, were brought, says Dr. Woodward, "to a very affecting sense of their sins, and began to apply themselves in a very serious way to religious thoughts and purposes." They were advised by their ministers to meet together weekly for "good discourse;" and rules were drawn up "for the better regulation of these meetings." They contributed weekly for the use of the poor, and stewards were appointed to take care of and to disburse their charities. In the latter part of the reign of James II., they met with discouragement; but on the accession of William and Mary, they acquired new vigor. When Dr. Woodward wrote his account, there were about forty of these societies in activity within the bills of mortality, a few in the country, and nine in Ireland. Out of these societies about twenty associations arose, in London, for the prosecution and suppression of vice; and both these, and the private societies for religious edification, had for a time

street; and the next day he overcame his scruples, and preached abroad, on an eminence near the city, to more than two thousand persons. On this practice he observes, that though till lately he had been so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that he should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church, yet "I have since seen abundant reason to adore the wise providence of God herein, making a way for myriads of people, who never troubled any church, or were likely so to do, to hear that word which they soon found to be the power of God unto salvation."

The manner in which he filled up his time, may be seen from the following account of his weekly labors, at this period, at or near Bristol. "My ordinary employment in public was now as follows. Every morning I read prayers and preached at Newgate. Every evening I expounded a portion of Scripture, at one or more of the societies. On Monday in the afternoon I preached abroad near Bristol. On Tuesday at Bath and Two-Mile-Hill, alternately. On Wednesday at Baptist-Mills.—Every other Thursday, near Pensford. Every other Friday, in another part of Kingswood. On Saturday in the afternoon, and Sunday morning in the Bowling-Green. On Sunday at eleven, near Hannam-Mount, at two at Clifton, at five at Rose-Green. And hitherto, as my day is, so is my strength."*

During Mr. Wesley's visit to Germany, his brother Charles was zealously employed in preaching the same doctrines, and with equal zeal, in the churches in London; and in holding meetings for prayer and expounding the Scriptures. At this time he also visited Oxford, and was made useful to several of his old college friends. When his brother returned from Hernhuth, he met him with great joy in London, and they "compared their experience in the things of God." The doctrine of predestination on which so many disputes have arisen in the church, and which was soon to be warmly debated among the first Methodists, was soon after started at a meeting for exposition. Mr. Charles contented himself with simply protesting against it. He now first began to preach extempore. In a conference which the brothers had with the bishop of London, they cleared up some complaints as to their doctrine, which he had received against them, and were upon the whole treated by him with liberality. He strongly disapproved, however, of their practice of re-baptizing persons who had been baptized by Dissenters, in which they exhibited the firm hold which their high church feelings still retained upon their minds. His lordship showed himself, in this respect, not only more liberal, but better versed in ecclesiastical law and usage. The bishop at this, and at other interviews, guarded them strongly against Antinomianism, of which, however, they were in no danger. He was probably alarmed, as many had been, at the stress they laid on faith, not knowing the *necessary* connection of the faith they preached with universal holiness. Mr. Whitefield was at this time at Oxford, and pressed Charles earnestly to accept a college living; which, as Dr. Whitehead justly observes, "gives pretty clear evidence that no plan of itinerant preaching was yet fixed on, nor indeed thought of: had any such plan been in agitation among them, it is very certain Mr. Whitefield would not have urged this advice on Mr. Charles Wesley, whom he loved as a brother, and whose labors he highly esteemed."*

About this time some disputes took place, in the Fetter-Lane society, as to lay-preaching, and Mr. Charles Wesley, in the absence of his brother, declared warmly against it. He had also, whilst Mr. John Wesley was still at Bristol, a painful interview at Lambeth, with the archbishop of Canterbury. His grace took no exceptions to his doctrine, but condemned the irregularity of his proceedings, and even hinted at proceeding to excommunication. This threw him into great perplexity of mind, until Mr. Whitefield, with characteristic boldness, urged him to preach "in the fields the next Sunday: by which step he would break down the bridge, render his retreat difficult or impossible, and be forced to fight his way forward." This advice he followed. "June 24th, I prayed," says he, "and went forth in the name of Jesus Christ. I found near a thousand helpless sinners waiting for the word in Moorfields. I invited them in my Master's words, as well as name: *Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden; and I will give you rest.* The Lord was with me, even me, the meanest of his messengers, according to his promise. At St. Paul's, the psalms, lessons, &c. for the day, put new life into me: and so did the sacrament. My load was gone, and all my doubts and scruples. God shone on my path, and I knew this was his will concerning me. I walked to Kennington Common, and cried to multitudes upon multitudes, *Repent ye, and believe the gospel.* The Lord was my strength, and my mouth, and my wisdom. O that all would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness!"

At Oxford also, he had to sustain the severity of the dean on the subject of field-preaching; but he seized the opportunity of bearing his testimony to the doctrine of justification by faith, by preaching with great boldness before the university. On his return to London, he resumed field-preaching in Moorfields, and on Kennington Common. At one time it was computed that as many as ten thousand persons were collected, and great numbers were roused to a serious inquiry after religion. His word was occasionally attended with an overwhelming influence.

That great public attention should be excited by these extraordinary and novel proceedings; and that the dignitaries of the church, and the advocates of stillness and order should take the alarm at them, as "doubting whereunto this thing might grow," were inevitable consequences. A doctrine so obsolete, that on its revival it was regarded as new and dangerous, was now publicly proclaimed as the doctrine of the apostles and reformers; the con-

much encouragement from several bishops, and from the queen herself. By their rules they were obliged, at their weekly meetings, to discourse only on such subjects as tended to practical holiness, and to avoid all controversy; and besides relieving the poor, they were to promote schools, and the catechising of "young and ignorant persons in their respective families." These societies certainly opened a favorable prospect for the revival of religion in the Church of England: but, whether they were cramped by clerical jealousy, lest laymen should become too active in spiritual concerns; or that from their being bound by their orders to prosecute vice by calling in the aid of the magistrate, their moral influence among the populace was counteracted; they appear to have declined from about 1710; and although several societies still remained in London, Bristol, and a few other places, at the time when Mr. Wesley commenced his labors, they were not in a state of growth and activity. They had, however, been the means of keeping the spark of piety from entire extinction. The sixth edition of Dr. Woodward's account of these societies was published in 1744; but from that time we hear no more of them; they either gradually died away, or were absorbed in the Methodist societies. This, at least, was the case with several of them in London and Bristol; and with that of St. Ives, in Cornwall.

* Journal.

* Whitehead's Life.

sciousness of forgiveness of sins was professed by many, and enforced as the possible attainment of all; several clergymen, of talents and learning which would have given influence to any cause, endued with mighty zeal, and with a restless activity, instead of settling in parishes, were preaching in various churches and private rooms, and to vast multitudes in the open air, alternately in the metropolis, and at Bristol, Oxford, and the interjacent places. They alarmed the careless by bringing before them the solemnities of the last judgment; they explained the spirituality of that law, upon which the self-righteous trusted for salvation, and convinced them that the justification of man was by the grace of God alone through faith; and they roused the dozing adherents of mere forms, by teaching that true religion implies a change of the whole heart wrought by the Holy Ghost. With equal zeal and earnestness, they checked the pruriency of the Calvinistic system, as held by many Dissenters, by insisting that the law which cannot justify, was still the rule of life, and the standard of holiness to all true believers; and taught that mere doctrinal views of evangelical truth, however correct, were quite as vain and unprofitable as Pharisaism and formality, when made a substitute for vital faith, spirituality, and practical holiness. All this zeal was supported and made more noticeable, by the moral elevation of their character. Their conduct was scrupulously hallowed; their spirit gentle, tender, and sympathizing; their courage, bold and undaunted; their patience, proof against all reproach, hardships, persecutions; their charities to the poor unbounded to the full extent of all their resources; their labors were wholly gratuitous; and their wonderful activity and endurance of the fatigues of rapid travelling, seemed to destroy the distance of place, and to give them a sort of ubiquity in the vast circuit which they had then adopted as the field of their labors. For all these reasons, they "were men to be wondered at," even in this the infancy of their career; and as their ardor was increased by the effects which followed, the conversion of great numbers to God, of which the most satisfactory evidence was afforded, it disappointed those who anticipated that their zeal would soon cool, and that, "shorn of their strength" by opposition, reproach, and exhausting labors, they would become "like other men."

An infidel or semi-christian philosophy has its theories at hand to account for the appearance and conduct of such extraordinary men. If their own supposed "artifices," and the "temptation to place themselves at the head of a sect," will not solve the case; it then resorts "to the circumstances of the age," or to "that restless activity and ambition" which finds in them "a promising sphere of action, and is attracted onward by its first successes." Even many serious churchmen of later times, who contend that the great men of the reformation were raised up by divine Providence in mercy to the world, are kept by sectarian prejudices from acknowledging a similar providential leading in the case of the Wesleys, Whitefield, and Howell Harris, because the whole of the good effected, has not rested within their own pale, and all the sheep collected out of the wilderness have not been gathered into their own fold. The sober Christian will, however, resort to the first principles of his own religion in order to form his judgment. He will acknowledge that the Lord of the harvest has the prerogative of "sending forth his laborers;" that men who change the religious aspect of whole nations cannot be the offspring of chance, or the creation of circumstances; that, whatever there may be of personal fitness in them for the work, as in the eminent natural and acquired talents of St. Paul; and whatever there may be in circumstances to favor their usefulness, these things do not shut out the special agency of God, but make it the more manifest; since the first more strikingly marks his agency in preparing his own servants, and training his soldiers; and the second, his wisdom in choosing the times of their appearance, and the scenes of their labors, and thus setting before them "an open door, and effectual." Nor can it be allowed, if we abide by the doctrine of the Scriptures, that a real spiritual good could have been so extensively and uniformly effected, and "multitudes turned to the Lord," unless God had been with the instruments, seconding their labors, and "giving his own testimony to the word of his grace." The hand of God is equally conspicuous in connecting the leading events of their earlier history with their future usefulness. They were men "separated to the gospel of God;" and every devout and grateful Christian will not cease to recognize in their appearance, labors, and successes, the mercy of God to a land where "truth had fallen in the streets," and the people were sitting in darkness, and in the shadow of death.

CHAPTER VI.

We left Mr. Wesley at Bristol, in the summer of 1739, to which scene of labor, after a visit to London, he again returned. Kingswood was mentioned in the account given by Mr. Wesley, in the preceding chapter, of his labors; and in this district, inhabited by colliers, and, from its rudeness, a terror to the neighborhood, the preaching of the two brothers, and of Mr. Whitefield, was eminently successful. The colliers were even proverbial for wickedness; but many of them became truly exemplary for their piety. These had been exhorted, it seems, to go to Bristol to receive the sacrament; but their numbers were so considerable that the Bristol clergy,* averse to the additional labor imposed upon them, repelled them from the communion, on the plea that they did not belong to their parishes.

The effect of the leaven which had thus been placed in this mass of barbarism was made conspicuous in the following year, in the case of a riot, of which Mr. Charles Wesley gives the following account. Being informed that the colliers had risen, on account of the dearness of corn, and were marching for Bristol, he rode out to meet them and talk with them. Many seemed disposed to return with him to the school which had been built for their children; but the most desperate rushed violently upon them, beating them, and driving them away from their pacific adviser. He adds, "I rode up to a ruffian, who was striking one of our colliers, and prayed him rather to strike me. He answered, 'No, not for all the world,' and was quite overcome. I turned upon another, who struck my horse, and he also sunk into a lamb. Wherever I turned, Satan's cause lost ground, so that they were obliged to make one general assault, and the violent colliers forced the quiet ones into the town. I seized one of the tallest, and earnestly besought him to follow me. Yes, he said, that he would, all the world over. I pressed about six into the service. We met several parties, and stopped and exhorted them to follow us; and gleaning some from every company, we increased as we marched on singing to the school. From one

* Several of the Bristol clergy were at that time of a persecuting character. They induced a captain Williams, the master of a vessel trading to Georgia, to make an affidavit of some statements to the disadvantage of Mr. Wesley, in the affair of Mrs. Williamson; but they took care that he should set sail before they published it. This led to the publication of Mr. Wesley's first journal, as he states in the preface. In that journal he gave his own account of the matter, and they were silenced.

till three o'clock we spent in prayer, that evil might be prevented, and the lion chained. Then news was brought us that the colliers were returned in peace. They had walked quietly into the city, without sticks or the least violence. A few of the better sort of them went to the mayor and told their grievance; then they all returned as they came, without noise or disturbance. All who saw it were amazed. Nothing could more clearly have shown the change wrought among them than this conduct on such an occasion. "I found afterwards that all our colliers to a man had been forced away. Having learned of Christ not to resist evil, they went a mile with those who compelled them, rather than free themselves by violence. One man, the rioters dragged out of his sick bed, and threw him into the fish pond. Near twenty of Mr. Willis' men they had prevailed on, by threatening to fill up their pits, and bury them alive if they did not come up and bear them company."—"It was a happy circumstance that they forced so many of the Methodist colliers to go with them; as these, by their advice and example, restrained the savage fury of the others. This undoubtedly was the true cause why they all returned home without making any disturbance."

To a gentleman who requested some account of what had been done in Kingswood, Mr. John Wesley wrote the following statement:—

"Few persons have lived long in the west of England who have not heard of the colliers of Kingswood, a people famous, from the beginning hitherto, for neither fearing God nor regarding man: so ignorant of the things of God, that they seemed but one remove from beasts that perish, and therefore utterly without the desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it.

"Many, last winter, used tauntingly to say of Mr. Whitefield, 'If he will convert heathens, why does not he go to the colliers of Kingswood?' In the spring he did so. And as there were thousands who resorted to no place of public worship, he went after them into their own 'wilderness, to seek and save that which was lost.' When he was called away others went into 'the highways and hedges, to compel them to come in.' And, by the grace of God, their labor was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingswood does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naurally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamor and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of the people are mild, gentle, and easy to be entreated. They 'do not cry, neither strive;' and hardly is 'their voice heard in the streets,' or indeed in their own wood, unless when they are at their usual evening diversion, singing praise unto God their Saviour."

At this time Mr. Wesley visited Bath, where the celebrated Beau Nash, then lord of the ascendant in that city, attempted to confront the field-preacher.

"There was great expectation at Bath, of what a noted man was to do to me there: and I was much entreated 'not to preach; because no one knew what might happen.' By this report I also gained a much larger audience, among whom were many of the rich and great. I told them plainly, the Scripture had concluded them all under sin, high and low, rich and poor, one with another. Many of them seemed to be not a little surprised, and were sinking apace into seriousness, when their champion appeared, and, coming close to me, asked by what authority I did these things. I replied, By the authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the (now) archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid his hands upon me, and said, 'Take thou authority to preach the gospel.' He said, 'This is contrary to act of Parliament. This is a conventicle.' I answered, 'Sir, the conventicles mentioned in that act (as the preamble shows) are seditious meetings. But this is not such. Here is no shadow of sedition. Therefore it is not contrary to that act.' He replied, 'I say it is. And beside, your preaching frightens people out of their wits.' 'Sir, did you ever hear me preach?' 'No.' 'How then can you judge of what you never heard?' 'Sir, by common report. Common report is enough.' 'Give me leave, sir, to ask, Is not your name Nash?' 'My name is Nash.' 'Sir, I dare not judge of you by common report. I think it is not enough to judge by.' Here he paused a while, and having recovered himself, asked, 'I desire to know what this people come here for?' On which one replied, 'Sir, leave him to me. Let an old woman answer him.' 'You, Mr. Nash, take care of your body. We take care of our souls, and for the good of our souls we come here.' He replied not a word, but walked away.

"As I returned, the street was full of people, hurrying to and fro, and speaking great words. But when any of them asked, 'Which is he?' and I replied, 'I am he,' they were immediately silent. Several ladies following me into Mr. Merchant's house, the servant told me, there were some wanted to speak with me. I went to them, and said, 'I believe, ladies, the maid mistook; you only wanted to look at me.' I added, 'I do not expect that the rich and great should want either to speak with *me* or to hear *me*, for I speak the plain truth; a thing *you* hear little of, and do not desire to hear.' A few more words passed between us, and I retired."*

After visiting London, and preaching to vast multitudes in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and other places, some of whom were strangely affected, and many effectually awakened to a sense of sin. In October, Mr. Wesley had a pressing invitation to Wales, where, although the churches were shut against him, he preached in private houses, and in the open air, often during sharp frosts, and was gladly received by the people. "I have seen," says he, "no part of England so pleasant, for sixty and seventy miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in; and most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the gospel. I mean, if the expression seems strange, they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it; and as utterly ignorant of it they are as any Creek or Cherokee Indians. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ; many of them can say both the Lord's prayer and the belief; nay, and some, all the catechism; but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of gospel salvation, or of that faith whereby alone we are saved, than Chicali or Tomo Chachi. Now what spirit is he of who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harris, or an itinerant preacher? The word did not fall to the ground. Many repented, and believed the gospel. And some joined together to strengthen each other's hands in God, and to provoke one another to love and to good works."†

About this time he stated his doctrinal views in perhaps as clear a manner, though in a summary form, as at any period subsequently:—

"A serious clergyman desired to know in what points we differed from the church of England. I answered, To the best of my knowledge, in none; the doctrines we preach are the doctrines of the church of England, indeed the fundamental doc-

* Journal. † Ibid.

trines of the church clearly laid down both in her prayers, articles, and homilies.

"He asked, 'In what points then do you differ from the other clergy of the church of England?' I answered, In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the church; but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the church (though they own it not) I differ in the points following:—

"First, They speak of justification, either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it.

"Secondly, They speak of our own holiness or good works as the cause of our justification, or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God. I believe, neither our own holiness nor good works are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ are the whole and sole cause of it, or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God.

"Thirdly, They speak of good works as a condition of justification, necessarily previous to it. I believe, no good work can be previous to justification, nor, consequently, a condition of it; but that we are justified (being till that hour ungodly, and therefore incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone; faith, without works; faith, though producing all, yet including no good works.

"Fourthly, They speak of sanctification, or holiness, as if it were an outward thing; as if it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in these two points: 1. The doing no harm: 2. The doing good, as it is called; that is, the using the means of grace, and helping our neighbor.

"I believe it to be an inward thing, namely, 'the life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the divine nature; the mind that was in Christ;' or, 'the renewal of our heart after the image of Him that created us.'

"Lastly, They speak of the new birth as an outward thing; as if it were no more than baptism, or, at most, a change from outward wickedness to outward goodness, from a vicious to what is called a virtuous life. I believe it to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; an entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil, wherein we are born, to the image of God; a change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator, from earthly and sensual to heavenly and holy affections; in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness to those of the angels of God in heaven.

"There is therefore a wide, essential, fundamental, irreconcilable difference between us: so that if they speak the truth as it is in Jesus, I am found a false witness before God. But if I teach the way of God in truth, they are blind leaders of the blind."*

Disputes having arisen between the Methodists and Moravians, who still formed one society at Fetter-Lane, Mr. Wesley returned to London. Over this society he professed to have no authority, and, as it appeared, had but little influence. Various new doctrines of a mystical kind, which he thought dangerous, had been introduced by several of the teachers; and it seems he foresaw a separation from them to be inevitable, for he had taken a place near Moorfields, which had been used as a foundry for casting cannon; and on this visit he preached in it to very numerous congregations. He was on this and other visits to London unsuccessful in settling the disputes which had arisen in the society; and in June, 1740, he again came to London, and spent upwards of a month among them, occupied at intervals in the same attempt. His efforts being fruitless, he read to them the following paper:—

"About nine months ago, certain of you began to speak contrary to the doctrine we had till then received. The sum of what you asserted is this: 1. That there is no such thing as weak faith: that there is no justifying faith, where there is ever any doubt or fear; or where there is not, in the full sense, a new, a clean heart. 2. That a man ought not to use those ordinances of God, which our church terms means of grace, before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart. 3. You have often affirmed, that to search the Scriptures, to pray, or to communicate, before we have this faith, is to seek salvation by works; and till these works are laid aside, no man can receive faith.

"I believe these assertions to be flatly contrary to the word of God. I have warned you hereof again and again, and besought you to turn back to the law and to the testimony. I have borne with you long, hoping you would turn. But as I find you more and more confirmed in the error of your ways, nothing now remains but that I should give you up to God. You that are of the same judgment, follow me."—"I then," adds Mr. Wesley, "without saying any thing more, withdrew, as did eighteen or nineteen of the society."

Those who continued to adhere to him then met at the foundry, the whole number amounting to about seventy-two. The Moravian teacher Molther appears to have been the chief author of the novel opinions objected to by Mr. Wesley, whom however Peter Bohler thought Mr. Wesley misunderstood; which was not likely, as Mr. Charles Wesley mentions the same things in his journal. Towards the Moravian church at large, Mr. Wesley continued to feel an unabated affection; but as he was never a member of that church, and maintained only a kind of co-fraternity with those of them who were in London, when these became infected with novel opinions, his departure from them, with such as were of the same mind as himself, and were also members of the church of England, was a step of prudence and of peace. From a conversation which he had with Count Zinzendorf a short time afterwards, and which he has published, it would seem that a refined species of Antinomianism had crept in amongst the Moravians; and that the count was at that time by no means a teacher of the class of Peter Bohler. But, to affirm with Zinzendorf that there is nothing but imputed righteousness, and to reject inherent righteousness; to insist upon all our perfection being *in* Christ, and to deny the Christian perfection or maturity which believers derive *from* Him—was not in accordance with the Moravian church, appears from the following extract from the authorized exposition of their doctrines by Spangenberg, which, as the perversions of these "wrong-headed men" have been mentioned, it would be unjust to the body of Moravians to withhold:—

"Although this faith, which is so peculiar to all the children of God, that whoever has it not is no child of God, does no outward wonders and signs, raises none from the dead, removes no mountains, yet it does and performs other things, which are of much greater importance. What are those things? Answer: We through faith attain to the enjoyment of that which Christ hath by his sacrifice purchased for us. We are, (1.) Through faith in Jesus Christ made free from the dominion of sin. Paul says, 'Sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law, but under grace,' Rom. vi. 14.

"All those who believe in Jesus Christ are freed

*Journal.

from the curse and condemnation of the law; they obtain forgiveness of sins, become the adopted children of God, and are sealed with the Holy Ghost. These are they, then, who are made free from the dominion of sin, because they are under grace. Now when they are thus exhorted, 'Let not sin reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof; neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin,' &c. Rom. vi. 12, 13; they cannot say, O that is impossible for us; we are but sinful men: the flesh is weak, and the like. For they have Jesus Christ, who saveth his people from their sins; they have a Father in heaven, who heareth their prayer and supplication. The Holy Ghost dwells in their hearts, and strengthens them in all that is good. If they therefore do but rightly make use of the grace wherein through faith they stand, then sin can have no dominion over them. This is exactly what John says, 1 epist. iii. 9, 'Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin,' (he doth not let sin reign, or have dominion in his mortal body, that he should obey it in the lusts thereof,) 'for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.' That is, his heart will comply with no such thing; for he loves our Saviour, being a child of God, and a partaker of the Holy Ghost."*

Not only Antinomian errors, but mystic notions of ceasing from ordinances, and waiting for faith in *stillness*, greatly prevailed also among the Moravians in London, at this time, and were afterwards carried by them into many of the country Methodist societies in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and other places. Of the effect at Nottingham, Mr. Wesley gives a curious account in his Journal for June, 1743:—

"In the afternoon we went on to Nottingham, where Mr. Howe received us gladly. At eight the society met, as usual. I could not but observe, 1. That the room was not half full, which used, until very lately, to be crowded within and without. 2. That not one person who came in used any prayer at all; but every one immediately sat down, and began either talking to his neighbor, or looking about to see who was there. 3. That when I began to pray, there appeared a general surprise, no one offering to kneel down, and those who stood, choosing the most easy, indolent posture which they conveniently could. I afterwards looked for one of our hymn books upon the desk, (for I knew Mr. Howe had brought one from London,) but both that and the Bible were vanished away. And in the room lay the Moravian hymns, and the Count's sermons."†

That incautious book, Luther on the Galatians, appears to have been the source of the Antinomianism of the Moravians; and their quietism they learned from Madame Guion, and other French mystic writers.

The Methodist society, as that name distinguishes the people who to this day acknowledge Mr. Wesley as their founder under God, was, properly speaking, as a society specially under his pastoral charge, collected in this year, (1740,) at the chapel in Moorfields, where he regularly preached, and where by the blessing of God, upon his and Mr. Charles Wesley's labors, the society rapidly increased. For this, and for the societies in Bristol, Kingswood, and other parts, he, in 1743, drew up a set of rules, which continue in force to the present time, and the observance of which was then, and continues to be, the condition of membership. They are so well known as to render it unnecessary to quote them. It may only be observed, that they enjoin no peculiar opinions, and relate entirely to moral conduct, to charitable offices, and to the observance of the ordinances of God. Churchmen or dissenters, walking by these rules, might become and remain members of these societies, provided they held their doctrinal views and disciplinary prepossessions in peace and charity. The sole object of the union was to assist the members to "make their calling and election sure," by cultivating the religion of the heart, and a holy conformity to the laws of Christ. These rules bear the signature of John and Charles Wesley.

Mr. Wesley's mother about this time began to attend his ministry. She had been somewhat prejudiced against her sons by reports of their "errors" and "extravagancies;" but was convinced, upon hearing them, that they spoke "according to the oracles of God." There is an interesting entry in Mr. Wesley's journal respecting this venerable woman:—

"September 3, I talked largely with my mother, who, told me, that, till a short time since, she had scarce heard such a thing mentioned as the having forgiveness of sins now, or God's Spirit bearing witness with our spirit. Much less did she imagine, that this was the common privilege of all true believers. 'Therefore,' said she, 'I never durst ask for it myself. But two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall was pronouncing those words, in delivering the cup to me, *The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee;* the words struck through my heart, and I knew God for Christ's sake had forgiven me all my sins.'

"I asked, whether her father (Dr. Annesley) had not the same faith; and whether she had not heard him preach it to others. She answered, 'He had it himself, and declared a little before his death, that for more than forty years, he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt at all of his being *accepted in the Beloved.*' But that, nevertheless, she did not remember to have heard him preach, no, not once, explicitly upon it: whence she supposed he also looked upon it as the peculiar blessing of a few, not as promised to all the people of God."*

The extraordinary manner in which some persons were frequently affected under Mr. Wesley's preaching, as well as that of his coadjutors, now created much discussion, and to many gave great offence. Some were seized with trembling; others sunk down and uttered loud and piercing cries; others fell into a kind of agony. In some instances whilst prayer was offered for them, they rose up with a sudden change of feeling, testifying that they had "redemption through the blood of Christ, even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." Mr. Samuel Wesley, who denied the knowledge of the forgiveness of sins, treated these things, in a correspondence with his brother, alternately with sarcasm and serious severity, and particularly attacked the doctrine of assurance. In this controversy, Mr. John Wesley attaches no weight whatever to these outward agitations; but contends that he is bound to believe the profession made by many, who had been so affected, of an inward change, because that had been confirmed by their subsequent conduct and spirit. On the subject of assurance, the disputants put forth their logical acuteness; but the result appears to have been upon the whole instructive to the elder brother: whose letters soften considerably towards the close of the dispute. Mr. Samuel Wesley died in the following November. The circumstances to which he objected, although he knew them only by report, and was too far removed from the scene to be an accurate judge, have since that time furnished ample subject for serious or satirical animadversion to many

* Exposition, pp. 215, 216. † Journal.

* Journal.

writers, and to none more than to Dr. Southey.* A few general remarks upon this point may not therefore be here out of place. By this writer it is affirmed, that great importance was attached by Mr. Wesley to those emotions, and bodily affections, which occasionally occurred; and that the most visionary persons, and those who pretended ecstacies, dreams, &c. were, at least in the early part of his ministry, the objects of his special respect, as eminently holy and favored. This is so far from the fact, that it is difficult to meet with a divine whose views of religion are more practical and definite. He did not deny that occasionally "God," even now, "speaketh in a dream, in a vision of the night," and that he may thus "open the ears of men to instruction, and command them to depart from iniquity;" he believed that, in point of fact, many indisputable cases of this kind have occurred in modern times; and in this belief he agreed with many of the wisest and best of men. He has recorded some cases of what may be called ecstacy, generally without an opinion of his own, leaving every one to form his own judgment from the recorded fact. He unquestionably believed in special effusions of the influence of the Holy Spirit upon congregations and individuals, producing powerful emotions of mind, expressed in some instances by bodily affections; and he has furnished some facts on which Dr. Southey has exercised his philosophy, with a success, probably, more satisfactory to himself, than convincing to his readers. But that any thing extraordinary, either of bodily or mental affection, was with Mr. Wesley, at any time of his life, of itself, deemed so important as to be regarded as a mark of superior piety, is a most unfounded assumption. Those of his sermons which contain the doctrines which he deemed essential; his notes on the New Testament; and the rules by which every member of his societies was required to be governed, are sufficiently in refutation of this notion. In them no reference is made to any thing visionary as a part, however small, of true religion; unless, indeed, all spiritual religion, changing the heart, and sanctifying the affections, be thought visionary. The rule of admission into his societies was "a desire to fly from the wrath to come," but then the sincerity of this was to be evidenced by corresponding "fruits" in the conduct; and on this condition only, further explained by detailed regulations, all of them simple and practical, were the members to remain in connection with him. These rules are the standing evidence, that, from the first formation of the Methodist societies, neither a speculative nor a visionary scheme of religion was the basis of their union. Had Mr. Wesley placed religion, in the least, in those circumstances, he would have set up a very different standard of doctrine in his sermons; and the rules of his societies would have borne an equivocal and mystic character.

That cases of real enthusiasm occurred at this and subsequent periods is indeed allowed. There are always nervous, dreamy, and excitable people to be found; and the emotion which was produced among those who were really so "pricked in the heart," as to cry with a sincerity equal to that which was felt by those of old, "What shall we do to be saved?" would often be communicated to such persons by natural sympathy. No one could be blamed for this, unless he had encouraged the excitement for its own sake, or taught the people to regard it as a sign of grace, which most assuredly Mr. Wesley never did. Nor is it correct to represent these effects, genuine and factitious together, as peculiar to Methodism. A great impression was made by the preaching of the Wesleys and Mr. Whitefield, in almost all places where they went. Thousands in the course of a few years, and of those too who had lived in the greatest unconcern as to spiritual things, and were most ignorant and depraved in their habits, were recovered from their vices, and the moral appearance of whole neighborhoods was changed. Yet the effects were not without precedent even in those circumstances in which they have been thought most singular and exceptionable. Great and rapid results of this kind were produced in the first ages of Christianity, but not without "outcries," and strong corporeal as well as mental emotions, nay, and extravagancies too. By perversion, even condemnable heresies arose, and a rank and real enthusiasm: but will any man from this argue against Christianity itself; or asperse the labors and characters of those holy men who planted its genuine root in Asia, Africa, and Europe? Will he say, that as, through the corrupt nature of men, evil often accompanies good, one is to be confounded with the other, and that those great evangelists were the authors of the evil because they were the instruments of the benefit? Even in the decline of true piety in the church of Christ, there were not wanting holy and zealous ministers to carry out the tidings of salvation, to the barbarous ancestors of European nations; and strong and effectual impressions were made by their faithful and powerful preaching, upon the savage multitudes who surrounded them, accompanied with many effects similar to those which attended the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield; but all who went on these sacred missions were not enthusiasts; nor were all the conversions effected by them a mere exchange of superstitions. Such objectors might have known that like effects often accompanied the preaching of eminent men at the reformation, and that many of the Puritan and Non-conformist ministers had similar successes in large districts in our own country. They might have known that, in Scotland, and also among the grave Presbyterians of New England, previous to the rise of Methodism, such impressions had not unfrequently been produced by the ministry of faithful men, attended by very similar circumstances; and they might have been informed that, though on a smaller scale, the same results have followed the ministry of modern missionaries of different religious societies in various parts of the world. It may be laid down as a principle established by fact, that, whenever a zealous and faithful ministry is raised up, after a long spiritual death, the early effects of that ministry are not only powerful, but often attended with extraordinary circumstances; nor are such extraordinary circumstances necessarily extravagancies because they are not common. If there be an explicit truth in Scripture, it is, that the success of the ministry of the gospel, in the conversion of men, is the consequence of divine influence; and if there be a well ascertained fact in ecclesiastical story, it is, that no great and indisputable results of this kind have been produced, but by men who have *acknowledged* this truth, and have gone forth in humble dependence upon that promised co-operation contained in the words, "And lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." This fact, equally striking and notorious, is a strong confirmation that the sense of the sacred oracles on this point, was not mistaken by them. The testimony of the word of God is, that, as to ministerial success, "God giveth the increase:" the testimony of experience is, that no success in producing true conversion, has ever taken place in any church, but when this co-operation of God has been acknowledged and sought by the agents employed in it.

The doctrine of divine influence, as necessary to the conversion of men, being thus grounded on

* Life of Wesley.

the evidence of Scripture, and further confirmed by fact, it may follow, and that in perfect conformity with revelation, that such influence may be dispensed in different degrees at different periods. That it was more eminently exerted at the first establishment of Christianity, than at some other periods, is certain; and that not only in extraordinary gifts, (for though these might awaken attention and silence unbelief, we have the evidence of Scripture history to prove, that miracles cannot of themselves convert men from vice,) but in sanctifying energy, without which the heart is never brought to yield to the authority and will of God in its choice and affections. That in various subsequent periods, there have been special dispensations of favor to nations, with reference to the improvement of their moral state, is clear from a fact which cannot be denied, that eminently holy and gifted men have been raised up at such periods, for the benefit of the countries and the age in which they appeared, from whose exertions they have derived the highest moral advantages. For the reasons we have given, we cannot refer the appearance of such men to chance, nor the formation of their characters to the circumstances and spirit of "stirring times." We leave these conclusions to the philosophy of the world; and recognize in the appearance of such instruments, the merciful designs and special grace of Him "who worketh all and in all." But the argument is, that if such men have really been the instruments of "turning many to righteousness," and that if the principles of our religion forbid us to believe that this can be done by any gifts or qualities in them, however lofty; then, according to the Scripture doctrine, they were "workers together with God," and the age in which they labored was distinguished by a larger effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of men. Why this should occur at one time more eminently than at another, we pretend not to say; but even this notion, so enthusiastic probably to many, is still in conformity to the word of God, which declares that "the wind bloweth where it listeth," and that the influence of the Holy Spirit, like the atmosphere, is subject to laws not ascertainable by man; and if this effusion of his influence argue especial, though undeserved favor to particular nations and ages, this is not more difficult to account for than that, at some periods and places, men of eminent usefulness should be sent into the world, when they do not appear in others, which being a mere matter of fact, leaves no room for cavil. This view, likewise, accords with what the Scriptures teach us to expect as to the future. For the accomplishment of the sublime consummation of the divine counsels, agents of great efficiency and qualifications, we believe, will from time to time appear; but our hope does not rest on them, but on Him only who has explicitly promised to "pour out his Spirit upon all flesh," at once to give efficiency to instruments in themselves feeble, however gifted, and so "to order the unruly wills and passions of men," that they may be subdued and sanctified by the truth. If such effusions of divine influence be looked for, and on such principles, as the means of spreading the power of Christianity generally, we may surely believe it quite accordant both with the spirit and letter of Scripture, that the same influence should often be exerted to preserve and to revive religion; and that if nations, already Christian, are to be the instruments of extending Christianity, not in name only, but in its spirit and sanctity into all the earth, they should be prepared for this high designation by the special exercise of the same agency turning them from what is merely formal in religion to its realities, and making them examples to others, of the purifying grace of the gospel of God our Saviour. Let it then be supposed, (no great presumption indeed,) that Christians have quite as good a foundation for these opinions, as others can boast for that paltry philosophy, by which they would explain the effects produced by the preaching of holy and zealous ministers in different ages; and we may conclude that such effects, as far as they are genuine, are the result of divine influence; and, when numerous and rapid, of a divine influence specially and eminently exerted, giving more than ordinary assistance to the minds of men in their religious concerns, and rendering the obstinate more inexcusable by louder and more explicit calls. Of the extraordinary circumstances which have usually accompanied such visitations, it may be said, that if some should be resolved into purely natural causes, some into real enthusiasm, and (under favor of our philosophers) others into satanic imitation, a sufficient number will remain, which can only be explained by considering them as results of a strong impression made upon the consciences and affections of men, by an influence ascertained to be divine, though usually exerted through human instrumentality, by its unquestionable effects upon the heart and life. Nor is it either irrational or unscriptural to suppose, that times of great national darkness and depravity, the case certainly of this country at the outset of Mr. Wesley and his colleagues in their glorious career, should require a strong remedy; and that the attention of a sleeping people, should be roused by circumstances which could not fail to be noticed by the most unthinking. We do not attach primary importance to secondary circumstances; but they are not to be wholly disregarded. The Lord was not in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the "still small voice;" yet that "still small voice" might not have been heard, except by minds roused from their inattention by the shaking of the earth, and the sounding of the storm.

If, however, no special and peculiar effusion of divine influence on the minds of many of Mr. Wesley's hearers be supposed; if we only assume the exertion of that ordinary influence which, as we have seen, must accompany the labors of every minister of Christ to render them successful in serving men, the strong emotions often produced by the preaching of the founder of Methodism might be accounted for on principles very different from those adopted by many objectors. The multitudes to whom he preached were generally grossly ignorant of the gospel; and he poured upon their minds a flood of light; his discourses were plain, pointed, earnest, and affectionate; the feeling produced was deep, piercing, and in numberless cases such as we have no right, if we believe the Bible, to attribute to any other cause than that inward operation of God with his truth which alone can render human means effectual. Many of those on whom such impressions were made retired in silence, and nurtured them by reflection. The "stricken deer" hastened into solitude, there to bleed, unobserved by all but God. This was the case with the majority; for visible and strong emotions were the occasional, and not the constant results. At some seasons, indeed, effects were produced, which, on Christian principles, we may hesitate not to say, can only be accounted for on the assumption that the influence was both divine and special; at others, the impression was great, but yet we need assume nothing more than the ordinary blessing of God which accompanies "the word of his grace," when delivered in the fulness of faith and love, in order to account for it But beside those who were silently pierced, and whose minds were sufficiently strong to command their emotions, there were often many of a class not accustomed to put such restraints upon themselves.

To a powerful feeling they offered but a slight resistance, and it became visible. To many people, then, as now, this would appear extravagant; but on what principle can the genuineness of the impression be questioned? Only if no subsequent fruit appeared. For if a true conversion followed, then, if there be truth in religion itself, the "finger of God" must be acknowledged.

We have hitherto seen Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield laboring together in harmony, and uniting in a common design to promote the revival of scriptural Christianity through the land. But Mr. Wesley, about this time, being impressed with the strong tendency of the Calvinistic doctrines to produce Antinomianism, published a sermon against absolute predestination, at which Mr. Whitefield, who sometime previously had embraced that notion, took offence. A controversy between them, embracing some other points, ensued, which issued in a temporary estrangement; and they labored from this time independently of each other; their societies in London, Kingswood, and other places, being kept quite separate.

A reconciliation however took place between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield in January, 1750, so that they preached in each other's chapels. The following entry on this subject appears in his Journal:—"Friday, 19th. In the evening I read prayers at the chapel in West street, and Mr. Whitefield preached a plain, affectionate discourse. Sunday, 21. He read prayers, and I preached. Sunday, 28. I read prayers, and Mr. Whitefield preached. How wise is God, in giving different talents to different preachers! So by the blessing of God, one more stumbling block is removed."

The following extract from Mr. Whitefield's will is a pleasing instance of generous, truly Christian feeling:—"I leave a mourning ring to my honored and dear friends, and disinterested fellow-laborers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them in heart and Christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine."*

Mr. Wesley, at Mr. Whitefield's own desire, preached his funeral sermon at the Tabernacle, Moorfields.

Several preachers were now employed by Mr. Wesley to assist in the growing work, which already had swelled beyond even his and his brother's active powers suitably to supply with the ministration of the word of God. Mr. Charles Wesley had discouraged this from the beginning, and even he himself hesitated; but, with John, the promotion of religion was the first concern, and church order the second, although inferior in consideration to that only. With Charles these views were often reversed. Mr. Wesley, in the year 1741, had to caution his brother against joining the Moravians, after the example of Mr. Gambold, to which he was at that time inclined; and adds, "I am not clear, that brother Maxfield should not expound at Grey-hound Lane; nor can I as yet do without him. Our clergymen have increased full as much as the preachers." Mr. Maxfield's preaching had the strong sanction of the countess of Huntingdon; but so little of design, with reference to the forming of a sect, had Mr. Wesley, in the employment of Mr. Maxfield, that, in his own absence from London, he had only authorized him to pray with the society, and to advise them as might be needful; and upon his beginning to preach, he hastened back to silence him. On this his mother addressed him, "John, you know what my sentiments have been. You cannot suspect me of favoring readily any thing of this kind. But take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach, as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him also yourself." He took this advice, and could not venture to forbid him.

His defence of himself on this point we may pronounce irrefutable, and turns upon the disappointment of his hopes, that the parochial clergy would take the charge of those who in different places had been turned to God by his ministry, and that of his fellow-laborers.

"It pleased God," says Mr. Wesley, "by two or three ministers of the church of England, to call many sinners to repentance, who, in several parts, were undeniably turned from a course of sin to a course of holiness.

"The ministers of the places where this was done ought to have received those ministers with open arms; and to have taken those persons who had just begun to serve God, into their particular care; watching over them in tender love, lest they should fall back into the snares of the devil.

"Instead of this, the greater part spoke of those ministers, as if the devil, not God, had sent them. Some repelled them from the Lord's table; others stirred up the people against them, representing them even in their public discourses, as fellows not fit to live; papists, heretics, traitors; conspirators against their king and country.

"And how did they watch over the sinners lately reformed? Even as a leopard watcheth over his prey. They drove some of them from the Lord's table; to which, till now, they had no desire to approach. They preached all manner of evil concerning them, openly cursing them in the name of the Lord. They turned many out of their work, persuaded others to do so too, and harassed them in all manner of ways.

"The event was, that some were wearied out, and so turned back to the vomit again: and then these good pastors gloried over them, and endeavored to shake others by their example.

"When the ministers, by whom God had helped them before, came again to those places, great part of their work was to begin again, if it could be begun again; but the relapsers were often so hardened in sin, that no impression could be made upon them.

"What could they do in a case of so extreme necessity, where so many souls lay at stake?

"No clergyman would assist at all. The expedient that remained was, to find some one among themselves who was upright of heart, and of sound judgment in the things of God; and to desire him to meet the rest as often as he could, in order to confirm them, as he was able, in the ways of God, either by reading to them, or by prayer, or by exhortation."

This statement may indeed be considered as affording the key to all that which, with respect to church order, may be called irregularity in Mr. Wesley's future proceedings. God had given him large fruits of his ministry in various places; when he was absent from them, the people were "as sheep having no shepherd," or were rather persecuted by their natural pastors, the clergy; he was reduced, therefore, to the necessity of leaving them without religious care, or of providing it for them. He wisely chose the latter; but, true to his own principles, and even prejudices, he carried this no farther than the necessity of the case: the hours of service were in no instance to interfere with those of the establishment, and at the parish church the members were exhorted to communicate. Thus a religious society was raised up within the national church, and with this anomaly, that as to all its interior arrangements, as a society, it was independ-

* Journal.

ent of its ecclesiastical authority. The irregularity was, in *principle*, as great when the first step was taken as at any future time. It was a form of practical and partial separation, though not of theoretical dissent; but it arose out of a moral necessity, and existed for some years in such a state, that, had the clergy been disposed to co-operate in this evident revival and spread of true religion, and had the heads of the church been willing to sanction itinerant labors among its ministers, and private religious meetings among the serious part of the people for mutual edification, the great body of Methodists might have been retained in communion with the church of England

On this matter, which was often brought before the leading and influential clergy, they made their own election. They refused to co-operate; they doubtless thought that they acted right; and, excepting the obloquy and persecution with which they followed an innocent and pious people, they perhaps did so; for a great innovation would have been made upon the discipline of the church, for which, at that time at least, it was little prepared. But the clergy, having made their election, have no right, as some of them continue to do, to censure either the founders of Methodism or their people for making more ample provision for their spiritual wants. It was imperative upon the former to provide that pastoral care for the souls brought to God by their labors, which the church could not or would not afford; and the people had a Christian liberty to follow that course which they seriously believed most conducive to their own edification, as well as a liberty by the very laws of their country. The violent clerical writers against Methodism have usually forgotten, that no man in England is bound to the national church by any thing but moral influence; and that from every other tie he is set free by the laws which recognise and protect religious liberty. Mr. Wesley resisted all attempts at formal separation, still hoping that a more friendly spirit would spring up among the clergy; and he even pressed hard upon the consciences of his people to effect their uniform and constant attendance at their parish churches, and at the sacrament; but he could not long and generally succeed. Where the clergyman of a parish was moral or pious there was no difficulty; but cases of conscience were continually arising among his societies, as to the lawfulness of attending the ministry of the irreligious and profane clergymen, who were then and long afterward found throughout the land; and as to hearing, and training up children to hear, false and misleading doctrines, Pelagian, Antinomian, or such as were directed in some form against the religion of the heart as taught in the Scriptures, and in the services of the national church. These cases exceedingly perplexed Mr. Wesley; and though he relaxed his strictness in some instances, yet as he did not sufficiently yield to meet the whole case, and perhaps could not do it without adopting such an ecclesiastical organization of his societies as would have contradicted the principles to which, as to their relation to the church, he had, perhaps, overhastily and peremptorily committed himself; the effect was, that long before his death, the attendance of the Methodists at such parish churches as had not pious ministers was exceedingly scanty; and as they were not permitted public worship among themselves in the hours of church service, a great part of the Sabbath was lost to them, except as they employed it in family and private exercises. So also as to the Lord's supper; as it was not then administered by their own preachers, it fell into great and painful neglect. To meet the case in part, the two brothers, and a few clergymen who joined them, had public service in church hours, in the chapels in London and some other places, and administered the Lord's supper to numerous communicants; a measure, which, like other inconsistencies of a similar kind, grew out of a sense of duty, warring with, and restrained by, strong prepossessions, and the very sincere but very unfounded hope just mentioned, that a more friendly spirit would be awakened among the clergy, and that all the sheep gathered out of the wilderness would at length be kindly welcomed into the national fold. As ecclesiastical irregularities, these measures stood, however, precisely on the same principle as those subsequent changes which have rendered the body of Methodists still more distinct and separate; a subject to which reference will again be made. The warmest advocates of church Methodism among ourselves were never consistent churchmen; and the church writers, who have set up the example of Mr. Wesley against his more modern followers, have been wholly ignorant or unmindful of his history. Dr. Southey, and others who have fancied a *plan* of separation in Mr. Wesley's mind from the beginning, though followed cautiously and with policy "step by step," have shown a better acquaintance with the *facts* of the progress of Methodism; though they have been most unjust to the pure and undesigning mind of its founder; who walked "step by step," it is true, but only as Providence by an arrangement of circumstances seemed to lead the way; and would make no change but as a necessity arising from conscientious views of the prosperity of a spiritual work, appeared to dictate. Had he looked forward to the forming of a distinct sect, as an *honor*, he would have attempted to enjoy it in its fulness during his life, and had he been so skilful a *designer* as some have represented him; he would not have left a large body unprovided for, in many respects essential to its prosperity and permanence, at his death. He left his work unfinished, and he knew that he should leave it in that state; but he threw the final results, in the spirit of a strong faith, upon the care of Him whose hand he had seen in it from the beginning.

CHAPTER VII.

We have now to follow these apostolic men into still more extended fields of labor, and to contests more formidable. They had sustained many attacks from the press; and some frowns from the authorities of the church. By mobs they had occasionally been insulted both in England and Wales. But in London, some riotous proceedings of a somewhat violent character, now occurred at their places of worship. With respect to these, the following anecdote is curious, as it shows that Mr. Wesley's zeal was regarded with favor in a high quarter: "On the last day of 1742, Sir John Ganson called upon Mr. Wesley, and said, 'Sir, you have no need to suffer these riotous mobs to molest you, as they have done long. I and all the other Middlesex magistrates have orders from above to do you justice whenever you apply to us.' Two or three weeks after, they did apply. Justice was done, though not with rigor; and from that time the Methodists had peace in London."*

In the discipline of Methodism, the division of the society into classes is an important branch. Each class is placed under a person of experience and piety, who meets the others once a-week, for prayers, and inquiry into the religious state of each, in order to administer exhortation and counsel. The origin of these classes was, however, purely accidental. The chapel at Bristol was in debt;

* Whitehead's Life.

and it was agreed that each member of the society should contribute one penny a-week to reduce the burden. The Bristol society was therefore divided into classes; and for convenience, one person was appointed to collect the weekly subscriptions from each class, and to pay the amount to the stewards. The advantage of this system, when turned to a higher purpose, at once struck the methodical and practical mind of Mr. Wesley: he therefore invited several "earnest and sensible men" to meet him; and the society in London was divided into classes like that of Bristol, and placed under the spiritual care of these tried and experienced persons. At first they visited each person, at his own residence, once a-week; but the preferable mode of bringing each class together weekly was at length adopted. These meetings were not, as some have supposed, inquisitorial; but their business is confined to statements of religious experience, and the administration of friendly and pious counsel. Mutual acquaintance with each other is thus formed; the leader is the friend and adviser of all; and among the members, by their praying so often with and for each other, the true "fellowship of saints" is promoted. Opportunities are also thus afforded for ascertaining the wants of the poorer members, and obtaining relief for them; and for visiting the sick; the duty of a leader being to see his members once in the week, either at the meeting, or, if absent from that, at home. Upon this institution Mr. Wesley remarks, "Upon reflection, I could not but observe, this is the very thing which was from the beginning of Christianity. In the earliest times, those whom God had sent forth 'preached the gospel to every creature.' The body of *hearers* were mostly either Jews or heathens. But as soon as any of these were so convinced of the truth as to forsake sin, and seek the gospel of salvation, they immediately joined them together, took an account of their names, advised them to watch over each other, and met these κατηχυμενοι, *catechumens*, as they were then called, apart from the great congregation, that they might instruct, rebuke, exhort, and pray with them, and for them, according to their several necessities." *

A current charge against Mr. Wesley, about this time, was, that he was a papist; and from the frequent references to it in his journal, although it was treated by him with characteristic sprightliness, it appears to have been the occasion of much popular odium, arising from the fears entertained by the nation of the movements of the Pretender. In his Journal, March, 1741, he says, "Calling on a person near Grosvenor Square, I found there was but too much reason here for crying out of the increase of popery; many converts to it being continually made by the gentleman who preaches in Swallow-street three days in every week. Now, why do not the champions, who are continually crying out, 'popery, popery,' in Moorfields, come hither, that they may not always be fighting 'as one that beateth the air?' Plainly because they have no mind to fight at all, but to show their valor without an opponent. And they well know, they may defy popery at the Foundry without any danger of contradiction." And some time afterward, he remained in London, from whence all papists had been ordered by proclamation to depart, a week longer than he intended, that he might not seem to plead guilty to the charge. The notion that the Methodists were papists was also, in those times, the occasion of their being persecuted in several places in the country.

Mr. Wesley now extended his labors northward. He first accepted an invitation into Leicestershire, and has the following amusing anecdote in his Journal: "I stopped a little at Newport-Pagnell, and then rode on till I overtook a serious man, with whom I immediately fell into conversation. He presently gave me to know what his opinions were; therefore I said nothing to contradict them. But that did not content him; he was quite uneasy to know whether I held the doctrine of the decrees as he did. But I told him over and over, we had better keep to practical things, lest we should be angry at one another; and so we did for two miles, till he caught me unawares, and dragged me into the dispute before I knew where I was. He then grew warmer and warmer;—told me I was rotten at heart, and supposed I was one of John Wesley's followers. I told him, 'No! I am John Wesley himself!' Upon which he appeared,

Improvisum aspris velutiqui sentibus anguem
Pressit——

'as one who had unawares trodden on a snake,' and would gladly have run away outright. But being the better mounted of the two, I kept close to his side, and endeavored to show him his heart till we came into the street of Northampton." In this journey he visited Yorkshire. At Bristol and the neighborhood many persons had been awakened to a serious concern by the conversation and preaching of honest John Nelson, who had himself been brought to the knowledge of God in London, by attending the service at the Foundry, and had returned to his friends in Yorkshire, chiefly moved by a strong desire to promote their salvation. The natural genius of this excellent man, who afterwards suffered much persecution, and was barbarously treated by the magistrates and clergy, was admirably acute, and gave to his repartees a surprising power and convincingness. He greatly excelled in conversation on religious subjects; and his journal is one of the most interesting pieces of biography published among the Methodists. When Mr. Wesley reached Birstal, he found that he had been the instrument of very extensive good, so that the moral aspect of the town had been changed. After preaching to a large congregation on Birstal Hill, and on the side of Dewsbury Moor, and encouraging Mr. Nelson in his endeavors to do good, Mr. Wesley proceeded to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, hoping to have the same fruit of his labors among the colliers of that district as he had seen among those of Kingswood. So true was this lover of the souls of men to his own advice to his preachers, "Go not only to those who need you, but to those who need you most."

On walking through the town, after he had taken some refreshment, he observes, "I was surprised; so much drunkenness, cursing and swearing, even from the mouths of little children, do I never remember to have seen and heard before in so short a time." Sunday, May 30th, at seven in the morning he walked down to Sandgate, the poorest and most contemptible part of the town, and standing at the end of the street with John Taylor, began to sing the hundredth psalm. "Three or four people," says he, "came out to see what was the matter, who soon increased to four or five hundred. I suppose there might be twelve or fifteen hundred before I had done preaching, to whom I applied these solemn words, 'He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed.'"

In returning southward, he preached in various parts of Yorkshire; and visiting Epworth, where a small society of Methodists had been collected, and finding the use of the church denied him, he stood upon his father's tomb, and preached to a numerous congregation, who, as well as himself, appear to have been deeply impressed with the circumstance

* Journal.

of the son speaking to them, as from the ashes of his father, on those solemn subjects on which that venerable parish priest had faithfully addressed them for so many years. This was Sunday, June 6th, 1742, and on the Wednesday following, he humorously relates, "I rode over to a neighboring town, to wait upon a justice of peace, a man of candor and understanding; before whom, I was informed, their angry neighbors had carried a whole wagon load of these new heretics. But when he asked what they had done, there was a deep silence; for that was a point their conductors had forgot. At length one said, 'Why, they pretend to be better than other people; and, besides, they pray from morning till night.'—Mr. S— asked, 'But have they done nothing besides?' 'Yes, Sir,' said an old man, 'An't please your worship, they have *convarted* my wife. Till she went among them, she had such a tongue; and now she is as quiet as a lamb.' 'Carry them back, carry them back,' replied the justice, and let them convert all the scolds in the town.'" *

On the Sunday following he also preached at Epworth, and remarks, "At six I preached for the last time in Epworth churchyard (being to leave town the next morning) to a vast multitude gathered together from all parts, on the beginning of our Lord's sermon on the mount. I continued among them for near three hours; and yet we scarce knew how to part. O let none think his labor of love is lost, because the fruit does not immediately appear. Near forty years did my father labor here; but he saw little fruit of all his labor. I took some pains among this people too; and my strength also seemed to be spent in vain. But now the fruit appeared. There were scarce any in the town, on whom either my father or I had taken any pains formerly, but the seed sown so long since now sprung up, bringing forth repentance and remission of sins." †

The following remarks on a sermon he heard at Painswick, occur in his Journal about this time, and deserve notice:—"I went to church at ten, and heard a remarkable discourse, asserting, 'that we are justified by faith alone; but that this faith, which is the previous condition of justification, is the complex of all Christian virtues, including all holiness and good works in the very idea of it.'

"Alas! How little is the difference between asserting, either, 1. That we are justified by works, which is popery bare-faced; (and indeed so gross that the sober papists, those of the council of Trent in particular, are ashamed of it;) or, 2. That we are justified by faith and works, which is popery refined or veiled: (but with so thin a veil that every attentive observer must discern it is the same still;) or, 3. That we are justified by faith alone, but by such a faith as includes all good works.‡ What a poor shift is this—'I will not say we are justified by works, nor yet by faith and works, because I have subscribed articles and homilies which maintain just the contrary. No; I say we are justified by faith alone. But then by faith I mean works!'"

After visiting Bristol, he was recalled to London to attend the last moments of his mother:—"Friday, July 30th, about three in the afternoon, I went to my mother, and found her change was near. I sat down on the bed-side. She was in her last conflict, unable to speak, but, I believe, quite sensible. Her look was calm and serene, and her eyes fixed upward, while we commended her soul to God. From three to four, the silver cord was loosening, and the wheel breaking at the cistern; and then, without any struggle, or sigh, or groan, the soul was set at liberty. We stood round the bed, and fulfilled her last request, uttered a little before she lost her speech, 'Children, as soon as I am released, sing a psalm of praise to God.'" *

So decided a witness was this venerable and intellectual woman of the assurance of faith; a doctrine she had learned from her sons more clearly to understand. To their sound views, on this scriptural and important subject, the latter years of her life and her death, gave a testimony which to them must have been, in the highest degree, delightful and encouraging. The following beautiful epitaph, written by her son Charles, was inscribed on her tombstone in Bunhill Fields:—

"In sure and steadfast hope to rise,
And claim her mansion in the skies,
A Christian here her flesh laid down,
The cross exchanging for a crown.

True daughter of affliction, she,
Inured to pain and misery,
Mourn'd a long night of griefs and fears,
A legal night of seventy years.

The Father then reveal'd his Son,
Him in the broken bread made known:
She knew and felt her sins forgiven,
And found the earnest of her heaven.

Meet for the fellowship above,
She heard the call, 'Arise, my love!'
'I come,' her dying looks replied,
And lamb-like, as her Lord, she died."

The labors of Mr. Charles Wesley had been very extended and arduous during the early part of the year 1743, and, by the divine blessing, eminently successful. From the west of England he proceeded to the colliers of Staffordshire, who had before been visited, and found that the society at Wednesbury had increased to more than three hundred, of whose religious state he speaks, in his Journal, with strong feelings of joy. At Walsall, he preached on the market-house steps:—

"The street was full of fierce Ephesian beasts, (the principal man setting them on,) who roared and shouted, and threw stones incessantly. At the conclusion a stream of ruffians was suffered to beat me down from the steps: I rose, and having given the blessing, was beat down again; and so a third time. When we had returned thanks to the God of our salvation, I then from the steps bid them depart in peace, and walked through the hickest of the rioters. They reviled us, but had no commission to touch a hair of our head."

He then proceeded to Birmingham, Nottingham, and then to Sheffield. Here the infant society was as a "flock among wolves;" the minister having so stirred up the people, that they were ready to tear the Methodists in pieces. At six o'clock, I went to the society house, next door to our brother Bennet's. Hell from beneath was moved to oppose us. As soon as I was in the desk, with David Taylor, the floods began to lift up their voice. An officer in the army contradicted and blasphemed. I took no notice of him, but sang on. The stones flew thick, striking the desk and the people. To save them, and the house from being pulled down, I gave out, that I should preach in the street, and look them in the face. The whole army of the aliens followed me. The captain laid hold on me, and began rioting; I gave him for answer, "A Word in Season, or Advice to a Soldier." I then prayed particularly for his majesty King George, and "preached the gospel with much contention." The stones often struck me in the face. I prayed for sinners, as servants of their master, the devil; upon which the cap-

* Journal. † Journal.

‡ Although the faith which justifies does not *include* good works, it will, when it has justified us, *produce*, and be *followed by* good works; because it brings us into vital union with Christ.

* Journal.

tain ran at me with great fury, threatening revenge for abusing, as he called it, 'the king his master.' He forced his way through the brethren, drew his sword, and presented it to my breast. I immediately opened my breast, and fixing my eye on his, and smiling in his face, calmly said, 'I fear God, and honor the king.' His countenance fell in a moment, he fetched a deep sigh, and putting up his sword, quietly left the place. He had said to one of the company who afterwards informed me, 'You shall see if I do but hold my sword to his breast, he will faint away.' So, perhaps, I should, had I only his principles to trust to; but if at that time I was not afraid, no thanks to my natural courage. We returned to our brother Bennet's and gave ourselves up to prayer. The rioters followed, and exceeded in outrage all I have seen before. Those at Moorfields, Cardiff, and Walsall, were lambs to these. As there is no 'king in Israel,' I mean no magistrate in Sheffield, every man doeth as seemeth good in his own eyes." The mob now formed the design of pulling down the society house, and set upon their work, while Mr. Charles Wesley and the people were praying and praising God within. "It was a glorious time," says he, "with us; every word of exhortation sunk deep, every prayer was sealed, and many found the spirit of glory resting upon them." The next day the house was completely pulled down, not one stone being left upon another. He then preached again in the street, somewhat more quietly than before; but the rioters became very noisy in the evening, and threatened to pull down the house where he lodged. He went out to them and made a suitable exhortation, and they soon afterwards separated, and peace was restored.

At five the next morning, he took leave of the society in these words, "Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." He observes, "Our hearts were knit together, and greatly comforted: we rejoiced in hope of the glorious appearing of the great God, who had now delivered us out of the mouth of the lions. David Taylor had informed me, that the people of Thorpe, through which we should pass, were exceedingly mad against us. So we found them as we approached the place, and were turning down the lane to Barley-Hall. The ambush rose, and assaulted us with stones, eggs, and dirt. My horse flew from side to side, till he found his way through them. They wounded David Taylor in the forehead, and the wound bled much. I turned back, and asked what was the reason, that a clergyman could not pass without such treatment. At first the rioters scattered, but their captain rallying them, answered with horrible imprecations and stones. My horse took fright, and turned away with me down a steep hill. The enemy pursued me from afar, and followed shouting. Blessed be God, I received no hurt, only from the eggs and dirt. 'My clothes indeed abhorred me,' and my arm pained me a little from a blow I received at Sheffield."*

Such was the calm heroism with which these admirable men prosecuted their early labors; shrinking from no danger, and firmly trusting their lives in the hands of God. Proceeding to Leeds, Mr. Charles Wesley preached "to thousands," before Mr. Shent's door, and found the people "prepared for the Lord." The clergy of Leeds treated him with respect and deference, and obliged him to assist at the sacrament: such indeed was their kindness, that he began to fear this gleam of sunshine, "more than the stones at Sheffield." He then went on to Newcastle, where he not only abounded in public labors, but, as the society had rapidly increased, he instituted a strict investigation into their spiritual state, accurately distinguishing between animal emotions, and the true work of God in the heart, and leading all to try themselves by the only infallible rule, their conformity to the word of God. So unjust are the insinuations, that the founders of Methodism allowed excited affections to pass as admitted proofs of a change of heart. On this visit to Newcastle, Mr. Charles Wesley remarks in his Journal, that since he had preached the gospel, he had never had greater success than at this time at Newcastle. Soon after his brother laid the foundation of a place for the public worship of the society, the size of which greatly startled some of the people, as they doubted whether money could be raised to finish it. "I was of another mind," he observes, "nothing doubting, but as it was begun for the Lord's sake, he would provide what was needful for finishing it." Many pecuniary difficulties arose in the completion of this work: but he received timely supplies of money, sometimes from very unexpected quarters. During this year new societies were formed in the western, midland, and northern counties, whilst those before collected continued greatly to increase.

In the latter end of this year, 1743, Mr. Wesley appointed in London visiters of the sick, as a distinct office in his society. He says, "It was not long before the stewards found a great difficulty, with regard to the sick. Some were ready to perish before they knew of their illness. And when they did know, it was not in their power, (being persons generally employed in trade,) to visit them so often as they desired. When I was apprized of this, I laid the case at large before the whole society; showed how impossible it was for the stewards to attend all that were sick in all parts of the town; desired the leaders of the classes would more carefully inquire, and more constantly inform them, who were sick; and asked, Who among you is willing as well as able, to supply this lack of service?

"The next morning, many willingly offered themselves. I chose six and forty of them, whom I judged to be of the most tender, loving spirit, divided the town into twenty-three parts, and desired two of them to visit the sick in each division.

"It is the business of a visiter of the sick,

"1. To seek every sick person within his district thrice a week. 2. To inquire into the state of their souls and advise them as occasion may require. 3. To inquire into their disorders, and procure advice for them. 4. To relieve them if they are in want. 5. To do any thing for them, which he (or she) can do. 6. To bring in his account weekly to the steward."—"Upon reflection, I saw, how exactly in this also we had copied after the primitive church. What were the ancient deacons? What was Phebe, the deaconess, but such a visiter of the sick?

"I did not think it needful to give them any particular rules, besides those that follow:—

"1. Be plain and open in dealing with souls. 2. Be mild, tender, patient. 3. Be cleanly in all you do for the sick. 4. Be not nice."

The same year was remarkable in the life of Mr. Wesley for his escape from one of the most dangerous of his encounters with deluded and infuriated mobs. It was first incited by a sermon preached in Wednesbury church, by the clergyman. "'I never,' says Mr. Wesley, 'heard so wicked a sermon, and delivered with such bitterness of voice and manner.' Whilst Mr. Wesley was at Bristol, he heard of the effect produced by this charitable address of the minister to his parishioners who was assisted

* Journal.

in stirring up the persecution against the society, as was very frequent in those days, by the neighboring magistrates—full of what they called churchmanship and loyalty. At Wednesbury, Darlaston, and West Bromwich, the mobs were stimulated to abuse the Methodists in the most outrageous manner; even women and children were beaten, stoned, and covered with mud; their houses broken open, and their goods spoiled or carried away.* Mr. Wesley hastened to comfort and advise this harassed people as soon as the intelligence reached him, and preached at noon at Wednesbury without molestation; but in the afternoon the mob surrounded the house. The result will best be given from his own account, which displays at once his own admirable presence of mind, and the singular providence of God:—

"I was writing at Francis Ward's in the afternoon, when the cry arose that the mob had beset the house. We prayed that God would disperse them: and so it was; one went this way another that, so that in half an hour not a man was left. I told our brethren, Now is the time to go; but they pressed me exceedingly to stay. So, that I might not offend them, I sat down, though I foresaw what would follow. Before five the mob surrounded the house again, and in greater numbers than ever. The cry of one and all was, 'Bring out the minister, we will have the minister.' I desired one to take the captain by the hand and bring him into the house. After a few sentences, interchanged between us, the lion was become a lamb. I desired him to go, and bring one or two of the most angry of his companions. He brought in two, who were ready to swallow the ground with rage; but in two minutes they were as calm as he. I then bade them make way, that I might go out among the people. As soon as I was in the midst of them, I called for a chair, and asked, 'What do any of you want with me?' Some said, 'We want you to go with us to the justice.' I replied, 'That I will with all my heart.' I then spoke a few words, which God applied; so that they cried out with might and main, 'The gentleman is an honest gentleman, and we will spill our blood in his defence.' I asked, 'Shall we go to the justice to-night, or in the morning?' Most of them cried, 'To-night, to-night!' on which I went before, and two or three hundred followed, the rest returning whence they came.

"The night came on before we had walked a mile, together with a heavy rain. However, on we went to Bentley-Hall, two miles from Wednesbury. One or two ran before, to tell Mr. Lane they had brought Mr. Wesley before his worship. Mr. Lane replied, 'What have I to do with Mr. Wesley? Go and carry him back again.' By this time the main body came up, and began knocking at the door. A servant told them Mr. Lane was in bed. His son followed, and asked what was the matter. One replied, 'Why, an't please you, they sing psalms all day; nay and make folks rise at five in the morning: and what would your worship advise us to do?' 'To go home,' said Mr. Lane, 'and be quiet.'

"Here they were at a full stop, till one advised to go to Justice Persehouse, at Walsall. All agreed to this; so we hastened on, and about seven came to his house. But Mr. Persehouse also sent word that he was in bed. Now they were at a stand again: but at last they all thought it the wisest course to make the best of their way home. About fifty of them undertook to convoy me; but we had not gone a hundred yards, when the mob of Walsall came pouring in like a flood, and bore down all before them. The Darlaston mob made what defence they could, but they were weary, as well as outnumbered; so that, in a short time, many being knocked down, the rest went away, and left me in their hands.

"To attempt speaking was vain; for the noise on every side was like the roaring of the sea: so they dragged me along till we came to the town, where seeing the door of a large house open, I attempted to go in; but a man catching me by the hair, pulled me back into the middle of the mob. They made no more stop till they had carried me through the main street, from one end of the town to the other. I continued speaking all the time to those within hearing, feeling no pain or weariness. At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I made towards it, and would have gone in; but a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me, saying they would pull the house to the ground. However, I stood at the door and asked, 'Are you willing to hear me speak?' Many cried out, 'No, no! knock his brains out; down with him; kill him at once.' Others said, 'Nay, but we will hear him first.' I began asking, 'What evil have I done? Which of you all have I wronged in word or deed?' and continued speaking for above a quarter of an hour, till my voice suddenly failed. Then the floods began to lift up their voice again; many crying out, 'Bring him away! bring him away!'

"In the meantime my strength and voice returned and I broke out aloud into prayer. And now the man who just before headed the mob, turned and said, 'Sir, I will spend my life for you; follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head.' Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words, and got close to me immediately. At the same time the gentleman in the shop cried out, 'For shame, for shame; let him go.' An honest butcher, who was a little farther off, said it was a shame they should do thus; and pulled back four or five, one after another, who were running on the most fiercely. The people then, as if it had been by common consent, fell back to the right and left; while those three or four men took me between them, and carried me through them all: but on the bridge the mob rallied again; we therefore went on one side, over the mill-dam, and thence through the meadows; till, a little before ten, God brought me safe to Wednesbury; having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

"From the beginning to the end I found the same presence of mind as if I had been sitting in my own study. But I took no thought for one moment before another; only once it came into my mind, that if they should throw me into the river, it would spoil the papers that were in my pocket. For myself, I did not doubt but I should swim across, having but a thin coat, and a light pair of boots.

"The circumstances that follow I thought were particularly remarkable: 1. That many endeavored to throw me down while we were going down-hill, on a slippery path to the town; as well judging, that if I was once on the ground I should hardly rise any more. But I made no stumble at all, nor the least slip, till I was entirely out of their hands. 2. That although many strove to lay hold of my collar or clothes to pull me down, they could not fasten at all; only one got fast hold of the flap of my waistcoat, which was soon left in his hand. 3. That a lusty man just behind, struck at me several times with a large oaken stick; with which if he had struck me once on the back part of my head, it would have saved him all farther trou-

* The descendants of some of these persecuted people still remain, and show, one a cupboard, another some other piece of furniture, the only article saved from the wreck, and preserved with pious care, as a monument of the sufferings of their ancestors.

ble: but every time the blow was turned aside, I know not how. 4. That another came rushing through the press, and raising his arm to strike, on a sudden let it drop, and only stroked my head saying, 'What soft hair he has!' 5. That I stopped exactly at the mayor's door, as if I had known it, which the mob doubtless thought I did, and found him standing in the shop; which gave the first check to the madness of the people. 6. That the very first men whose hearts were turned, were the heroes of the town, the captains of the rabble on all occasions; one of them having been a prize-fighter at the bear-gardens. 7. That from first to last I heard none give a reviling word, or call me by any opprobrious name whatever. But the cry of one and all was, 'The preacher! the preacher! the parson! the minister!' 8. That no creature, at least within my hearing, laid any thing to my charge, either true or false; having in the hurry quite forgot to provide themselves with an accusation of any kind. And, lastly, they were utterly at a loss what they should do with me; none proposing any determinate thing, only, 'Away with him; kill him at once.'

"When I came back to Francis Ward's, I found many of our brethren waiting upon God. Many also, whom I had never seen before, came to rejoice with us; and the next morning as I rode through the town, in my way to Nottingham, every one I met expressed such a cordial affection, that I could scarce believe what I saw and heard."

At Nottingham he met with Mr. Charles Wesley, who has inserted in his Journal a notice of the meeting, highly characteristic of the spirit of martyrdom in which both of them lived:—

"My brother came, delivered out of the mouth of the lions! His clothes were torn to tatters; he looked like a soldier of Christ. The mob of Wednesbury, Darlaston, and Walsall, were permitted to take and carry him about for several hours, with a full intent to murder him: but his work is not yet finished, or he had been now with the souls under the altar." Undaunted by the usage of John, Charles immediately set out for Wednesbury, to encourage the societies.

In this year Mr. Wesley made his first journey into Cornwall, where his brother, led by the same sympathies to communicate the gospel to the then rude and neglected miners of that extreme part of the kingdom, as had induced him to visit the colliers of Kingswood, Staffordshire, and the North, had preceded him. Here he had preached in various places, sometimes amidst mobs, "as desperate as that at Sheffield." Mr. Wesley followed in August, and came to St. Ives, where he found a small religious society, which had been formed upon Dr. Woodward's plan. They gladly received him, and formed the nucleus of the Methodist societies in Cornwall, which from this time rapidly increased. In this visit he spent three weeks, preaching in the most populous parts of the mining district, with an effect which still continues to be felt. In no part of England has Methodism obtained more influence than in the west of Cornwall. It has become in fact the leading profession of the people, and its moral effects upon society may be looked upon with the highest satisfaction and gratitude. Nor were the Cornish people ungrateful to the instrument of the benefit. When he was last in the county, in old age, the man who had formerly slept on the ground for want of a lodging, and picked black-berries to satisfy his hunger, and who had narrowly escaped with his life from a desperate mob at Falmouth, passed through the towns and villages as in a triumphal march, whilst the windows were crowded with people, anxious to get a sight of him, and to pronounce upon him their benedictions."

Between this visit and that of the next year, a hot persecution, both of the preachers and people, broke forth. The preaching-house at St. Ives was pulled to the ground: one of the preachers was impressed and sent for a soldier, as were several of the people: whilst being stoned, covered with dirt, and abused, was the treatment which many others of them met with from day to day. But notwithstanding this, they who had been eminent for hurling, fighting, drinking, and all manner of wickedness, continued eminent for sobriety, piety, and meekness. The impressment of the preachers for soldiers by the magistrates, was not, however, confined to Cornwall. About the same time, John Nelson, and Thomas Beard were thus seized and sent for soldiers, for no other crime, either committed or pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. The passive heroism of John Nelson is well known. Thomas Beard also was "nothing terrified by his adversaries;" but his body after a while sunk under affliction. He was then lodged in the hospital of Newcastle, where he still praised God continually. His fever increasing, he was let blood: his arm festered, mortified, and was cut off; two or three days after which, God signed his discharge, and called him to his eternal home.

The riots in Staffordshire, also, still continued. "The mob of Walsall, Darlaston, and Wednesbury, hired for the purpose by their superiors, broke open their poor neighbors' houses at their pleasure by day and by night; extorting money from the few that had it, taking away or destroying their victuals and goods, beating and wounding their bodies, insulting the women, and openly declaring they would destroy every Methodist in the country. Thus his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects were treated for eight months, and were then publicly branded in the Whitehall and London Evening Post, for rioters and incendiaries!"*

Several other instances of the brutal maltreatment of the preachers occurred in these early periods, which ended in disablement, or premature death. The persecution at St. Ives, Mr. Wesley observes, "was owing in great measure to the indefatigable labors of Mr. Hoblin, and Mr. Simmons, gentlemen worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance for their unwearied endeavors to destroy heresy.

Fortunati ambo! Siquid mea pagina possit,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.

"Happy both! Long as my writings, shall your fame remain."

In August, 1744, Mr. John Wesley preached for the last time before the university of Oxford. Mr. Charles Wesley was present, and observes in his journal: "My brother bore his testimony before a crowded audience, much increased by the races. Never have I seen a more attentive congregation; they did not suffer a word to escape them. Some of the heads of colleges stood up the whole time, and fixed their eyes upon him. If they can endure sound doctrine, like his, he will surely leave a blessing behind him. The vice-chancellor sent after him, and desired his notes, which he sealed up and sent immediately."

His own remarks upon this occasion are, "I am now clear of the blood of those men. I have fully delivered my own soul. And I am well pleased that it should be the very day on which, in the last century, near two thousand burning and shining lights were put out at one stroke. Yet what a wide difference is there between their case and mine!—They were turned out of house and home, and all that they had; whereas I am only hindered from

* Whitehead's Life.

preaching in one place, without any other loss, and that in a kind of honorable manner; it being determined, that, when my next turn to preach came, they would pay another person to preach for me. And so they did twice or thrice, even to the time I resigned my fellowship."*

Mr. Wesley had at this time a correspondence with the Rev. James Erskine, from whom he learned that several pious ministers and others, in Scotland, duly appreciated his character, and rejoiced in the success of his labors, notwithstanding the difference of their sentiments. Mr. Erskine's letter indeed contains a paragraph which breathes a liberality not very common in those days, and which may be useful in the present, after all our boastings of enlarged charity: "Are the points which give the different denominations, (to Christians,) and from whence proceed separate communities, animosities, evil speakings, surmises, and, at least, coolness of affection, aptness to miconstrue, slowness to think well of others, stiffness in one's own conceits, and over-valuing one's own opinion, &c. &c. are these points (at least among the far greatest part of protestants) as important, as clearly revealed, and as essential, or as closely connected with the essentials of practical Christianity, as the loving of one another with a pure heart fervently, and not forsaking, much less refusing, the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some was, and now of almost all is?"†

In a subsequent letter this excellent man expresses an ardent wish for union among all those of different denominations and opinions who love the Lord Jesus Christ; and on such a subject, he was speaking to a kindred mind; for no man ever set a better example of Christian charity, and no where is the excellence and obligation of that temper more forcibly drawn and inculcated than in his most interesting sermon on "A Catholic Spirit." With such a testimony and example before them, his followers would be the most inexcusable class of Christians were they to indulge in that selfish sectarianism with which he was so often unjustly charged; and for which they, though not faultless in this respect, have also been censured more frequently and indiscriminately than they have merited. It would scarcely be doing justice to this part of Mr. Wesley's character not to insert an extract from the sermon alluded to:—

"Is thy heart right with God? If it be, give me thy hand. I do not mean, 'Be of my opinion.' You need not. I do not expect, or desire it. Neither do I mean, 'I will be of your opinion.' I cannot. It does not depend on my choice; I can no more think, than I can see or hear as I will. Keep you your opinion; I mine; and that as steadily as ever. You need not endeavor to come over to me, or bring me over to you. I do not desire you to dispute those points, or to hear or speak one word concerning them. Let all opinions alone on one side and the other. Only 'give me thine hand.'

"I do not mean, 'Embrace my modes of worship; or, I will embrace yours.' This also is a thing which does not depend either on your choice or mine. We must both act as each is fully persuaded in his own mind. Hold you fast that which you believe is most acceptable to God, and I will do the same. I believe the Episcopal form of church government to be scriptural and apostolical. If you think the Presbyterian or Independent is better, think so still, and act accordingly. I believe infants ought to be baptized, and that this may be done by either dipping or sprinkling. If you are otherwise persuaded, be so still, and follow your own persuasion. It appears to me, that forms of prayer are of excellent use, particularly in the great congregation. If you judge extemporary prayer to be of more use, act suitable to your own judgment. My sentiment is, that I ought not to forbid water, wherein persons may be baptized; and, that I ought to eat bread and drink wine, as memorials of my dying master. However, if you are not convinced of this, act according to the light you have. I have no desire to dispute with you one moment upon any of the preceding heads. Let all these smaller points stand aside. Let them never come into sight. "If thine heart be as my heart,' if thou love God and all mankind, I ask no more: 'Give me thy hand.'

"I mean, First, love me. And that not only as thou lovest all mankind; not only as thou lovest thine enemies, or the enemies of God, those that hate thee, that 'despitefully use thee, and persecute thee;' not only as a stranger, as one of whom thou knowest neither good nor evil. I am not satisfied with this. No; 'If thine heart be right, as mine with thy heart,' then love me with a very tender affection, as a friend that is closer than a brother, as a brother in Christ, a fellow citizen of the New Jerusalem, a fellow soldier engaged in the same warfare, under the same captain of our salvation. Love me as a companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus, and a joint heir of his glory.

"Love me (but in a higher degree than thou dost the bulk of mankind) with the love that is 'long-suffering and kind;' that is patient, if I am ignorant or out of the way, bearing and not increasing my burden; and is tender, soft, and compassionate still; that 'envieth not,' if at any time it please God to prosper me in this work even more than thee. Love me with the love that 'is not provoked' either at my follies or infirmities, or even at my acting (if it should sometimes so appear to thee) not according to the will of God. Love me so as to 'think no evil' of me, to put away all jealousy and evil surmising. Love me with the love that 'covereth all things;' that never reveals either my faults or infirmities; that 'believeth all things,' is always willing to think the best, to put the fairest construction on all my words and actions; that 'hopeth all things;' either that the thing related was never done, or not done with such circumstances as are related; or at least, that it was done with a good intention, or in a sudden stress of temptation. And hope to the end, that whatever is amiss will, by the grace of God, be corrected, and whatever is wanting, supplied, through the riches of his mercy in Christ Jesus."*

And then, having shown how a catholic spirit differs from practical and speculative latitudinarianism and indifference, he concludes: "A man of a catholic spirit is one who, in the manner above mentioned, 'gives his hand' to all whose 'hearts are right with his heart.' One who knows how to value and praise God for all the advantages he enjoys, with regard to the knowledge of the things of God, the true scriptural manner of worshipping him; and above all, his union with a congregation fearing God and working righteousness. One who, retaining these blessings with the strictest care, keeping them as the apple of his eye, at the same time loves as friends, as brethren in the Lord, as members of Christ and children of God, as joint partakers now of the present kingdom of God, and fellow-heirs of his eternal kingdom, all, of whatever opinion, or worship, or congregation, who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, who love God and man, who rejoicing to please, and fearing to offend God, are careful to abstain from evil, and zealous of good works. He is the man of a truly catholic spirit, who bears all these continually upon his heart, who, having an unspeakable tenderness for their persons, and long-

* Journal. † Ibid.

* Sermons.

ing for their welfare, does not cease to commend them to God in prayer, as well as to plead their cause before men; who speaks comfortably to them, and labors by all his words to strengthen their hands in God. He assists them to the uttermost of his power in all things, spiritual and temporal. He is ready 'to spend and be spent for them;' yea, 'to lay down his life for their sake.'"*

The first CONFERENCE was held in June, 1744. The societies had spread through various parts of the kingdom; and a number of preachers, under the name of assistants and helpers, the former being superintendents of the latter, had been engaged by Mr. Wesley in the work. Some clergymen, also, more or less co-operated to promote these attempts to spread the flame of true religion, and were not yet afraid of the cross. These circumstances led to the distribution of different parts of the kingdom into circuits, to which certain preachers were for a time appointed, and were then removed to others. The superintendence of the whole was in the two brothers, but particularly in Mr. John Wesley. The annual conferences afforded, therefore, an admirable opportunity of conversing on important points and distinctions of doctrine, that all might "speak the same thing" in their public ministrations; and of agreeing upon such a discipline as the new circumstances in which the societies were placed might require. The labors of the preachers for the ensuing year were also arranged; and consultation was held on all matters connected with the promotion of the work of God, in which they were engaged. Every thing went on, however, not on preconceived plan, but "step by step," as circumstances suggested, and led the way. To the great principle of *doing good* to the souls of men, every thing was subordinated; not excepting even their prejudices and fears, as will appear from the minutes of the first conference, which was held in London, as just stated, in 1744. The ultimate separation of the societies from the church, after the death of the first agents in the work, was at that early period contemplated as a *possibility*, and made a subject of conversation; and the resolution was, "We do and will do all we can to prevent those consequences which are supposed to be likely to happen after our death; but we cannot, in good conscience, neglect the present opportunity of saving souls while we live, for fear of consequences which may possibly, or probably, happen after we are dead." To this principle Mr. Wesley was "faithful unto death," and it is the true key to his public conduct. His brother, after some years, less steadily adhered to it; and most of the clergymen, who attached themselves to Mr. Wesley in the earlier periods of Methodism, found it too bold a position, and one which exposed them to too severe a fire, to be maintained by them. It required a firmer courage than theirs to hold out at such a post; but the founder of Methodism never betrayed the trust which circumstances had laid upon him.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE year 1745 was chiefly spent by Mr. Charles Wesley in London, Bristol, and Wales. In the early part of the next year, he paid a visit to a society raised up by Mr. Whitefield, at Plymouth, and from thence proceeded into Cornwall, where he preached in various places with great success; but in some of them amidst much persecution. He reviewed this journey with great thankfulness, because of the effects which had been produced by his ministry; and at the close of it he wrote the hymn beginning with the stanza—

"All thanks be to God,
Who scatters abroad
Throughout every place,
By the least of his servants, his savor of grace:
Who the victory gave,
The praise let Him have;
For the work he hath done;
All honor and glory to Jesus alone!"

On his return to London, through the introduction of Mr. E. Perronet, a pious young man, he visited the Rev. Vincent Perronet, the venerable vicar of Shoreham, in Kent, a very holy and excellent clergyman, of whose wise and considerate counsels the Wesleys afterwards frequently availed themselves, in all matters which involved particular difficulty. The name of Wesley was, however, it seems, every where become a signal for riot; for being invited to perform service in Shoreham church, "as soon," says he, "as I began to preach, the wild beasts began roaring, stamping, blaspheming, ringing the bells, and turning the church into a bear garden. I spoke on for half an hour, though only the nearest could hear. The rioters followed us to Mr. Perronet's house, raging, threatening, and throwing stones. Charles Perronet hung over me to intercept the blows. They continued their uproar after we got into the house."* Mr. E. Perronet returned with him to London, and accompanied him on a tour to the north. On the way, they visited Staffordshire, which was still riotous and persecuting; and Mr. Charles Wesley's young friend had a second specimen of the violent and ignorant prejudice with which these modern apostles were followed. The mob beset the house at Tippen Green, and, beating at the door, demanded entrance. "I sat still," says he, "in the midst of them for half an hour, and was a little concerned for E. Perronet, lest such rough treatment, at his first setting out, should daunt him. But he abounded in valor, and was for reasoning with the wild beasts before they had spent any of their violence. He got a deal of abuse thereby, and not a little dirt, both of which he took very patiently. I had no design to preach; but being called upon by so unexpected a congregation, I rose at last, and read, 'When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory.' While I reasoned with them of judgment to come, they grew calmer by little and little. I then spake to them, one by one, till the Lord had disarmed them all. One who stood out the longest, I held by the hand and urged the love of Christ crucified, till, in spite of both his natural and diabolical courage, he trembled like a leaf. I was constrained to break out into prayer for him. Our leopards were all become lambs; and very kind we were at parting. Near midnight the house was clear and quiet. We gave thanks to God for our salvation, and slept in peace."†

Proceeding onward to Dewsbury, he met with an instance of clerical candor, which, as it was rare in those times, deserves to be recorded: "The minister did not condemn the society unheard, but talked with them, examined into the doctrine they had been taught, and its effects on their lives. When he found that as many as had been affected by the preaching were evidently reformed, and brought to church and sacrament, he testified his approbation of the work, and rejoiced that sinners were converted to God."‡

After visiting Newcastle, he went, at the request of Mr. Wardrobe, a dissenting minister, to Hexham, where the following incidents occurred: "I walked directly to the market-place, and called sinners to repentance. A multitude of them stood staring at me, but all quiet. The Lord opened my

* Sermons.

* Journal. † Ibid. ‡ Whitehead's Life.

mouth, and they drew nearer and nearer, stole off their hats, and listened; none offered to interrupt, but one unfortunate esquire who could get no one to second him. His servants and the constables hid themselves; one he found, and bid him go and take me down. The poor constable simply answered, 'Sir, I cannot have the face to do it, for what harm does he do?' Several papists attended, and the church minister who had refused me his pulpit with indignation. However he came to hear with his own ears. I wish all who hang us first would, like him, try us afterwards.

"I walked back to Mr. Ord's through the people, who acknowledged, 'It is the truth, and none can speak against it.' A constable followed, and told me, 'Sir Edward Blacket orders you to *disperse* the town,' (depart, I suppose he meant,) 'and not raise a disturbance here.' I sent my respects to Sir Edward, and said, if he would give me leave, I would wait upon him and satisfy him. He soon returned with an answer, that Sir Edward would have nothing to say to me; but if I preached again, and raised a disturbance, he would put the law in execution against me. I answered that I was not conscious of breaking any law of God or man; but if I did, I was ready to suffer the penalty; that as I had not given notice of preaching again at the Cross, I should not preach again at that place, nor cause a disturbance any where. I charged the constable, a trembling, submissive soul, to assure his worship that I reverenced him for his office' sake. The only place I could get to preach in was a cock-pit, and I expected Satan would come and fight me on his own ground. 'Squire Roberts, the justice's son, labored hard to raise a mob, for which I was to be answerable; but the very boys ran away from him, when the poor 'squire persuaded them to go down to the cock-pit and cry fire. I called in words then first heard in that place, 'Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.' God struck the hard rock, and the waters gushed out. Never have I seen a people more desirous of knowing the truth at the first hearing. I passed the evening in conference with Mr. Wardrobe. O that all our dissenting ministers were like-minded, then would all dissensions cease for ever! November 28th, at six, we assembled again in our chapel, the cock-pit. I imagined myself in the Pantheon, or some heathen temple, and almost scrupled preaching there at first: but we found 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.' His presence consecrated the place. Never have I found a greater sense of God than while we were repeating his own prayer. I set before their eyes Christ crucified. The rocks were melted, and gracious tears flowed. We knew not how to part. I distributed some books among them, which they received with the utmost eagerness, begging me to come again, and to send our preachers to them."*

After preaching in various parts of Lincolnshire, and the midland counties, Mr. Charles Wesley returned to London: but soon, with unwearied spirit, in company with Mr. Minton, he set off for Bristol, taking Devizes by the way, where he had as narrow an escape for his life as his brother had experienced at Wednesbury. An account of these distinguished ministers of Christ would be imperfect without a particular notice of a few of their greatest perils. They show the wretched state of that country which they were the appointed instruments of raising into a higher *moral* and *civil* condition, and they illustrate their own character. Each of the brothers might truly say with an apostle, and his coadjutors, "We have not received the spirit of fear, but of power, (courage,) of love, and of a sound mind."

*Journal.

They felt, too, that they had "received" it; for with them, "boasting was excluded," by that "law of faith" which led them in all things to trust in and glorify God. The account is taken from Mr. Charles Wesley's Journal. The Devizes mob had this peculiarity, that it was led on not only by the curate, but by two dissenters; thus "Herod and Pilate were made friends:"—

"February 25th—a day never to be forgotten. At seven o'clock I walked quietly to Mrs. Philips's, and began preaching a little before the time appointed. For three quarters of an hour, I invited a few listening sinners to Christ. Soon after, Satan's whole army assaulted the house. We sat in a little ground room, and ordered all the doors to be thrown open. They brought a hand engine, and began to play into the house. We kept our seats, and they rushed into the passage; just then, Mr. Borough, the constable, came, and seizing the spout of the engine, carried it off. They swore if he did not deliver it they would pull down the house. At that time they might have taken us prisoners; we were close to them, and none to interpose; but they hurried out to fetch the larger engine. In the mean time, we were advised to send for the mayor; but Mr. mayor was gone out of town, in the sight of the people, which gave great encouragement to those who were already wrought up to a proper pitch by the curate, and the gentlemen of the town, particularly Mr. Sutton and Mr. Willy, dissenters, the two leading men. Mr. Sutton frequently came out to the mob to keep up their spirits. He sent word to Mrs. Philips, that if she did not turn that fellow out to the mob, he would send them to drag him out. Mr. Willy passed by again and again, assuring the rioters he would stand by them, and secure them from the law, do what they would.

"The rioters now began playing the larger engine, which broke the windows, flooded the rooms, and spoiled the goods. We were withdrawn to a small upper room in the back part of the house, seeing no way to escape their violence, as they seemed under the full power of the old murderer. They first laid hold on the man who kept the society-house, and dragged him away, and threw him into the horse-pond, and, it was said, broke his back. We gave ourselves unto prayer, believing the Lord would deliver us; how, or when, we saw not, nor any possible way of escaping; we therefore stood still to see the salvation of God. Every now and then some or other of our friends would venture to us, but rather weakened our hands, so that we were forced to stop our ears and look up. Among the rest, the mayor's maid came, and told us her mistress was in tears about me, and begged me to disguise myself in women's clothes, and try to make my escape. Her heart had been turned towards us by the conversion of her son, just on the brink of ruin. God laid his hand on the poor prodigal, and instead of running to sea, he entered the society. The rioters without continued playing their engine, which diverted them for some time; but their number and fierceness still increased; and the gentlemen supplied them with pitchers of ale, as much as they would drink. They were now on the point of breaking in, when Mr. Borough thought of reading the proclamation; he did so at the hazard of his life. In less than the hour, of above a thousand wild beasts, none were left but the guard. Our constable had applied to Mr. Street, the only justice in town, who would not act. We found there was no help in man, which drove us closer to the Lord; and we prayed with little intermission the whole day.

"Our enemies at their return made their main assault at the back door, swearing horridly they would have me if it cost them their lives. Many seeming accidents concurred to prevent their break-

ing in. The man of the house came home, and instead of turning me out, as they expected, took part with us, and stemmed the tide for some time. They now got a notion that I had made my escape, and ran down to the inn, and played the engine there. They forced the inn-keeper to turn out our horses, which he immediately sent to Mr. Clark's, which drew the rabble and their engine thither. But the resolute old man charged, and presented his gun till they retreated. Upon their revisiting us, we stood in jeopardy every moment. Such threatenings, curses and blasphemies, I have never heard. They seemed kept out by a continual miracle. I remembered the Roman senators, sitting in the forum, when the Gauls broke in upon them, but thought there was a fitter posture for Christians, and told my companions they should take us off of our knees. We were kept from all hurry and discomposure of spirit by a divine power resting upon us. We prayed and conversed as freely as if we had been in the midst of our brethren, and had great confidence that the Lord would either deliver us from the danger, or in it. In the height of the storm, just when we were falling into the hands of the drunken enraged multitude, Mr. Minton was so little disturbed that he fell fast asleep.

"They were now close to us on every side, and over our heads untiling the roof. A ruffian cried out, 'Here they are, behind the curtain.' At this time we fully expected their appearance, and retired to the furthermost corner of the room, and I said, 'This is the crisis.' In that moment Jesus rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. We heard not a breath without, and wondered what was become of them. The silence lasted for three quarters of an hour, before any one came near us; and we continued in mutual exhortation and prayer, looking for deliverance. I often told my companions, 'Now God is at work for us; he is contriving our escape; he can turn these leopards into lambs; can command the heathen to bring his children on their shoulders, and make our fiercest enemies the instruments of our deliverance.' About three o'clock Mr. Clark knocked at the door, and brought with him the persecuting constable. He said, 'Sir, if you will promise never to preach here again, the gentlemen and I will engage to bring you safe out of town.' My answer was, 'I shall promise no such thing; setting aside my office, I will not give up my birth-right as an Englishman, of visiting what place I please of his majesty's dominions.' 'Sir, said the constable, 'we expect no such promise, that you will never come here again; only tell me that it is not your present intention, that I may tell the gentlemen, who will then secure your private departure.' I answered, 'I cannot come again at this time, because I must return to London a week hence. But, observe, I make no promise of not preaching here when the door is opened; and do not you say that I do."

"He went away with this answer, and we betook ourselves to prayer and thanksgiving. We perceived it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes. The hearts of our adversaries were turned. Whether pity for us, or fear for themselves, wrought strongest, God knoweth; probably the latter, for the mob were wrought up to such a pitch of fury, that their masters dreaded the consequence, and therefore went about appeasing the multitude, and charging them not to touch us in our departure.

"While the constable was gathering his posse, we got our things from Mr. Clark's, and prepared to go forth. The whole multitude were without, expecting us, and saluted us with a general shout. The man Mrs. Taylor had hired to ride before her was, as we now perceived, one of the rioters. This hopeful guide was to conduct us out of the reach of his fellows. Mr. Minton and I took horse in the face of our enemies, who began clamoring against us; the gentlemen were dispersed among the mob, to bridle them. We rode a slow pace up the street, the whole multitude pouring along on both sides, and attending us with loud acclamations. Such fierceness and diabolical malice I have not before seen in human faces. They ran up to our horses as if they would swallow us, but did not know which was Wesley. We felt great peace and acquiescence in the honor done us, while the whole town were spectators of our march. When out of sight we mended our pace, and about seven o'clock came to Wrexall. The news of our danger was got thither before us; but we brought the welcome tidings of our deliverance. We joined in hearty prayer to our Deliverer, singing the hymn,

'Worship, and thanks, and blessing,' &c.

"February 26. I preached at Bath, and we rejoiced like men who take the spoil. We continued our triumph at Bristol, and reaped the fruit of our labors and sufferings."

Amidst such storms, more or less violent, were the foundations of that work laid, the happy results of which tens of thousands now enjoy in peace. But even the piety which could hazard such labors and dangers for the sake of "seeking and saving the lost," and the heroic devotedness which remained constant under them, has not been able to win the praise of prejudiced writers on the subject of Methodism. Dr. Southey* has little sympathy with the sufferings which a persecuted people were doomed in many places so callously to endure; and he finds in the heroism of their leaders a subject of reproach and contempt rather than that of admiration which, had they occupied some poetical position, he had doubtless expressed as forcibly and nobly as any man.

Mr. Whitefield, he tells us, had "a great longing to be persecuted," though the quotation from one of his letters, on which he justifies the aspersion, shows nothing more than a noble defiance of suffering, should it occur in the course of what he esteemed his duty. Similar sarcasms have been cast by infidels upon all who, in every age, have suffered for the sake of Christ; and like those in which Dr. Southey has indulged, they were intended to darken the lustre of that patient courage which sprang out of love to the Saviour and the souls of men, by resolving it into spiritual pride, and a desire to render themselves conspicuous. Of John Nelson, one of Mr. Wesley's first lay coadjutors, who endured no ordinary share of oppression and suffering, as unprovoked and unmerited as the most modest and humble demeanor on his part could render it, Dr. Southey truly says, that "he had as high a spirit, and as brave a heart as ever Englishman was blessed with;" yet even the narration of his wrongs, so scandalous to the magistracy of the day, and which were sustained by him in the full spirit of Christian constancy, is not dismissed without a sneer at this honest and suffering man himself.—"To prison therefore Nelson was taken, to his *heart's content.*" And so because he chose a prison rather than violate his conscience, and endured imprisonment and other injuries, with the unbending feeling of a high and noble mind, corrected and controlled by "the meekness and gentleness of Christ, imprisonment was his desire, and the distinction which he is supposed to have derived from it, his motive! Before criticism so flippant and callous, no character, however sacred and revered, could stand. It might be applied with equal success to the persecutions of the apostles, and the first Christians themselves; to the

* Life of Wesley.

confessors in the reign of Mary; and to the whole "noble army of martyrs."

The real danger to which these excellent men were exposed is, however, concealed by Dr. Southey. Whitefield's fears, or rather hopes of persecution, he says, "were suited to the days of Queen Mary, Bishop Gardiner, and Bishop Bonner; they were ridiculous or disgusting in the time of George the Second, Archbishop Potter, and Bishop Gibson." This is said because Mr. Whitefield thought that he might probably be called to "resist unto blood;" and our author would have it supposed, that all this was "safe boasting," in the reign of George the Second, and whilst the English church had its Archbishop Potter, and its Bishop Gibson. But not even in the early part of the reign of George the Third, and with other bishops in the church, as excellent as Potter and Gibson, was the anticipation groundless. The real danger was in fact, so great from the brutality of the populace, the ignorance and supineness of the magistrates, and the mob-exciting activity of the clergy, one of whom was usually the instigator of every tumult, that every man who went forth on the errand of mercy in that day took his life in his hand, and needed the spirit of a martyr, though he was not in danger of suffering a martyr's death by regular civil or ecclesiastical process. Dr. Southey has himself in part furnished the confutation of his own suggestion, that little danger was to be apprehended, by the brief statements he has given of the hair-breadth escapes of the Wesleys, and of the sufferings of John Nelson. But a volume might be filled with the accounts of outrages committed, from that day to our own, in different places, (for they now occasionally occur in obscure and unenlightened parts of the country,) upon the persons of Methodist preachers, for the sole fault of visiting neglected places, and preaching the gospel of salvation to those who, if Christianity be true, are in a state of spiritual darkness and danger. To be pelted with stones, dragged through ponds, beaten with bludgeons, rolled in mud, and to suffer other modes of ill-treatment, was the anticipation of all the first preachers when they entered upon their work; and this was also the lot of many of their hearers. Some lives were lost, and many shortened; the most singular escapes are on record; and if the tragedy was not deeper, that was owing at length to the explicit declarations of George III. on the subject of toleration, and the upright conduct of the judges in their circuits, and in the higher courts, when an appeal was made to the laws in some of the most atrocious cases. Assuredly, the country magistrates in general, and the clergy, were entitled to little share of the praise. Much of this is acknowledged by Dr. Southey; but he attempts to throw a part of the blame upon the Wesleys themselves. "Their doctrines of perfection and assurance" were, he thinks, among the causes of their persecution; and "their zeal was not tempered with discretion." With discretion, in his view of it, their zeal was not tempered. Such discretion would neither have put them in the way of persecution, nor brought it upon them; it would have disturbed no sinner and saved no soul; but they were not indiscreet in seeking danger, and provoking language never escaped lips, in which the law of meekness always triumphed: and as for doctrines, the mobs and their exciters, were then just as discriminating as mobs have ever been from the beginning of the world. They were usually stirred up by the clergy, and other persons of influence in the neighborhood, who were almost as ignorant as the ruffians they employed to assault the preachers and their peaceable congregations. The description of the mob at Ephesus, in the Acts of the Apostles, suited them as well as if they had been the original and not the copy—"Some cried one thing, and some another; for the assembly was confused; and the most part knew not wherefore they had come together." They generally, however, agreed to pull down the preacher, and to abuse both him and his hearers, men, women, and even children; and that because "they troubled them about religion."

That immediate resort to God in prayer, which was practised, in cases of "peril and danger," by these persecuted ministers; and their ascription of deliverances to the divine interposition, as in the instances above given, have also been subjects of either grave rebuke, or semi-infidel ridicule. It is not necessary to contend that every particular instance which, in the Journals of the Wesleys, is referred to an immediate answer to prayer, was so in reality; because a few cases may reasonably appear doubtful. These, however, only prove that they cultivated the habit of regarding God in all things, and of gratefully acknowledging his hand in all the events of life; and if there was at any time any over application of these excellent views and feelings, yet in minds so sober as to make the word of God, diligently studied, their only guide in all matters of practice, no injurious result could follow. But we must reject the Bible altogether, if we shut out a particular providence; and we reduce prayer to a real absurdity, unless we allow that its very ground and reason is special interposition. Why, for instance, should a collect teach us to pray that "this day we may fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger," if we do not thereby place ourselves under a special protection of God, and if our interests must necessarily be dragged after the wheel of some general system of government? Divine interposition is indeed *ordinarily* invisible, and can be known only from general results; it impresses no mark of interruption or of quickened activity upon the general course of things, with which we may be surrounded; it works often unconsciously through our own faculties, and through the wills and purposes of others, as unconscious of it as we ourselves; yet even in this case, where the indevout see man only, the better instructed acknowledge God who "worketh all in all." But to say that the hand of God is never specially marked in its operations; that his servants who are raised up by him for important services, shall never receive proofs of his particular care; that an entire trust in him in the most critical circumstances, shall have no visible honor put upon it; that when we are "in all things" commanded to make our requests known unto God, the prayers which, in obedience to that command, we offer to him in the time of trouble shall never have a special answer, is to maintain notions wholly subversive of piety, and which cannot be held without rejecting, or reducing to unmeaningness, many of the most explicit and important declarations of holy Scripture. These were not the views entertained by the Wesleys; and in their *higher belief* they coincided with good men in all ages. They felt that they were about their master's business, and they trusted in their master's care, so long as it might be for his glory that they should be permitted to live. Nor for that were they anxious; desiring only, that whilst they lived they should "live unto the Lord," and that when they died "they should die to him;" and that so "Christ might be magnified in their body whether by life, or by death."

The labors of Mr. John Wesley, during the same period of two years, may be abridged from his Journal. In the first month of the year 1745, we find him at London, and at Bristol, and its neighborhood. In February, he made a journey, in the stormy and wintry weather of that season, to New-

castle, preaching at various intermediate places. The following extract shows the cheerful and buoyant spirit with which he encountered these difficulties:—

"Many a rough journey have I had before; but one like this I never had, between wind and hail, and rain, and ice, and snow, and driving sleet, and piercing cold. But it is past. Those days will return no more, and are therefore as though they had never been.

"'Pain, disappointment, sickness, strife,
Whate'er molests or troubles life;
However grievous in its stay,
It shakes the tenement of clay,
When past, as nothing we esteem;
And pain, like pleasure, is a dream.'"*

As a specimen of that cool and self-possessed manner which gave him so great a power over rude minds, we may take the following anecdote. A man at Newcastle had signalized himself by personal insults offered to him in the streets; and, upon inquiry, he found him an old offender in persecuting the members of the society, by abusing and throwing stones at them. Upon this he sent him the following note:—

"Robert Young,

"I expect to see you, between this and Friday, and to hear from you, that you are sensible of your fault. Otherwise, in pity to your soul, I shall be obliged to inform the magistrates of your assaulting me yesterday in the street.

"I am your real friend,

"John Wesley."

"Within two or three hours, Robert Young came, and promised a quite different behavior. So did this gentle reproof, if not save a soul from death, yet prevent a multitude of sins."†

Whilst at Newcastle, he drew up the following case:—

"*Newcastle-upon-Tyne, March* 11, 1745-6.

"I have been drawing up this morning a short state of the case between the clergy and us: I leave you to make any such use of it, as you believe will be to the glory of God.

"1. About seven years since we began preaching *inward, present* salvation, as attainable by *faith alone.*

"2. For preaching *this doctrine* we were forbidden to preach in the churches.

"3. We then preached in *private houses*, as occasion offered; and when the houses could not contain the people, in the open air.

"4. For *this* many of the clergy *preached* or *printed* against us, as both heretics and schismatics.

"5. Persons who were convinced of sin, begged us to advise them more particularly, how to flee from the wrath to come. We replied, if they would all come at one time (for they were numerous) we would endeavor it.

"6. For *this* we were represented, both from the pulpit and the press, (we have heard it with our ears, and seen it with our eyes,) as introducing popery, raising sedition, practising both against church and state: and all manner of evil was publicly said both of us, and those who were accustomed to meet with us.

"7. Finding some truth herein, viz., that some of those who so met together, walked disorderly, we immediately desired them not to come to us any more.

"8. And the more steady were desired to overlook the rest, that we might know if they walked according to the gospel.

"9. But now several of the bishops began to speak against us, either in conversation or in public.

"10. On this encouragement several of the clergy stirred up the people to treat us as outlaws or mad dogs.

"11. The people did so, both in Staffordshire, Cornwall, and many other places.

"12. And they do so still, wherever they are not restrained by their fear of the secular magistrate.

"Thus the case stands at present. Now what can *we* do, or what can *you* our brethren do toward healing this breach? which is highly desirable; that we may withstand, with joint force, the still increasing flood of popery, deism, and immorality.

"Desire of *us* any thing we can do with a safe conscience, and we will do it immediately. Will *you* meet us here? Will you do what we desire of you, so far as you can with a safe conscience?

"Let us come to particulars. Do you desire us, 1. To preach another, or to desist from preaching this doctrine?

"We think you do not desire it, as knowing we *cannot do this* with a safe conscience.

Do you desire us, 2. To desist from preaching in private houses, or in the *open air?* As things are now circumstanced, this would be the same as desiring us not to preach at all.

"Do you desire us, 3. To desist from advising those who now meet together for that purpose? or, in other words, to dissolve our societies?

"We cannot do this with a safe conscience; for we apprehend many souls would be lost thereby, and that God would require their blood at our hands.

"Do you desire us, 4. To advise them only one by one?

"This is impossible, because of their number.

"Do you desire us, 5. To suffer those who walk disorderly still to mix with the rest?

"Neither can we do this with a safe conscience; because *evil communications corrupt good manners.*

"Do you desire us, 6. To discharge those leaders of bands or classes (as we term them) who overlook the rest?

"This is, in effect, to suffer the disorderly walkers still to mix with the rest, which we dare not do.

"Do you desire us, lastly, to behave with reverence toward those who are overseers of the church of God? and with tenderness, both to the character and persons of our brethren, the inferior clergy?

"By the grace of God, we can and will do this. Yea, our conscience beareth us witness, that we have already labored so to do; and that, at all times and in all places.

"If you ask what we desire of *you* to do, we answer, 1. We do not desire any of you to let us preach in your churches, either if you believe us to preach false doctrine, or if you have upon any other ground, the least scruple concerning it. But we desire that any who believes us to preach true doctrine, and has no scruple at all in this matter, may not be either publicly or privately discouraged from inviting us to preach in his church.

"2. We do not desire that any one who thinks that we are heretics or schismatics, and that it is his duty to preach or print against us as such, should refrain therefrom, so long as he thinks it his duty, (although in this case, the breach can never be healed.)

"But we desire, that none will pass such a sentence, until he has calmly considered both sides of the question; that he would not condemn us unheard, but first read what we have written, and pray earnestly that God may direct him in the right way.

"3. We do not desire any favor, if either popery, sedition, or immorality be proved against us.

"But we desire, you will not credit without proof,

* Journal. † Ibid.

any of those senseless tales that pass current with the vulgar; that, if you do not credit them yourselves, you will not relate them to others; (which we have known done;) yea, that you will confute them, so far as ye have opportunity, and discountenance those who still retail them abroad.

"4. We do not desire any preferment, favor, or recommendation from those that are in authority, either in church or state. But we desire,

"1. That if any thing material be laid to our charge, we may be permitted to answer for ourselves. 2. That you would hinder your dependants from stirring up the rabble against us, who are certainly not the proper judges of these matters; and, 3. That you would effectually suppress, and thoroughly discountenance, all riots and popular insurrections, which evidently strike at the foundation of all government, whether of church or state.

"Now these things you certainly can do, and that with a safe conscience; therefore, until these things are done, the continuance of the breach is chargeable on you and you only."*

It is evident from this paper, that Mr. Wesley's difficulties, arising from his having raised up a distinct people, within the national church, pressed upon him. He desired union and co-operation with the clergy, but his hope was disappointed; and perhaps it was much more than he could reasonably indulge. It shows, however, his own sincerity, and that he was not only led into his course of irregularity, but impelled forward in it, by circumstances which his zeal and piety had created, and which all his prejudices in favor of the church could not control.

After spending some time in Newcastle and the neighboring places, he visited Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire. On his return southward, he called at Wednesbury, long the scene of riot, and preached in peace. At Birmingham he had to abide the pelting of stones and dirt; and on his return to London, he found some of the society inclined to Quakerism; but by reading "Barclay's Apology" over with them, and commenting upon it, they were recovered. Antinomianism, both of mystic and Calvinistic origin, also gave him trouble; but his testimony against it was unsparing. To erroneous opinions, when innocent, no man was more tender; but when they infected the conduct, they met from him the sternest resistance. "I would wish all to observe, that the points in question between us and either the German or English Antinomians, are not points of opinion, but of practice. We break with no man for his opinion. We think and let think."†

In the summer he proceeded to Cornwall, where Dr. Borlase, the historian of that county, in the plenitude of his magisterial authority, still carried on a systematic persecution against the Methodists. He had made out an order for Mr. Maxfield, who had been preaching in various places, to be sent on board a man-of-war, but the captain would not take him. A pious and peaceable miner, with a wife and seven children, was also apprehended under the Doctor's warrant, because he had said "that he knew his sins forgiven;" and this zealous anti-heretic finally made out a warrant against Mr. Wesley himself, but could find no one to execute it. From Cornwall, where his ministry had been attended with great effect, Mr. Wesley proceeded to Wales, and thence to Bristol.

Count Zinzendorf about this time directed the publication of an advertisement, declaring that he and his people had no connection with John and Charles Wesley; and concluded with a prophecy, that they would "soon run their heads against a wall." On this Mr. Wesley contents himself with coolly remarking, "We will not, if we can help it."

He now proceeded northward; and at Northampton called on Dr. Doddridge, from whom he had previously received several letters, breathing the most catholic spirit. At Leeds, the mob pelted him and the congregation with dirt and stones; and the next evening, being "in higher excitement, they were ready," says he, "to knock out our brains for joy that the duke of Tuscany was emperor." On his arrival at Newcastle, the town was in the utmost consternation, news having arrived that the Pretender had entered Edinburgh. By the most earnest preaching, he endeavored to turn this season of alarm to the spiritual profit of the people, and the large congregations whom he addressed in the streets heard with solemn attention. He then visited Epworth, but speedily returned to Newcastle, judging probably, that the place of anxiety and danger was his post of duty. Here he made an offer to the general, through one of the aldermen, to preach to the troops encamped near the town, whose dissolute language and manners greatly affected him; but he seems to have received no favorable answer: so, after preaching a few times near the camp, he returned southwards, endeavoring, at Leeds, Birmingham, and other places, to turn the public agitation, arising from the apprehension of civil war, to the best account, by enforcing "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr. Wesley had occasionally employed himself in writing and getting printed small religious tracts, many thousands of which were distributed. This was revived with vigor on his return to London this year; and he thus, by his example, was probably the first to apply, on any large scale, this important means of usefulness to the reformation of the people. In the form of those excellent institutions called "Tract Societies," the same plan has now long been carried on systematically, to the great spiritual advantage of many thousands. At this period he observes, adverting to the numerous small tracts he had written and distributed, "It pleased God hereby to provoke others to jealousy; insomuch that the lord mayor had ordered a large quantity of papers, dissuading from cursing and swearing, to be printed, and distributed to the train-bands. And this day, an 'Earnest Exhortation to Serious Repentance' was given at every church-door in or near London, to every person who came out, and one left at the house of every householder who was absent from church. I doubt not but God gave a blessing therewith."*

In the early part of 1746, we find the following entry in Mr. Wesley's journal:—"I set out for Bristol. On the road I read over Lord King's account of the primitive church. In spite of the vehement

* Works, vol. ii. pp. 272—275. † Journal.

* Journal.—Previous to this, we find him a tract writer and distributor; for he observes in the year 1742, "I set out for Brentford with Robert Swindels. The next day we reached Marlborough. When one in the room beneath us was swearing desperately, Mr. Swindels stepped down, and put into his hand the paper entitled 'Swear not at all.' He thanked him, and promised to swear no more. And he did not while he was in the house." Mr. Wesley had already written tracts entitled, "A Word to a Smuggler," "A Word to a Sabbath-breaker," "A Word to a Swearer," "A Word to a Drunkard," "A Word to a Street-walker," "A Word to a Malefactor," and several others. He published these that his preachers and people might have them to give away to those who were guilty of these crimes, or in danger of falling into them. He considered this as one great means of spreading the knowledge of God. He also early gave his influence to the Sunday-school system. Mr. Raikes began his Sunday-school in Gloucester in 1784; and in January, 1785, Mr. Wesley published an account of it in his magazine, and exhorted his societies to imitate that laudable example.

prejudice of my education, I was ready to believe that this was a fair and impartial draught. But if so, it would follow, that bishops and presbyters are (essentially) of one order; and that originally every Christian congregation was a church independent on all others!"

The truth is, that Lord King came in only to confirm him in views which he had for some time begun to entertain; and they were such as show, that though he was a church-of-England man as to affection, which was strong and sincere as far as its doctrines and its liturgy were concerned, and though he regarded it with deference as a legal institution, yet in respect of its ecclesiastical *polity* he was even then very free in his opinions. At the second conference in 1745, it was asked, "Is Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent church government, most agreeable to reason?" The answer is as follows:—

"The plain origin of church-government seems to be this:—Christ sends forth a person to preach the gospel: some of those who hear him, repent and believe in Christ: they then desire him to watch over them, to build them up in faith, and to guide their souls into paths of righteousness. Here then is an independent congregation, subject to no pastor, but their own; neither liable to be controlled, in things spiritual, by any other man, or body of men whatsoever. But soon after, some from other parts, who were occasionally present, whilst he was speaking in the name of the Lord, beseech him to come over and help them also. He complies, yet not till he confers with the wisest and holiest of his congregation; and with their consent appoints one who has gifts and grace to watch over his flock in his absence. If it please God to raise another flock, in the new place, before he leaves them, he does the same thing, appointing one whom God hath fitted for the work to watch over these souls also. In like manner, in every place where it pleases God to gather a little flock by his word, he appoints one in his absence, to take the oversight of the rest, to assist them as of the ability which God giveth.

"These are deacons, or servants of the church, and they look upon their first pastor, as the common father of all these congregations, and regard him in the same light, and esteem him still as the shepherd of their souls. These congregations are not strictly independent, as they depend upon one pastor, though not upon each other.

"As these congregations increase, and the deacons grow in years and grace, they need other subordinate deacons, or helpers, in respect of whom they may be called presbyters, or elders, as their father in the Lord may be called the bishop or overseer of them all."

This passage is important as it shows that from the first he regarded his preachers, when called out and devoted to the work, as, in respect of primitive antiquity and the universal church, parallel to deacons and presbyters. He also then thought himself a scriptural bishop. Lord King's researches into antiquity, served to confirm these sentiments, and corrected his former notion as to a distinction of orders.

It should here be stated, that, at these early conferences one sitting appears to have been devoted to conversation on matters of discipline, in which the propriety of Mr. Wesley's proceedings in former societies, calling out preachers, and originating a distinct religious community, governed by its own laws, were considered; and this necessarily led to the examination of general questions of church government and order. This will explain the reason why in the conferences which Mr. Wesley, his brother, two or three clergymen, and a few preachers, held in the years 1744, 1745, 1746, and 1747, such subjects were discussed as are contained in the above extract and in those which follow. On these as on all others, they set out with the principle of examining every thing "to the foundation.

"*Q.* Can he be a spiritual governor of the church who is not a believer, not a member of it?

"*A.* It seems not: though he may be a governor in outward things, by a power derived from the king.

"*Q.* What are properly the laws of the church of England?

"*A.* The rubrics: and to these we submit, as the ordinance of men, for the Lord's sake.

"*Q.* But is not the will of our governors a law?

"*A.* No; not of any governor, temporal or spiritual; therefore if any bishop wills that I should not preach the gospel, his will is no law to me.

"*Q.* But if he produce a law against your preaching?

"*A.* I am to obey God rather than man."

"*Q.* Is mutual consent absolutely necessary between the pastor and his flock?

"*A.* No question. I cannot guide any soul, unless he consent to be guided by me; neither can any soul force me to guide him, if I consent not.

"*Q.* Does the ceasing of this consent on either side dissolve this relation?

"*A.* It must in the very nature of things. If a man no longer consent to be guided by me, I am no longer his guide; I am free. If one will not guide me any longer, I am free to seek one who will."

"*Q.* Does a church in the New Testament always mean a single congregation?

"*A.* We believe it does; we do not recollect any instance to the contrary.

"*Q.* What instance or ground is there in the New Testament for a national church.

"*A.* We know none at all; we apprehend it to be a merely political institution.

"*Q.* Are the three orders of bishops, priests and deacons plainly described in the New Testament?

"*A.* We think they are, and believe they generally obtained in the church of the apostolic age.

"*Q.* But are you assured that God designed the same plan should obtain in all churches, throughout all ages?

"*A.* We are not assured of it, because we do not know it is asserted in holy writ.

"*Q.* If the plan were essestial to a Christian church, what must become of all foreign reformed churches?

"*A.* It would follow they are no part of the church of Christ: a consequence full of shocking absurdity.

"*Q.* In what age was the divine right of episcopacy first asserted in England?

"*A.* About the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign: till then all the bishops and clergy in England continually allowed and joined in the ministrations of those who were not episcopally ordained.

"*Q.* Must there not be numberless accidental variations in the government of various churches?

"*A.* There must, in the nature of things. As God variously dispenses his gifts of nature, providence, and grace, both the offices themselves, and the officers in each, ought to be varied from time to time.

"*Q.* Why is it that there is no determinate plan of church-government appointed in Scripture?

"*A.* Without doubt because the wisdom of God had a regard to that necessary variety.

"*Q.* Was there any thought of uniformity in the government of all churches, until the time of Constantine?

"*A.* It is certain there was not, nor would there

have been then, had men consulted the work of God only."

Nothing therefore can be more clear, than that Mr. Wesley laid the ground-work of his future proceedings, after much deliberation, at this early stage of his progress. He felt that a case of necessity had arisen, calling upon him to provide a ministry and a government for the people who had been raised up; a necessity which rested upon the obvious alternative, that they must either be furnished with pastors of their own, or be left without sufficient aid in the affairs of their souls. This led him closely to examine the whole matter; and he saw that when the authority of Scripture alone was referred to in matters of church arrangement and regulation, it enjoined no particular form of administration as binding, but left the application of certain great and inviolable principles to the piety and prudence of those whom God might honor as the instruments of usefulness to the souls of men. Here he took his stand; and he proceeded to call forth preachers, and set them apart or *ordain them* * to the sacred office, and to enlarge the work by their means, under the full conviction of his acting under as clear a scriptural authority as could be pleaded by churchmen for episcopacy, by the Presbyterians for presbytery, or by the Congregationalists for independency. Still he did not go beyond the *necessity*. He could make this scriptural appointment of ministers and ordinances, without renouncing communion with the national church, and therefore he did not renounce it. In these views Charles Wesley too, who was at every one of the early conferences, concurred with him; and if he thought somewhat differently on these points afterwards, it was Charles who departed from first principles, not John. So much for the accuracy of Dr. Whitehead, who constructed his life of the two brothers upon just the opposite opinion!

The discipline which Mr. Wesley maintained in the societies, was lenient and long-suffering; but where there was an evil at the root, he had an unsparing hand. In March, 1746, he came to Nottingham, and observes, "I had long doubted what it was which hindered the work of God here. But upon inquiry the case was plain. So many of the society were either triflers, or disorderly walkers, that the blessing of God could not rest upon them. So I made short work by cutting off all such at a stroke, and leaving only that little handful, who, as far as could be judged, were really in earnest to save their souls."

At Wednesbury and Birmingham he found that some Antinomian teachers, the offspring of that seed which before the recent revival of religion had been sown in various parts of the country, and who in that concern about spiritual things which now prevailed, began more zealously to bestir themselves to mislead and destroy the souls of men, under pretence of preaching a purer gospel, had troubled the societies. By personal conversation with some of these teachers, in the presence of the people, he drew out the odious extent to which they carried their notions of "Christian liberty;" and thus took an effectual method of exposing and confuting the deadly error.

Upon his return to London, it appeared that certain pretended prophets had appeared in the metropolis, and had excited the attention of many. He gratified his curiosity by going to visit one of them, and with good humored sarcasm observes, that as "he aimed at talking Latin and could not, he plainly showed that he did not understand his own calling." Sober Scotland has in our own day exhibited a similar fanaticism; and the gift of tongues, pretended by some persons there, appears to have proved quite as unsatisfactory an evidence of a divine commission, as in this case. In visiting Newgate he found a penitent and hopeful malefactor; and his Journal affords a specimen of that originality of remark, which peculiar cases, often perplexing to others, called forth from him. "A real, deep work of God seemed to be already begun in his soul. Perhaps by driving him too fast, Satan has driven him to God; to that repentance, which shall never be repented of." When he subsequently visited Dr. Dodd under condemnation, he is reported to have replied to his apologies for receiving him in the condemned cell, "Courage, brother; perhaps God saw that nothing else would do."

Bristol, Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall, occupied Mr. Wesley's attention during the summer of 1746, and London, Bristol, and the places adjacent, for the remainder of the year. About this time also he received various letters from the army abroad, giving an account of the progress of religion among the soldiers, and of the brave demeanor in battle of many of their Methodist comrades. These accounts appear to have given him great satisfac-

* The act of setting apart ministers by Mr. Wesley, but without imposition of hands, is here called their *ordination*, although that term has not been generally in use among us; and may be objected to by those who do not consider that imposition of hands, however impressive as a form, and in most churches the uniform practice, is still but a *circumstance*, and cannot enter into the *essence* of ordination. That every religious society has the power to determine the mode in which "*the separation*" of its ministers "to *the gospel of God*" shall be visibly notified and expressed, will only be questioned by those whom prejudice and a wretched bigotry have brought under their influence. What the body of Methodists now practice in this respect, will, however, be allowed to stand on clearer ground than the proceedings of Mr. Wesley, who still continued in communion with the church. It has therefore been generally supposed, that Mr. Wesley did not consider his appointment of preachers without imposition of hands, as an *ordination* to the ministry; but only as an irregular employment of laymen in the spiritual office of merely expounding the Scriptures in a case of moral necessity. This, however, is not correct. They were not appointed to expound or preach merely, but were solemnly set apart to the pastoral office, as the minutes of the conference show; nor were they regarded by him as *laymen*, except when in common parlance they were distinguished from the clergy of the church; in which case he would have called any dissenting minister a layman. The first extract from the minutes of the conferences above given, sufficiently shows that as to the church of Christ at large, and as to his own societies, he regarded the preachers when fully devoted to the work, not as *laymen*, but as *spiritual* men, and *ministers;* men, as he says, "moved by the Holy Ghost" to preach the gospel, and who after trial were ordained to that and other branches of the pastoral office. In his sketch of the origin of church government in that extract, he clearly had in view the conformity between what had taken place in his own case, and that which must, in a great number of instances, have occurred in the earliest periods of Christianity; and whilst he evidently refers to himself as the father and bishop of the whole of the societies, he tacitly compares his "assistants" to the ancient "presbyters," and his "helpers" to the ancient "deacons." In point of fact, so fully did he consider himself even in 1747, (whether consistently or not, as a churchman, let others determine, I speak only to the fact,) as *setting apart* or *ordaining* to the ministry, that he appears to have had thoughts of adding imposition of hands to his usual mode of ordination, which was preceded by fasting and private prayer, and consisted of public examination, prayer, and appointment; and he only declines this for *prudential* reasons. "Why," says he, "do we not use more *form* in receiving a new laborer? 1. Because there is something of stateliness in it, and we would be little and inconsiderable. 2. Because we would not *make haste:* we desire barely to follow Providence as it gradually opens." (*Minutes of* 1747.) Even this form therefore was regarded as what might in other circumstances be required. The bearing of these remarks upon some future ordinations of Mr. Wesley by imposition of hands, will be pointed out in its proper place.

tion; and showing the power of religion in new circumstances, and as affording him an answer to his enemies, who asserted that his doctrines had the effect of making men dastardly, negligent of duty, and disloyal. In the early part of the year 1747, we find him braving the snows of February in Lincolnshire; and in March he reached Newcastle, to supply the absence of his brother from that important station.

Among other excellencies possessed by this great man, he was fond of smoothing the path of knowledge, to the diffusion of which he devoted much attention, and for which end he published several compendiums and brief treatises on its most important branches. In this respect also he was foremost to tread in a path, which has been of late years vigorously pursued, and must be reckoned as one of the leaders of that class of wise and benevolent men, who have exerted themselves to extend the benefits of useful information from the privileged orders of society, into the middle and lower classes. "This week," says he, "I read over with some young men, a compendium of rhetoric, and a system of ethics. I see not why a man of tolerable understanding may not in six months' time, learn more of solid philosophy than is commonly learned at Oxford in four (perhaps seven) years."

On his return from his labors in the North of England, he called at Manchester, which he had formerly several times visited in order to take counsel with his college friend Clayton, and Dr. Byrom, and had preached in the churches. He was now seen there in a new character. The small house which was occupied by the society could not contain a tenth part of the people, and he therefore walked to Salford Cross. "A numberless crowd of people partly ran before, partly followed after me. I thought it best not to sing, but looking round, asked abruptly, "Why do you look as if you had never seen me before? Many of you have seen me in the neighboring church, both preaching and administering the sacrament." I then gave out the text, 'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call upon him while he is near.' None interrupted at all, or made any disturbance, till, as I was drawing to a conclusion, a big man thrust in, with three or four more, and bade them 'bring out the engine.' Our friends desired me to remove into a yard just by, which I did, and concluded in peace."

From the north he proceeded through Nottingham and Staffordshire to London, and from thence to the West of England. The influence which his calm courage often gave him over mobs was remarkably shown on this journey. "Within two miles of Plymouth, one overtook and informed us, that the night before, all the Dock was in an uproar; and that a constable, endeavoring to keep the peace, was beaten and much hurt. As we were entering the Dock, one met us, and desired we would go the back way. 'For,' said he, 'there are thousands of people waiting about Mr. Hyde's door.' We rode up straight into the midst of them. They saluted us with three huzzas; after which I alighted, took several of them by the hand, and began to talk with them. I would gladly have passed an hour among them, and believe if I had, there had been an end of the riot; but the day being far spent (for it was past nine o'clock,) I was persuaded to go in. The mob then recovered their spirits, and fought valiantly with the doors and windows. But about ten they were weary, and went every man to his own home. The next day I preached at four, and then spoke severally to a part of the society. About six in the evening I went to the place where I preached the last year. A little before we had ended the hymn, came a lieutenant, a famous man, with his retinue of soldiers, drummers, and mob. When the drums ceased, a gentleman-barber began to speak; but his voice was quickly drowned in the shouts of the multitude, who grew fiercer and fiercer as their numbers increased. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, perceiving the violence of the rabble still increasing, I walked down into the thickest of them, and took the captain of the mob by the hand. He immediately said, 'Sir, I will see you safe home. Sir, no man shall touch you. Gentlemen, stand off. Give back. I will knock the first man down that touches him.' We walked on in great peace; my conductor every now and then stretching out his neck, (he was a very tall man,) and looking round, to see if any behaved rudely, till we came to Mr. Hyde's door. We then parted in much love. I stayed in the street near half an hour after he was gone, talking with the people, who had now forgot their anger, and went away in high good humor."

In Cornwall we have a specimen of his prompt and faithful habits of discipline.

"Wednesday, 8. I preached at St. Ives, then at Sithney. On Thursday, the stewards of all the societies met. I now diligently inquired, what exhorters there were in each society? Whether they had gifts meet for the work? Whether their lives were eminently holy? And whether there appeared any fruit of their labor? I found upon the whole, 1. That there were no fewer than eighteen exhorters in the county. 2. That three of these had no gifts at all for the work, neither natural nor supernatural. 3. That a fourth had neither gifts nor grace, but was a dull, empty, self-conceited man. 4. That a fifth had considerable gifts, but had evidently made shipwreck of the grace of God. These therefore I determined immediately to set aside, and advise our societies not to hear them. 5. That J. B., A. L., and J. W., had gifts and grace, and had been much blessed in the work. Lastly, That the rest might be helpful when there was no preacher, in their own or the neighboring societies, provided they would take no step without the advice of those who had more experience than themselves."

In August he visited Ireland for the first time. Methodism had been introduced into Dublin by Mr. Williams, one of the preachers, whose ministry had been attended with great success, so that a considerable society had been already formed. Mr. Wesley was allowed to preach once at St. Mary's, "to as gay and senseless a congregation," he observes, "as I ever saw." This was not, however, permitted a second time; and he occupied the spacious yard of the meeting-house, both in the mornings and evenings, preaching to large congregations of both poor and rich. Among his hearers he had also ministers of various denominations. The state of the Catholics excited his peculiar sympathy; and as he could have little access to them by preaching, he published an address specially for their use. In his Journal he makes a remark on the religious neglect of this class of our fellow-subjects by protestants, which contains a reproof, the force of which has, unhappily, extended to our own times:—"Nor is it any wonder, that those who are born papists, generally live and die such; when the protestants can find no better ways to convert them than penal laws and acts of parliament." The chief perplexities which Ireland has occasioned to the empire are to be traced to this neglect; and the dangers which have often sprung up to the state, from that quarter, have been, and continue to be, its appropriate punishment. Mr. Wesley's visit, at this time, to Ireland, was short; but he requested his brother to succeed him. Mr. Charles Wesley, therefore, accompanied by another preacher, Mr. Charles Perronet, one of the sons of the venerable

vicar of Shoreham, arrived there in September. A persecution had broken out against the infant society in Dublin, and "the first news," says Mr. Charles Wesley, "we heard, was, that the little flock stood fast in the storm of persecution, which arose as soon as my brother left them. The popish mob broke open their room, and destroyed all before them. Some of them are sent to Newgate, others bailed. What will be the event we know not, till we see whether the grand jury will find the bill." He afterwards states that the grand jury threw out the bill, and thus gave up the Methodists to the fury of a licentious mob. "God has called me to suffer affliction with his people. I began my ministry with 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people,' &c. I met the society, and the Lord knit our hearts together in love stronger than death. We both wept and rejoiced for the consolation. God hath sent me, I trust, to confirm these souls, and to keep them together in the present distress."*

Mr. Charles Wesley spent the winter in Dublin, being daily employed in preaching, and visiting the people. In February he made an excursion into the country, where a few preachers were already laboring, and, in some places, with great success. Thus was the first active and systematic agency for the conversion of the neglected people of Ireland commenced by the Methodists; and, till of late years, it is greatly to be regretted that they were left to labor almost alone. From that time, however, not only was the spirit of religion revived in many protestant parts of the country, and many papists converted to the truth, but the itinerant plan, which was there adopted as in England, enabled the preachers to visit a great number of places where the protestants were so few in numbers as not to be able to keep up regular worship, or to make head, when left to themselves, against popish influence. A barrier was thus erected against the farther encroachments of popery; and the light was kept burning in districts where it would otherwise have been entirely extinguished. The influence of the Methodist societies would, however, have been much more extensive, had not the large emigrations which have been almost constantly setting in from Ireland to America, borne away a greater number of their members in proportion than those of any other community. Mr. Charles Wesley spent part of the year 1748 in Ireland, and preached in several of the chief towns, and especially at Cork, with great unction and success.

CHAPTER IX.

The notices of the journeys and labors of these indefatigable ministers of Christ, given in the preceding chapter, afford but a specimen of the manner in which the foundations of the Methodist connection were carried out and firmly laid. Nor were the preachers under their direction, though laboring in more limited districts of country, scarcely less laboriously employed. At this period one of them writes from Lancashire to Mr. Wesley:—"Many doors are opened for preaching in these parts, but cannot be supplied for want of preachers. I think some one should be sent to assist me, otherwise we shall lose ground. My circuit requires me to travel one hundred and fifty miles in two weeks; during which time I preach publicly thirty-four times, besides meeting the societies, visiting the sick, and transacting other affairs."†

Of the preachers, some were engaged in business, and preached at their leisure in their own neighborhoods; but still, zealous for the salvation of men, they often took considerable journeys. Others gave themselves up, for a time, to more extended labors, and then settled: but the third class, who had become the regular "assistants" and "helpers" of Mr. Wesley, were devoted wholly to the work of the ministry; and, after a period of probation, and a scrutiny into their character and talents at the annual conferences, were admitted, by solemn prayer, into what was called "full connection," which, as we have stated, was their ordination. No provision was, however, made at this early period for their maintenance. They took neither "purse nor scrip;" they cast themselves upon the providence of God, and the hospitality and kindness of the societies, and were by them, like the primitive preachers, "helped forward after a godly sort,"* on their journeys, to open new places, and to instruct those for whose souls "no man cared." It might be as truly said of them as of the first propagators of Christianity, they had "no certain dwelling place." Under the severity of labor, and the wretched accommodations to which they cheerfully submitted, many a fine constitution was broken, and premature death was often induced.

The annual conferences have been mentioned; and that a correct view may be taken of the doctrines, which at those meetings it was agreed should be taught in the societies, it will be necessary to go back to the commencement. At first every doctrine was fully sifted in successive "conversations," and the great principles of godly discipline were drawn out into special regulations, as circumstances appeared to require. After the body had acquired greater maturity, these doctrinal discussions became less frequent; a standard and a test being ultimately established in a select number of Mr. Wesley's doctrinal sermons, and in his "Notes on the New Testament." The free and pious spirit in which these inquiries were entered into, was strikingly marked at the first conferences, in the commencing exhortation:—"Let us all pray for willingness to receive light, to know of every doctrine whether it be of God." The widest principle of Christian liberty was also laid down, as suited to the infant state of a society, which was but just beginning to take its ground, and to assume the appearance of order.

"*Q.* 3. How far does each of us agree to submit to the judgment of the majority?

"*A.* In speculative things, each can only submit so far as his judgment shall be convinced; in every practical point, each will submit so far as he can without wounding his conscience.

"*Q.* 4. Can a Christian submit any farther than this to any man, or number of men, upon earth?

"*A.* It is plain he cannot; either to bishop, convocation, or general council. And this is that grand principle of private judgment, on which all the reformers at home and abroad proceeded: 'Every man must judge for himself; because every man must give an account of himself to God.'"†

Never it may be affirmed, was the formation of any Christian society, marked by the recognition of principles more liberal, or more fully in the spirit of the New Testament.

To some of the doctrinal conversations of the first conferences, it is necessary to refer, in order to mark those peculiarities of opinion which distinguish the Wesleyan Methodists. It is, however, proper to observe, that the clergymen and others, who thus assembled, did not meet to draw up formal articles of faith. They admitted those of the

* Whitehead's Life.

† Whitehead's Life.

* The want of a provision for their wives and families, in the early periods of Methodism, caused the loss of many eminent preachers, who were obliged to settle in independent congregations.

† Minutes.

church of England; and their principal object was to ascertain how several of the doctrines relative to experimental Christianity, which they found stated in substance in those articles, and farther illustrated in the homilies, were to be understood and explained. This light they sought from mutual discussion, in which every thing was brought to the standard of the word of inspired truth.

Their first subject was *justification*, which they describe with great simplicity; not loading it with epithets, as in the systematic schools, nor perplexing it by verbal criticism. It is defined to be "pardon," or "reception into God's favor;" a view which is amply supported by several explicit passages of Scripture, in which the terms "pardon," "forgiveness," and "remission of sins," are used convertibly with the term "justification." To be "received into God's favor," according to these minutes, is necessarily connected with the act of forgiveness, and is the immediate and inseparable consequence of that gracious procedure. The same may be said of *adoption*; which, in some theological schemes, is made to flow from regeneration, while the latter is held to commence previously to justification. In Mr. Wesley's views, adoption as being a *relative* change, is supposed to be necessarily involved in justification, or the pardon of sin; and regeneration to flow from both, as an inward *moral* change arising from the powerful and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit, who is in that moment given to believers.* To their definition of justification, the minutes add, "It is such a state that, if we continue therein, we shall be finally saved;" thus making final salvation conditional, and justification a state which may be forfeited. All wilful sin was held to imply a casting away of vital faith, and thereby to bring a man under wrath and condemnation; "nor is it possible for him to have justifying faith again without previously repenting." They also agree that faith is "the condition of justification;" adding, as the proof, "for every one that believeth not is condemned, and every one who believes is justified." In Mr. Wesley's sermon on justification by faith, the office of faith in justifying is thus more largely set forth:—

"Surely the difficulty of assenting to the proposition, that faith is the *only condition* of justification, must arise from not understanding it. We mean thereby thus much, that it is the only thing, without which no one is justified; the only thing that is immediately, indispensably, absolutely requisite in order to pardon. As on the one hand, though a man should have every thing else, without faith, yet he cannot be justified; so on the other, though he be supposed to want every thing else, yet if he hath faith, he cannot but be justified. For suppose a sinner of any kind or degree, in a full sense of his total ungodliness, of his utter inability to think, speak, or do good, and his absolute meetness for hell-fire; suppose, I say, this sinner, helpless and hopeless, casts himself wholly on the mercy of God in Christ, (which indeed he cannot do but by the grace of God,) who can doubt but he is forgiven in that moment? Who will affirm that any more is *indispensably required*, before that sinner can be justified?

"And at what time soever a sinner thus believes, be it in his early childhood, in the strength of his years, or when he is old and hoary-headed, God justifieth that ungodly one; God, for the sake of his Son, pardoneth and absolveth him, who had in him, till then, no good thing. Repentance, indeed, God had given him before; but that repentance, was neither more nor less than a deep sense of the want of all good, and the presence of all evil. And whatever good he hath or doeth from that hour, when he first believes in God through Christ, faith does not *find*, but *bring*. This is the fruit of faith. First, the tree is good, and then the fruit is good also."

Mr. Wesley's views of repentance in this passage will also be noted. Here, as at the first conference, he insists that repentance, which is conviction of sin, and works meet for repentance, go before justifying faith; but he held, with the church of England, that all works, before justification, had "the nature of sin;" and that, as they had no root in the love of God, which can only arise from a persuasion of his being reconciled to us, they could not constitute a moral worthiness preparatory to pardon. That a true repentance springs from the grace of God is certain; but whatever fruits it may bring forth, it changes not man's *relation* to God. He is a sinner, and is justified *as such*; "for it is not a saint but a sinner that is forgiven, and under the notion of a sinner." God justifieth the ungodly, not the godly."* Repentance, according to his statement, is necessary to true faith; but faith alone is the direct and immediate instrument of pardon.

Those views of *faith* (of that faith by which a man, thus penitent, comes to God through Christ) which are expressed in the minutes of this first conference, deserve a more particular consideration. Here, as in defining justification, the language of the schools, and of systematic, philosophizing divines, is laid aside, and a simple enunciation is made of the doctrine of the New Testament.—"Faith in general is a divine, supernatural *elenchos* of things not seen, that is, of past, future, or spiritual things. It is a spiritual sight of God, and the things of God."†

In this description, faith is distinguished from mere *belief*, or an intellectual conviction, which the consideration of the evidences of the truth of Scripture may produce, and yet lead to no practical or saving consequence; and that there may be a sincere and undoubting belief of the truth, without producing any saving effect, is a point which our very consciousness may sufficiently assure us of; although in order to support a particular theory on the subject of faith, this has sometimes been denied. *Trust* is constantly implied in the scriptural accounts of acceptable and saving faith, and this is the sense in which it was evidently taken in the above definition; for its production in the heart is referred to supernatural agency, and it is made to result from, and to be essentially connected with, a demonstration of spiritual things—such a conviction, wrought by the teaching Spirit, as produces not merely a full *persuasion* but a full *reliance*. Six years before this time, Mr. Wesley, in a sermon before the university of Oxford, had more at large expressed the same views as to justifying faith: "Christian faith is not only an assent to the whole gospel of Christ, but also a full reliance on the blood of Christ; a trust in the merits of his life, death, and resurrection; a recumbency upon him as our atonement and our life, as given for us, and living in us. It is a sure confidence which a man hath in God, that, through the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favor of God; and, in consequence hereof, a closing with him, and cleaving to him, as our 'wisdom, righteousness,

* The connection of favor and adoption with *pardon*, arises from the very nature of that act. Pardon, or forgiveness, is release from the penalties and forfeitures incurred by transgression. Of those penalties, the loss of God's favor and of filial relation to him, was among the most weighty;—pardon, therefore, in its nature, or at least in its natural consequences, implies a restoration to the blessings forfeited, for else the penalty would in part remain in force.

* Sermons. † Minutes.

sanctification, and redemption,' or, in one word, our salvation."*

It will however be remarked, that, in order to support his view of the nature of justifying faith, by the authority of the church of England, Mr. Wesley has quoted her words, from the homily on salvation in the latter part of the above extract; and he thereby involved the subject in an obscurity which some time afterwards he detected and acknowledged. The incorrectness of the wording of the homily is indeed very apparent, although in substance it is sound and scriptural. When that homily defines justifying faith to be "a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favor of God," it is clear that, by the founders of the English church, saving faith was regarded not as mere *belief*, but as an act of *trust* and *confidence* subsequent to the discovery made to a man of his sin and danger, and the fear and penitential sorrow which are thereby produced. The *object* of that faith they make to be God, assuredly referring to God in the exercise of his mercy through the atonement and intercession of Christ; and the trust and confidence of which the homily speaks, must be therefore taken to imply a distinct recognition of the merits of Christ, and a full reliance upon them. So far all is scripturally correct, although not so fully expressed as could be desired. That from such a faith exercised in these circumstances, a "confidence," taking the word in the sense of persuasion or assurance, that "a man's sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favor of God," certainly *follows*, is the doctrine of Scripture; and the authority of the homily may therefore also be quoted in favor of that view of assurance at which churchmen have so often stumbled, and to which they have so often scornfully referred, as the fanatical invention of modern sectaries. There is, however, an error in the homily, which lies not in its substance and general intent, but in this, that it applies the same terms, "trust and confidence," both to God's mercy in Christ, which is its proper object, and to "the forgiveness of sins," which is the *consequence* of a sure trust and confidence in God, as exercising mercy "through Christ," because it is that in order to which the trust or confidence is exercised. It follows, therefore, that either there is an error in the latter part of the statement itself; justifying faith not being a confidence that sin is forgiven, which is absurd, because it is the condition previously required in order to the forgiveness of sin; or otherwise, which is probable, that the term "confidence," in the mind of the writer of the homily, was taken in a different sense when applied to God the object of trust, and to the forgiveness of sin; and, when referred to the latter, meant that persuasion of the fact of being forgiven, which must be attributed to a secret assurance of remission and acceptance by the spirit of adoption, and which ordinarily closely follows, or is immediately connected with, justifying faith, but which is not its essence. But "confidence" in this sense implies *filial confidence*, the trust of a child, of one already passed into the family of God, and hence this is rather the description of the habitual faith of a justified man, than of the act by which a sinner is justified and adopted. Mr. Wesley, therefore, soon perceived that the definition of justifying faith in this homily, needed some correction, and he thus expressed his views in 1747, in a letter to his brother:—

"Is justifying faith a sense of pardon? *Negatur.*" It is denied.

"By justifying faith I mean that faith which whosoever hath not is under the wrath and the curse of God. By a sense of pardon I mean a distinct, explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven.

"I allow, 1. That there is such an explicit assurance. 2. That it is the common privilege of real Christians. 3. That it is the proper Christian faith, which purifieth the heart, and overcometh the world." * * * * *

"But the assertion, that justifying faith is a sense of pardon, is contrary to reason; it is flatly absurd. For how can a sense of our having received pardon, be the condition of our receiving it?

"But does not our church give this account of justifying faith? I am sure she does of saving or Christian faith: I think she does of justifying faith too. But to the law and to the testimony. All men may err: but the word of the Lord shall stand for ever."

Mr. Wesley, however, still regarded that trust in the merits of Christ's death, in which justifying faith consists, as resulting from a supernatural conviction that Christ "*loved me*," as an individual, and "*gave himself for me*." In this he placed the proof that faith is "the gift of God," a work of the Holy Spirit, as being produced along with this conviction, or immediately following it. From this supernatural conviction, not only that God was in Christ "reconciling the world unto himself," but that he died "for *my* sins," there follows an entire committal of the case of the soul to the merits of the sacrifice of Christ, in an act of *trust*;—in that moment, he held, God pardons and absolves him that so believes or trusts, and that this, his pardon or justification, is then witnessed to him by the Holy Ghost. Nor can a clearer or simpler view of stating this great subject, in accordance with the Scriptures, be well conceived. The state of a penitent is one of various degrees of doubt, but all painful. He questions the love of God to him, from a deep sense of his sin, although he may allow that He loves all the world beside. Before he can fully rely on Christ, and the promises of the gospel, he must have heightened and more influential views of God's love in Christ, and of his own interest in it. It is the office of the Holy Spirit "to take of the things of Christ, and show them" to the humble mind. This office of the Spirit agrees with that ελεγχος or "divine conviction," of which Mr. Wesley speaks, and which shows, with the power of demonstrative evidence, the love of Christ to the individual himself in the *intention* of his sacrifice. From this results an entire and joyful acquiescence with the appointed method of salvation, and a full reliance upon it, followed, according to the promise of Scripture, with actual forgiveness, and the cheering testimony of the spirit of adoption. Of this faith he allowed different degrees, yet the lowest degree saving; and also different degrees of assurance, and therefore of joy. He was careful to avoid binding the work of the Spirit to one rule, and to distinguish between that *peace* which flows from a comfortable persuasion of "acceptance through Christ," and those higher joys which may be produced by that more heightened assurance which God is pleased in many cases to impart. He taught that the essence of true justifying faith consists in the entire *personal* trust of the man of a penitent and broken spirit upon the merits of his Saviour, as having died for *him*; and that to all who so believe, faith is "imputed for righteousness," or, in other words, pardon was administered.*

* Sermons.

* That Mr. Wesley did not hold that assurance of personal pardon is of the essence of justifying faith is certain, from the remarks in his letter to his brother before quoted, in which he plainly states, that to believe that I am pardoned in order to pardon, is an absurdity and a contradiction. There will, however, appear some obscurity in a few other passages in his writings, unless

The immediate fruits of justifying faith are stated in these minutes to be "peace, joy, love; power over all outward sin, and power to keep down inward sin." Justifying faith, when lost, is not again attainable, except by repentance and prayer; but "no believer need come again into a state of doubt, or fear, or darkness; and that (ordinarily at least) he will not, unless by ignorance or unfaithfulness." Assaults of doubt and fear are however admitted, even after great confidence and joy; and "occasional heaviness of spirit before large manifestations of the presence and favor of God." To these views of doctrine may be added, that regeneration or the new birth is held to be concomitant with justification. "Good works cannot go before this faith; much less can sanctification, which implies a continued course of good works, springing from holiness of heart: but they follow after:" and the reason given for this is, that as salvation, which includes a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, the renewing of the soul after the image of God, all holy and heavenly tempers and conversation, it is by faith, it cannot precede faith, which is the appointed instrument of attaining it. To increase in all these branches of holiness, the exercise of faith in prayer, and the use of all the means appointed by God, are also necessary; a living faith being that which unites the soul to Christ, and secures the constant indwelling and influence of the Holy Spirit in the heart. Such a faith must therefore necessarily lead to universal holiness of heart and life, and stands as an impregnable barrier against Pharisaism on the one hand, and the pollutions of Antinomianism on the other.

On another doctrine, in defence of which Mr. Wesley afterwards wrote much, these early minutes of conference contain perhaps the best epitome of his views, and may be somewhat at length quoted.

"*Q.* 1. What is it to be sanctified?

"*A.* To be renewed in the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness.

"*Q.* 2. Is faith the condition, or the instrument, of sanctification?

"*A.* It is both the condition and instrument of it. When we begin to believe, then sanctification begins. And as faith increases, holiness increases, till we are created anew.

"*Q.* 3. What is implied in being a perfect Christian?

"*A.* The loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and with all our mind, and soul, and strength. Deut. vi. 5; xxx. 6; Ezek. xxxvi. 25—29.

"*Q.* 4. Does this imply that all inward sin is taken away?

"*A.* Without doubt: or how could he be said to be saved 'from all his uncleannesses?' Ezekiel xxxvi. 29."

And again,—

"*Q.* 1. How much is allowed by our brethren who differ from us, with regard to entire sanctification?

"*A.* They grant, 1. That every one must be entirely sanctified in the article of death.

"2. That, till then, a believer daily grows in grace, comes nearer and nearer to perfection.

"3. That we ought to be continually pressing after this, and to exhort all others so to do.

"*Q.* 2. What do we allow to them?

"*A.* We grant, 1. That many of those who have died in the faith, yea, the greater part of those we have known, were not sanctified throughout, not made perfect in love, till a little before death.

"2. That the term 'sanctified,' is continually applied by Saint Paul to all that were justified, were true believers.

"3. That by this term alone, he rarely (if ever) means, saved from all sin.

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we notice the sense in which he uses certain terms, a matter in which he never felt himself bound by the systematic phraseology of scholastic theologians. Thus there is an apparent discrepancy between the statement of his views as given above, and the following passage in his sermon on the "Scripture way of Salvation:"

"Taking the word in a more particular sense, faith is a divine evidence and conviction, not only that 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself;' but also that *Christ loved* me, *and gave himself for* me. It is by faith (whether we term it, the *essence*, or rather a *property* thereof) that we *receive Christ*, that we receive him in all his offices, as Prophet, Priest, and King. It is by this that he is 'made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.'

"'But is this the *faith of assurance*, or the *faith of adherence?*' The Scripture mentions no such distinction. The apostle says, 'There is one faith, and one hope of our calling,' one Christian, saving faith, 'as there is one Lord,' in whom we believe, and 'one God and Father of us all.' And it is certain, this faith necessarily implies an *assurance* (which is here only another word for *evidence*, it being hard to tell the difference between them) that *Christ loved* me, and *gave himself* for me. For 'he that believeth,' with the true living faith, 'hath the witness in himself.' 'The Spirit witnesseth with his spirit, that he is a child of God.' 'Because he is a son, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into his heart, crying, Abba, Father;' giving him an assurance that he is so, and a child-like confidence in him. But let it be observed that, in the very nature of the thing, the assurance goes before the confidence. For a man cannot have a child-like confidence in God till he know he is a child of God. Therefore, confidence, trust, reliance, adherence, or whatever else it be called, is not the first, as some have supposed, but the second branch or act of faith."

Yet in fact the only difficulty arises from not attending to his mode of stating the case, and his use of the term *assurance*. When he says that faith includes both adherence and assurance, it is obvious that he does not mean by assurance, the assurance of personal acceptance, which he distinctly, in the same passage, ascribes to the direct testimony of the Spirit of God; but the assurance that Christ "died for *me*," "for *my* sins," which special manifestation of God's love in Christ to me as an individual, producing an entire *trust* in the divine sacrifice for sin, he attributes to a supernatural elenchos or conviction. This, however, he considers as a "conviction" in order to faith or trust; and then the act of personal and entire trust in this manifested love and goodness is succeeded by the direct testimony of the Spirit of adoption, which he tells us gives a man "the assurance that he is a child of God, and a child-like confidence in him." And when he goes on so truly to state, that, "in the very nature of the thing, the assurance goes before the confidence," and that "confidence, trust, or reliance," is not the first but the second branch of faith, he evidently does not here mean that confidence and trust in the merit of Christ by which we are justified, but *filial trust and confidence in God* as our reconciled Father, which must necessarily be subsequent to the other. According to Mr. Wesley's views, the order of our passing into a *state* of justification, and conscious reconcilement to God, is, 1. True repentance, which, however, gives us no worthiness, and establishes no claim upon pardon, although it so necessarily precedes justifying faith, that all trust even in the merits of Christ for salvation would be presumptuous and unauthorized without repentance; since, as he says, "Christ is not even to be offered to the careless sinner."* 2. A supernatural *elenchos*, or assured conviction, that "Christ loved *me*, and *gave* himself for *me*," in the intention of his death; inciting to and producing full acquiescence with God's method of saving the guilty, and an entire personal trust in Christ's atonement for sin. Of this trust, actual justification is the result; but then follows, 3. The direct testimony of the Holy Spirit, giving assurance in different degrees, in different persons, and often in the same person, that I am a child of God; and, 4. Filial confidence in God. The *elenchos*, the *trust*, the *Spirit's witness*, and the *filial confidence* he held, were frequently, but not always, so closely united as not to be distinguished as to *time*, though each is, from its *nature*, *successive* and *distinct*.

* Sermon on the "law established through faith."

"4. That, consequently, it is not proper to use it in this sense, without adding the word 'wholly, entirely,' or the like.

"5. That the inspired writers almost continually speak of or to those who were justified; but very rarely, either of or to those who were wholly sanctified.

"6. That, consequently, it behoves us to speak in public almost continually of the state of justification; but more rarely, at least in full and explicit terms, concerning entire sanctification.

"*Q.* 3. What then is the point wherein we divide?

"*A.* It is this: whether we should expect to be saved from all sin, before the article of death.

"*Q.* 4. Is there any clear Scripture promise of this? that God will save us from *all* sin?

"*A.* There is: Psalm cxxx. 8, "He shall redeem Israel from *all* his sins.'

"This is more largely expressed in the prophecy of Ezekiel: 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean; from *all* your filthiness and from *all* your idols will I cleanse you. I will also save you from *all* your uncleannesses:' chap. xxxvi. 25, 29. No promise can be more clear. And to this the apostle plainly refers in that exhortation, 'Having these promises, let us cleansé ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.' 2 Cor. vii. 1.—Equally clear and express is that ancient promise, 'The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul.' Deut. xxx. 6.

"*Q.* 5. But does any *assertion* answerable to this, occur in the New Testament?

"*A.* There does, and that laid down in the plainest terms. So St. John iii. 8, 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil;' the works of the devil, without any limitation or restriction; but all sin is the work of the devil. Parallel to which is that assertion of St. Paul, Eph. v. 25, 27, 'Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it—that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish.'

"And to the same effect is his assertion in the eighth of Romans, (verses 3, 4,) 'God sent his Son—that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, walking not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.'

"*Q.* 6. Does the New Testament afford any farther ground for expecting to be saved from all sin?

"*A.* Undoubtedly it does, both in those prayers and commands which are equivalent to the strongest assertions.

"*Q.* 7. What prayers do you mean?

"*A.* Prayers for entire sanctification; which, were there no such thing, would be mere mockery of God. Such in particular are, 1. 'Deliver us from evil;' or rather, 'from the evil one.' Now when this is done, when we are delivered from all evil, there can be no sin remaining.—2. 'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us: I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.' John xvii. 20, 21, 23.—3. 'I bow my knees unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—that he would grant you—that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with the fulness of God,' Eph. iii. 14, 16—19.—4. 'The very God of peace sanctify you wholly. And I pray God, your whole spirit, soul, and body, be preserved blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 Thess. v. 23.

"*Q.* 8. What command is there to the same effect?

"*A.* 1. 'Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.' Matt. vi. ult.

"2. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind,' Matt. xxii. 37. But if the love of God fill all the heart, there can be no sin there.

"*Q.* 9. But how does it appear, that this is to be done before the article of death?

"*A.* First, from the very nature of a command, which is not given to the dead, but to the living.

"Therefore, 'Thou shalt love God with all thy heart,' cannot mean, Thou shalt do this when thou diest, but while thou livest.

"Secondly, from express texts of Scripture:—

"1. 'The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that having renounced (ἀρνησάμενοι) ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: looking for—the glorious appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from *all* iniquity; and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works," Tit. ii. 11—14.

"2. 'He hath raised up an horn of salvation for us—to perform the mercies promised to our fathers: the oath which he sware to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, should serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life,' Luke i. 69, &c.

"*Q.* 16. Does not the harshly preaching perfection, tend to bring believers into a kind of bondage or slavish fear?

"*A.* It does. Therefore we should always place it in the most amiable light, so that it may excite only hope, joy, and desire.

"*Q.* 17. Why may we not continue in the joy of faith, even till we are made perfect?

"*A.* Why indeed? since holy grief does not quench this joy: since even while we are under the cross, while we deeply partake of the sufferings of Christ, we may rejoice with joy unspeakable.

"*Q.* 18. Do we not discourage believers from rejoicing evermore?

"*A.* We ought not so to do. Let them, all their life long, rejoice unto God, so it be with reverence. And even if lightness or pride should mix with their joy, let us not strike at the joy itself, (this is the gift of God,) but at that lightness or pride, that the evil may cease, and the good remain.

"*Q.* 20. But ought we not to be *troubled* on account of the sinful nature which still remains in us?

"*A.* It is good for us to have a deep sense of this, and to be much ashamed before the Lord. But this should only incite us the more earnestly to turn unto Christ every moment, and to draw light, and life, and strength from him, that we may go on, conquering and to conquer. And therefore, when the sense of our sin most abounds, the sense of his love should much more abound."

The doctrine of assurance, and the source of it, the testimony of the Holy Spirit as the spirit of adoption, are frequently referred to in these early doctrinal conversations. This however is more fully stated in Mr. Wesley's sermons, and the following extracts will be necessary to present his views on this subject in their true light:—

"But what is *the witness of the Spirit?* The original word μαρτυρία, may be rendered either, (as it is in several places,) *the witness*, or, less ambiguously, *the testimony*, or *the record:* so it is rendered in our translation, 1 John v. 11, 'This is the record,' the testimony, the sum of what God testifies in all the inspired writings, 'that God hath given unto us

eternal life, and this life is in his Son.' The testimony now under consideration is given by the Spirit of God to and with our spirit. He is the person testifying. What he testifies to us is, 'that we are the children of God.' The immediate result of this testimony, is, 'the fruit of the Spirit;' namely, 'love, joy, peace; long-suffering, gentleness, goodness.' And without these, the testimony itself cannot continue. For, it is inevitably destroyed, not only by the commission of any outward sin, or the omission of known duty, but by giving way to any inward sin: in a word, by whatever grieves the Holy Spirit of God.

"2. I observed many years ago, 'It is hard to find words in the language of men, to explain the deep things of God. Indeed there are none that will adequately express what the spirit of God works in his children. But, perhaps, one might say, (desiring any who are taught of God to correct, soften, or strengthen the expression,) By the 'testimony of the Spirit,' I mean, an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God; that 'Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me;' that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God.

"3. After twenty years' farther consideration, I see no cause to retract any part of this. Neither do I conceive how any of these expressions may be altered, so as to make them more intelligible. I can only add, that if any of the children of God will point out any other expressions which are more clear, or more agreeable to the word of God, I will readily lay these aside.

"4. Meantime let it be observed, I do not mean hereby, that the Spirit of God testifies this by any outward voice: no, nor always by an inward voice, although he may do this sometimes. Neither do I suppose, that he always applies to the heart (though he often may) one or more texts of Scripture. But he so works upon the soul by his immediate influence, and by a strong, though inexplicable operation, that the stormy wind and troubled waves subside, and there is a sweet calm: the heart resting as in the arms of Jesus, and the sinner being clearly satisfied that all his 'iniquities are forgiven, and his sins covered.'

"5. Now what is the matter of dispute concerning this? Not, whether there be a witness or testimony of the Spirit. Not whether the Spirit does testify with our spirit, that we are the children of God. None can deny this, without flatly contradicting the Scriptures, and charging a lie upon the God of truth. Therefore that there is a testimony of the Spirit, is acknowledged by all parties.

"6. Neither is it questioned whether there is an indirect witness or testimony, that we are the children of God. This is nearly, if not exactly, the same with 'the testimony of a good conscience towards God; and is the result of reason, or reflection on what we feel in our own souls. Strictly speaking, it is a conclusion drawn partly from the word of God, and partly from our own experience. The word of God says, Every one who has the fruit of the Spirit is a child of God. Experience or inward consciousness tells me, that I have the fruit of the Spirit; and hence I rationally conclude, therefore I am a child of God. This is likewise allowed on all hands, and so is no matter of controversy.

"7. Nor do we assert, that there can be any real testimony of the Spirit, without the fruit of the Spirit. We assert, on the contrary, that the fruit of the Spirit immediately springs from this testimony; not always indeed in the same degree even when the testimony is first given; and much less afterwards: neither joy nor peace is always at one stay. No, nor love: as neither is the testimony itself always equally strong and clear.

"8. But the point in question is, whether there be any *direct testimony* of the Spirit at all; whether there be any other testimony of the Spirit, than that which arises from a consciousness of the fruit.

"1. I believe there is, because that is the plain, natural meaning of the text, 'the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God'. It is manifest, here are two witnesses mentioned, who together testify the same thing, the Spirit of God and our own spirit.

The late bishop of London, in his sermon on this text, seems astonished that any one can doubt of this, which appears upon the very face of the words. Now '*the testimony of our own spirit*, (says the bishop,) is one, which is the consciousness of our own sincerity;' or to express the same thing a little more clearly, the consciousness of the fruit of the Spirit. When our spirit is conscious of this, of love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, it easily infers from these premises, that we are the children of God.

"2. It is true, that great man supposes the other witness to be 'the consciousness of our own good works.' This, he affirms, is 'the testimony of God's Spirit.' But this is included in the testimony of our own spirit: Yea, and in sincerity, even according to the common sense of the word. So the apostle, 'Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity we have our conversation in the world;' where it is plain, sincerity refers to our words and actions, at least as much as to our inward dispositions. So that this is not another witness, but the very same that he mentioned before: the consciousness of our good works being only one branch of the consciousness of our sincerity. Consequently here is only one witness still. If therefore the text speaks of two witnesses, one of these is not the consciousness of our good works, neither of our sincerity: all this being manifestly contained in 'the testimony of our spirit.'

"3. What then is the other witness? This might easily be learned, if the text itself were not sufficiently clear, from the verse immediately preceding. 'Ye have received, not the spirit of bondage, but the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.' It follows, 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.'

"4. This is farther explained by the parallel text, Gal. iv. 6: 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' Is not this something *immediate* and *direct*, not the result of reflection or argumentation? Does not this Spirit cry, 'Abba, Father,' *in our hearts*, the moment it is given? antecedently to any reflection upon our sincerity, yea, to any reasoning whatsoever? And is not this the plain, natural sense of the words, which strikes any one as soon as he hears them? All these texts then, in their most obvious meaning, describe a direct testimony of the Spirit.

"5. That *the testimony of the Spirit of God* must, in the very nature of things, be antecedent to *the testimony of our own spirit*, may appear from this single consideration. We must be holy in heart and life, before we can be conscious that we are so. But we must love God before we can be holy at all, this being the root of all holiness. Now we cannot love God, till we know he loves us: 'we love him because he first loved us.' And we cannot know his love to us, till his Spirit witnesses it to our spirit. Since therefore the testimony of his Spirit must precede the love of God and all holiness, of consequence it must precede our consciousness thereof."

A doctrine so often misrepresented and misunderstood could not be so properly stated, as in Mr. Wes-

ley's own words; and as many, and those even professing to be sober Christians, have, principally with reference to this doctrine, frequently opened upon this venerable man the full cry of enthusiasm and fanatical delusion, it may be proper to add a few explanatory and defensive remarks, and that not merely for the sake of justice to his opinions, but in support of a great doctrine of revelation, most intimately connected with the hope and comfort of man.

And, 1. The doctrine of assurance, as held by the founder of Methodism, was not the assurance of the *eternal* salvation as held by Calvinistic divines; but that persuasion which is given by the Holy Spirit to penitent and believing persons, that they are "*now* accepted of God, pardoned and adopted into God's family." It was an assurance, therefore, on the ground of which no relaxation of religious effort could be pleaded, and no unwatchfulness of spirit or irregularity of life allowed: for he taught, that only by the lively exercise of the same humble and obedient faith in the merits and intercession of Christ, this state of mind could be maintained, and it was made by him a motive (influential as our desire of inward peace can be influential) to vigilance and obedience.

2. This doctrine cannot be denied without disconnecting religion from peace of mind, and habitual consolation. For if it is the doctrine of the inspired records, and of all orthodox churches, that man is by nature prone to evil, and that in practice he violates that law under which as a creature he is placed, and is thereby exposed to punishment:—if also it is there stated, that an act of grace and pardon is promised on the conditions of repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ:—if that repentance implies consideration of our ways, a sense of the displeasure of Almighty God, contrition of heart, and consequently trouble and grief of mind, mixed, however, with hope, inspired by the promise of forgiveness, and which leads to earnest supplication for the actual pardon of sin so promised, it will follow from these premises, either, that forgiveness is not to be expected till after the termination of our course of probation, that is, in another life; and that, therefore, this trouble and apprehension of mind can only be assuaged by the hope we may have of a favorable final decision on our case:—or, that sin is, in the present life, forgiven as often as it is thus repented of, and as often as we exercise the required and specific acts of trust in the merits of our Saviour; but that this forgiveness of our sins is not in any way made known unto us; so that we are left, as to our feelings, in precisely the same state as if sin were not forgiven till after death, namely, in grief and trouble of mind, relieved only by hope:—or, that when sin is forgiven by the mercy of God through Christ, we are, by some means, assured of it, and peace and satisfaction of mind take the place of anxiety and fear.

The first of these conclusions is sufficiently disproved by the authority of Scripture, which exhibits justification as a blessing attainable in this life, and represents it as actually experienced by true believers. "Therefore being justified by faith," &c. "There is *now* no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus." "Whosoever believeth is justified from all things," &c. The quotations might be multiplied, but these are decisive. The notion, that though an act of forgiveness may take place, we are unable to ascertain a fact so important to us, is also irreconcilable with many texts in which the writers of the New Testament speak of an experience, not confined personally to themselves, or to those Christians who are endowed with spiritual gifts, but common to all Christians. "Being justified by faith we have *peace* with God." "We joy in God, by whom we have received the *reconciliation*." "Being reconciled unto God by the death of his Son." "We have not received the spirit of bondage again unto fear, but the Spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father." To these may be added innumerable passages which express the comfort, the confidence, and the joy of Christians; their "friendship" with God; their "access" to him; their entire union and delightful intercourse with him; and their absolute confidence in the success of their prayers. All such passages are perfectly consistent with deep humility, and self-diffidence: but they are irreconcilable with a state of hostility between the parties, and with an unascertained, and only hoped-for, restoration of friendship and favor.

3. The services of the church of which Mr. Wesley was a minister, may be pleaded also in support of his opinions on this subject. Those services, though, with propriety, as being designed for the use, not of true Christians only, but of mixed congregations, they abound in acts of confession, and the expressions of spiritual grief, exhibit also this confidence and peace, as objects of earnest desire and hopeful anticipation, and as blessings attainable in the present life. We pray to be made "children by adoption and grace;" to be "relieved from the fear of punishment by the comfort of God's grace;" not to be "left comfortless, but that God, the King of Glory, would send to us the Holy Ghost to comfort us;" and that by the same Spirit having a right judgment in all things, "we may evermore rejoice in his holy comfort." In the prayer directed to be used for one troubled in mind or in conscience, we have also the following impressive petitions: "Break not the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. Shut not up thy tender mercies in displeasure, but make him to hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice. Deliver him from the fear of the *enemy*, and *lift up the light of thy countenance upon him, and give him peace*." Now unless it be contended, that by these petitions we are directed to seek what we can never find, and always to follow that which we can never overtake, the church, in the spirit of the New Testament, assumes that the forgiveness of sins, and the relief of the sorrows of the penitent state, are attainable, with those consequent comforts and joys which can only arise from some assurance of mind, by whatever means, and in whatever degree communicated, that we have a *personal* interest in the general promise, and that *we* are reconciled to God by the death of his Son. For since the general promise is made to many who will never be benefitted by it, it cannot of itself be the ground of a settled religious peace of mind. As it is a promise of blessings to be *individually* experienced, unless I can have personal experience of them, it holds up to hope what can never come into fruition.*

* "Faith is not merely a speculative but a practical acknowledgment of Jesus as the Christ—an *effort and motion of the mind towards God:* when the sinner, convinced of sin, accepts with thankfulness the proffered terms of pardon, and in humble confidence applying individually to himself the benefit of the general atonement, in the elevated language of a venerable father of the church, drinks of the stream which flows from the Redeemer's side. The effect is, that in a little he is filled with that perfect love of God which casteth out fear—he cleaves to God with the entire affection of the soul. And from this active lively faith, overcoming the world, subduing carnal self, all those good works do necessarily spring, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."—*Bishop Horsley's Sermons.*

"The purchase, therefore, was paid at once, yet must be *severally reckoned* to every soul whom it shall benefit. If we have not a hand to take what Christ's hand doth either hold or offer, what is sufficient in him cannot be effectual to us. The spiritual hand, whereby we apprehend the sweet offer of our Saviour, is faith, which,

An assurance, therefore, that those sins which were felt to "be a burden intolerable" are forgiven, and that all ground of that apprehension of future punishment which causes the penitent to "*bewail* his manifold sins" is removed by restoration to the favor of the offended God, must be allowed, or nothing would be more incongruous and indeed impossible, than the comfort, the peace, the rejoicing of spirit, which, in the Scriptures, are attributed to believers. If, indeed, self-condemnation, and the apprehension of danger, had no foundation but in the imagination, the case would be totally altered. Where there is no danger, deliverance is visionary; and the joy it inspires is raving, and not reason. But if a real danger exists; and if we cannot escape it except by an act of grace on the part of Almighty God, we must have some evidence of his gracious interposition in our case, or the guilty gloom will abide upon us. The more sincere and earnest a person is in the affairs of his salvation, the more miserable he must become if there be no possibility of his knowing that the wrath of God no longer abideth upon him:—then the ways of wisdom would be no longer "ways of pleasantness, and paths of peace."

4. Few real Christians therefore have ever denied the possibility of our becoming so persuaded of the favor and good-will of God towards us as to produce substantial comfort to the mind; but they have differed in opinion as to the means by which this is acquired. Some have said that we obtain it by *inference;* others, by *the direct inward testimony* of the Holy Spirit. The latter, as we have seen, was the opinion of Mr. Wesley; but he never failed to connect this doctrine with another, which, on the authority of St. Paul, he calls "the witness of our own spirit,"—"the consciousness of having received, in and by the Spirit of adoption, the *tempers* mentioned in the word of God, as belonging to his adopted children—a consciousness that we are inwardly conformed, by the Spirit of God, to the image of his Son, and that we *walk* before him in justice, mercy, and truth, *doing* the things which are pleasing in his sight." These two testimonies he never put asunder, although he assigned them distinct offices; and this cannot be overlooked if justice be done to his opinions. In order to prevent presumption, he reminds his readers that the direct testimony of the Holy Spirit is subsequent to true repentance and faith; and on the other hand, to guard against delusion, he asks, "How am I assured that I do not mistake the voice of the Spirit? Even by the testimony of my own spirit, 'by the answer of a good conscience towards God.' Hereby you shall know that you are in no delusion, that you have not deceived your own soul. The immediate fruits of the Spirit ruling in the heart are love, joy, peace, bowels of mercies, humbleness of mind, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering. And the outward fruits are the doing good to all men, and a uniform obedience to all the commands of God." Where then is the enthusiasm of the doctrine as thus stated? An enthusiastic doctrine is unsupported by the sacred records; but in confirmation of this we read, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Here the witnesses are the Spirit of God, and our own spirit; and the fact, to which the testimony is given, is, that "we are the children of God."—"And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father!" To these passages may be added all those texts which speak of the inward intercourse of the Spirit of God with believers; of his dwelling in them, and abiding with them as the source of comfort and peace; and which, therefore, imply the doctrine. Nor can such passages be interpreted otherwise than as teaching the doctrine of assurance, conveyed immediately to the mind of true believers by the Holy Spirit, without allowing such principles of construction as would render the sense of Scripture uncertain, and unsettle the evidence of some of the most important doctrines of our religion.

It is true that a more "sober" and "less dangerous" method, as it has been called, of obtaining a comfortable assurance of our justification before God has been insisted upon as equally consistent with the word of God; but, upon examination, it will be found delusive. This is what is termed a process of *inference*, and is thus explained. The question at issue is, "Am I a child of God?" The Scriptures declare that "as many as are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God." I inquire, then, whether I have the Spirit of God; and, in order to determine this, I examine whether I have "the fruits of the Spirit." Now "the fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, gentleness, goodness, meekness, faith, temperance;" and having sufficient evidence of the existence of these fruits, I conclude that I have the Spirit of God, and am, therefore, a pardoned and accepted child of God. This is the statement. But among these enumerated fruits of the Spirit we find *love*, *joy*, and *peace*, as well as gentleness, goodness, meekness, fidelity, and temperance; and if it be said that no man has a right to assume that "he is so led by the Spirit of God," as to conclude, that he is a child of God, who has only the affections of "peace and joy" to ground his confidence upon, we have as good a reason to affirm the same thing, if he has "meekness and temperance," without "love, and peace, and joy;"—the love, the peace, and the joy, being as much fruits of the Spirit as the moral qualities also enumerated.

But can "love," love to God as our *Father;* "peace," peace with God, as in a state of *friendship* with us; and "joy," "joy in God by whom we have received the *reconciliation*," exist at all without a previous or concomitant assurance of the divine forgiveness and favor? Surely nothing is so clear, that it is not possible to love God as a father and a friend, whilst he is still regarded as an offended sovereign and a vengeful judge; and that to feel a sense of his displeasure, and to be at "peace" with him, and to rejoice in him, are contradictions; and if so, the very ground of this inference, that we are in the divine favor, and adopted into his family, is taken away. This whole inferential process proceeds upon dividing the undivided fruit of the Spirit, for which we have assuredly no authority; nor indeed have we any reason to conclude that we have *that* gentleness, *that* goodness, *that* meekness, &c., which the apostle describes, should the "love, joy, and peace," which he places among the leading fruits of the Spirit, be wanting. If then the whole undivided fruit of the Spirit be taken as the medium of ascertaining the fact of our forgiveness and adoption, and if it is even absurd to suppose that we can love God, whilst yet we feel him to be angry with us; and that we can rejoice and have peace, whilst the fearful apprehensions of the consequences of

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in short, is no other than an affiance in the Mediator. Receive peace, and be happy: believe, and thou hast received. Thus it is that we have an interest in all that God hath promised, or Christ hath performed. Thus have we from God both forgiveness and love, the ground of all, whether peace or glory."—*Bishop Hall's Heaven upon Earth.*

"It is the property of saving faith, that it hath a force to appropriate and make Christ our own. Without this, a general remote belief would have been cold comfort. 'He loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*,' saith St. Paul. What saith St. Chrysostom? 'Did Christ die only for St. Paul? No. *Non excludit, sed appropriat;*' he excludes not others, but he will secure himself."—*Bishop Brownrigg's Sermon on Easter Day.*

unremitted sin are not removed from our minds, then the only ground of our "love, joy, and peace," is pardon, revealed and witnessed, directly and immediately, by the Spirit of adoption.*

The mind of Mr. Wesley was also too discriminating not to perceive, that, in the scheme of attaining assurance by inference from moral changes only, there was a total neglect of the offices explicitly ascribed to the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, and which, on this scheme, are unnecessary. These are clearly stated to be that of "*bearing witness*" with the spirits of believers, that they are the children of God; that of *the Spirit of adoption*, by which they call God *Father*, in the special sense in which it is correlative to that sonship which we obtain only by a justifying faith in Christ; and that of a *Comforter*, promised to the disciples to abide with them "for ever," that their "joy might be full."

Enough has been said on this subject to show that Mr. Wesley, on this doctrine, was neither rash nor inconsiderate, much less enthusiastic. It is grounded on no forced, no fanciful interpretation of Scripture; and it maintains, as of possible attainment one of the most important and richest comforts of the human mind. It leaves no doubt as to a question which, whilst problematical, must, if we are earnest in seeking our salvation, be fatal to our peace; it supposes an intercourse between God and the minds of good men, which is, surely in the full and genuine spirit of the Christian religion, eminently called the "ministration of the Spirit;" and it is, as taught by him, vitally connected with sober, practical piety. That, like the doctrine of justification by faith alone, it is capable of abuse, is very true. Many have perverted both the one and the other. Faith with some has been made a discharge from duty; and with respect to the direct witness of the Spirit, fancy has no doubt been taken, in some instances, for reality. But this could never legitimately follow from the holy preaching of the founder of Methodism.

His view of the doctrine is so opposed to license and real enthusiasm, to pride and self-sufficiency, that it can only be made to encourage them by so manifest a perversion, that it has never occurred except among those most ignorant of his writings. He never encouraged any to expect this grace but the truly penitent, and he prescribed to them "fruits meet for repentance." He believed that justification was always accompanied by a renewal of the heart, and as constantly taught, that the comfort "of the Holy Ghost" could remain the portion only of the humble and spiritual, and was uniformly and exclusively connected with a sanctifying and obedient faith. He saw that the fruits of the Spirit were "love, joy, peace," as well as "gentleness, goodness, meekness, and faith;" but he also taught that all who were not living under the constant influence of the latter would fatally deceive themselves by any pretensions to the former.

Such were the views of the first Methodists, on these important points, and such are the unchanged opinions of their successors to this day. They may be called *peculiarities*, because they differed in some respects from the same doctrines of justification, faith, assurance, and sanctification, when associated with various modifications of Calvinism; and although somewhat similar doctrines are found in many Arminian writers, yet in the theology of the Wesleys they derive life and vigor from the stronger views of the grace of God which were taught them by their Moravian and Calvinistic brethren.

No man more honestly sought truth than Mr. Wesley, and none more rigidly tried all systems by the law and the testimony. As to *authority* he was "a man of one book;" and whatever may be thought peculiar in his views, he drew from that source by the best application of his judgment.* He wanted not, however, authority of another kind for his leading opinions. On the article of justification he agreed with all the reformed churches; his notion of saving faith was substantially that of the divines of the best ages of the reformation, and of still earlier times; nor was his doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit to our adoption one as to which

* The *precedence* of the direct witness of the Spirit of God to the indirect witness of our own, and the dependance of the latter upon the former, are very clearly stated by three divines of great authority; to whom I refer the rather, because many of their followers of the present day have become very obscure in their statements of this branch of Christian experience:

"St. Paul means that the Spirit of God gives such a testimony to us, that he being our guide and teacher, our spirit concludes our adoption of God to be certain. For our own mind, of itself, independent of the preceding testimony of the Spirit, [*nisi præeunte Spiritus testimonio,*] could not produce this persuasion in us. For whilst the Spirit witnesses that we are the sons of God, he at the same time inspires this confidence into our minds, that we are bold to call God our Father."—*Calvin on Romans* viii. 16.

"Romans viii. 16. 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits that we are the sons of God.' The witness which our own spirits do give unto our adoption is the *work and effect* of the Holy Spirit in us; if it were not, it would be false, and not confirmed by the testimony of the Spirit himself, who is the Spirit of truth. 'And none knoweth the things of God but the Spirit of God.'—1 Cor. ii. 11. If he declare not our sonship in us and to us, we cannot know it. How doth he then bear witness to our spirits? What is the distinct testimony? It must be some such act of his as evidenceth itself to be from him, *immediately*, unto them that are concerned in it, that is, those unto whom it is given."—*Dr. Owen on the Spirit*, sect. 9.

"The Spirit of adoption doth not only excite us to call upon God as our Father, but it doth ascertain and assure us, as *before*, that we are his children. And this it doth not by an outward voice, as God the Father to Jesus Christ, nor by an angel, as to Daniel and the Virgin Mary, but by an inward and secret suggestion, whereby he raiseth our hearts to this persuasion, that God is our Father, and we are his children. *This is not the testimony of the graces and operations of the Spirit, but of the Spirit itself.*"—Poole on Romans viii. 16.

* The following beautiful and striking passage, illustrative of the above remark, is from the preface to his sermons:—

"To candid, reasonable men, I am not afraid to lay open what have been the inmost thoughts of my heart. I have thought, I am a creature of a day, passing through life, as an arrow through the air. I am a spirit come from God; and returning to God; just hovering over the great gulph; till, a few moments hence, I am no more seen! I drop into an unchangeable eternity! I want to know one thing, the way to heaven: how to land safe on that happy shore. God himself has condescended to teach the way; for this very end he came from heaven. He hath written it down in a book! O give me that book! At any price, give me the book of God! I have it: here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be *homo unius libri*. [A man of one book.] Here then I am, far from the busy ways of men. I sit down alone! only God is here. In his presence I open, I read his book; for this end, to find the way to heaven. Is there a doubt concerning the meaning of what I read? Does any thing appear dark and intricate? I lift up my heart to the Father of Lights.—Lord, is it not thy word, 'If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God.' Thou 'givest liberally and upbraidest not.' Thou hast said, 'If any be willing to do thy will, he shall know. I am willing to do: Let me know thy will. I then search after and consider paralled passages of Scripture, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual. I meditate thereon with all the attention and earnestness of which my mind is capable. If any doubt still remain, I consult those who are experienced in the things of God; and then, the writings, whereby, being dead, they yet speak. And what I thus learn, that I teach."

any exclusive peculiarity could be attributed to him, except that he more largely and zealously preached it than any other man in modern times. It was the doctrine of Luther, Calvin, Beza, Arminius, and others of equally eminent rank abroad and at home. We may add also that such prelates and divines as Hooper, Andrews, Hall, Hooker, Usher, Brownrigg, Wake, Pearson, Barrow, Owen, and Poole, have expressed it in terms as explicit, and with equal deference to the testimony of the word of God.

The minutes of the early conferences are not confined to doctrinal discussions; but we see in them the frame of the discipline of the body; growing up from year to year, and embodied in many copious directions and arrangements. The most important of these remain in force to this day, although some in a maturer state of the society have gone into disuse. This discipline need not particularly be specified, as being for the most part well known and established; but a few miscellaneous particulars may be selected from the minutes of several successive years, as being in some instances of great importance, and in others characteristic, and occasionally amusing.

The duty of obeying bishops was considered at the very first conference of 1744; and the conclusion is, that this obedience extends only to things indifferent; a rather strict narrowing up of canonical obedience, at this early period.—The establishment of "a Seminary for laborers" was a subject of consideration at this conference also, but was postponed. The reasons why it was not afterwards carried into effect appear to have been, the rapid spread of the work, and the consequent demand for additional preachers. Mr. Wesley also looked to Kingswood school as subsidiary to this design. In the mean time he enjoined the study of the Greek and Latin poets and historians, as well as the original Scriptures, upon the preachers; and a large course of theological and general reading. This shows his views as to the subserviency of literature to usefulness in the ministry.*

No preaching was to be continued where societies were not raised up. It seems to have been a fixed maxim with the Wesleys, not to spend time in cultivating barren ground.—No band-ticket was to be given to the wearers of ruffles—a practice which, though then common, accorded not with their notions either of good taste, or of the duty of economizing money in order to charity.—Equal strictness was observed as to the dress of females. *Simplex munditiis* was Mr. Wesley's classical rule; and the exclusive "ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," his scriptural one.—All who married unbelievers were to be expelled from society.—The people were required not only to stand during singing, but whilst the text was read. This excellent custom now continues only in Ireland.—Dram-drinking and pawnbroking were also sins of exclusion: so that, in fact, the Methodist societies were the first temperance societies.—Reading was enjoined as a religious duty, and every preacher was bound to circulate every new book published or recommended by Mr. Wesley; so anxious was he to spread useful knowledge through society, and to improve at once the intellects and the hearts of his people.—The officers of the society are said to be "clergymen assistants, helpers, stewards, leaders of bands, leaders of classes, visiters of the sick, schoolmasters, and housekeepers." The last class will in the present day create a smile: but at that time their business was to reside in the houses built in several of the large towns, where both Mr. Wesley and the preachers took up their abode during their stay. They were elderly and pious women, who, being once invested with an official character, extended it sometimes from the *house* to the *church*, to the occasional annoyance of the preachers. As married preachers began to occupy the houses, they were at length dispensed with. Smuggling and the buying of uncustomed goods had frequent anathemas dealt out against them, and expulsion was the unmitigated penalty.—Respect of persons was strictly forbidden to the preachers, who were also enjoined to be easy of access to all. Every preacher was to promise rather to break a limb than to disappoint a congregation.—No preacher was to be continued who could not preach twice every day.—He was to take care that only suitable tunes should be sung; and was advised to use in public only hymns of prayer and praise, not those descriptive of states of mind.—Lemonade was to be taken after preaching, or candied orange-peel, or a little warm ale; but egg and wine, and late suppers, are denounced as downright poison. The views entertained of a call to the ministry, deserve quoting in full:—

"*Q.* How shall we try those who think they are moved by the Holy Ghost, and called of God to preach?

"*A.* Inquire, 1. Do they know God, as a pardoning God? Have they the love of God abiding in them? Do they desire and seek nothing but God? And are they holy in all manner of conversation?

"2. Have they *gifts* (as well as *grace*) for the work? Have they a clear, sound understanding? Have they a right judgment in the things of God? Have they a just conception of salvation by faith? And has God given them any degree of utterance? Do they speak justly, readily, clearly?

"3. Have they fruit? Are any truly convinced of sin, and converted to God, by their preaching?

"As long as these three marks concur in any, we believe he is called of God to preach."

The probation of the preachers was at first one year; but was afterwards extended to four.—The following minute of 1745 shows, that Mr. Charles Wesley was never considered as co-ordinate with his brother in the government of the societies:

"Should not my brother *follow* me step by step, and Mr. Meriton (another clergyman) him?

"*A.* As far as possible."

What Mr. Wesley was next to write, was a matter on which he asked the advice of the conference for several years.—A little stock of medicines, to be dispensed to the poor, was ordered to be provided for London, Bristol, and Newcastle. It is not generally known that Mr. Wesley pursued a course of regular medical study, whilst at Oxford. Preachers were cautioned against giving out long hymns; and were exhorted to choose the tunes, so that they might be suitable to the hymn.—Copies of the minutes of the conference were to be written out and given to each member present: when the number of preachers increased, printing was adopted.*—In

* As the subject of a seminary or college has been of late brought under discussion, it may not be uninteresting to those who have not access to the manuscript copies of the first minutes, extracts from which only are in print, to give the passages which relate to this subject from the complete minutes of 1744 and 1745. In the former year it is asked, "Can we have a seminary for laborers?" and the answer is, "If God spare us till another conference." The next year the subject was resumed, "Can we have a seminary for laborers yet?" Answer. "Not till God gives us a proper tutor." So that the institution was actually resolved upon, and delayed only by circumstances.

* Perhaps not more than one or two manuscript copies of the complete minutes of the conferences from 1744 to 1747 are in existence. That which lies before me, and from which extracts have been made in the preceding pages, wants two or three of the first pages of the minutes of 1744. It was not written by Mr. Wesley, but is a copy corrected by his own hand in different places.

1749, it seems to have been proposed that the societies every where should be considered *one*, of which the London society should be the mother church. This however came to nothing. The societies indeed were one, but the centre of union was first Mr. Wesley himself, then the conference of preachers. In the same year all chapels were directed to be built after the model of that of Rotherham, and the number of circuits, each very extensive, had increased to twenty-two.—Regular funds for the support of the preachers, and for aiding worn-out preachers began now to be established. A regular settlement of the chapels upon trustees had been enjoined in 1749; and in 1765, a person was appointed to be sent through England to survey the deeds, and supply wanting trustees. All chapel windows were to be sashed; no "tub pulpits" were to be allowed; and men and women were every where to sit apart;—The societies are warned against *little oaths*, such as "my life," "my honor," &c., and against "compliments," and unmeaning words. In general, many are reproved for *talking* too much, and *reading* too little.—In 1776, all octagon chapels are directed to be built like that at Yarm; and all square ones like that at Scarborough.—No Chinese paling was to be set up before any chapel; and the people are forbidden to crowd into the preacher's houses, as though they were coffee-houses.—No leaders' meeting was to be held without the presence of a preacher, and the spirit of debating at all meetings was to be strictly guarded against.—If bankrupts did not pay their debts when they are able, they were to be excluded the society. Sluts were to be kept out of the preacher's houses, and cleanliness was held to be next to godliness.

Thus to a number of little things among many greater and weightier matters, the active mind, the taste, and the orderly habits, of the founder of Methodism applied itself. Every thing was, however, kind and bland in his manner of injunction; and when he was disappointed as to the exact observance of his regulations, his displeasure was admirably proportioned to the weight of the case. No man generally knew better how to estimate the relative importance of things, and to give each its proper place and rank, although it would be to deny to him the infirmity of human nature to suppose that this rule of proportion was always observed. If little things were by him sometimes made great; this praise, however, he had without abatement, that he never made great things little.

The notices of the deaths of the preachers year by year in the early minutes, all bear the impress of the brevity and point of Mr. Wesley's style. The first time that the regular question, "What preachers have died this year?" appears, is in the minutes of 1777. A few sketches of character from this laconic obituary in different years, will illustrate his manner of keeping these annual records:—

"Thomas Hosking, a young man, just entering on the work; zealous, active, and of an unblamable behavior. And Richard Burke, a man of faith and patience, made perfect through sufferings: one who joined the wisdom and calmness of age, with the simplicity of childhood."

"Richard Boardman, a pious, good-natured, sensible man, greatly beloved of all that knew him. He was one of the two first that freely offered themselves to the service of our brethren in America. He died of an apoplectic fit, and preached the night before his death. It seems he might have been eminently useful, but good is the will of the Lord."

"Robert Swindells had been with us above forty years. He was an Israelite indeed. In all those years I never knew him to speak a word which he did not mean; and he always spoke the truth in love; I believe, no one ever heard him speak an unkind word. He went through exquisite pain (by the stone) for many years; but he was not weary. He was still

'Patient in bearing ill, and doing well.'

"One thing he had almost peculiar to himself; he had no enemy! So remarkably was that word fulfilled, 'Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.'

"James Barry was for many years a faithful laborer in our Lord's vineyard. And as he labored much, so he suffered much; but with unwearied patience. In his death he suffered nothing, stealing quietly away in a kind of lethargy.

"Thomas Payne was a bold soldier of Jesus Christ. His temper was uncommonly vehement: but before he went hence, all that vehemence was gone, and the lion was become a lamb. He went away in the full triumph of faith, praising God with his latest breath.

"Robert Naylor, a zealous, active young man, was caught away by a fever in the strength of his years. But it was in a good hour; for he returned to him whom his soul loved, in the full assurance of faith.

"A fall from his horse, which was at first thought of little consequence, occasioned the death of John Livermore; a plain, honest man, much devoted to God, and determined to live and die in the best of services."

"John Prickard, a man thoroughly devoted to God, and an eminent pattern of holiness: and Jacob Rowell, a faithful old soldier, fairly worn out in his master's service."

"Thomas Mitchell, an old soldier of Jesus Christ."

"John Fletcher, [Vicar of Madeley,] a pattern of all holiness, scarce to be paralleled in a century; and J. Peacock, young in years, but old in grace; a pattern of all holiness, full of faith, and love, and zeal for God.

"Jeremiah Robertshaw, who was a good soldier of Jesus Christ, fairly worn out in his master's service. He was a pattern of patience for many years, laboring under sharp and almost continual pain, of meekness and gentleness to all men, and of simplicity and godly sincerity.

"Joshua Keighly, who was a young man deeply devoted to God, and greatly beloved by all that knew him. He was

"About the marriage state to prove,
But death had swifter wings than love."

"Charles Wesley, who, after spending four score years with much sorrow and pain, quietly retired into Abraham's bosom. He had no disease; but after a gradual decay of some months,

'The weary wheels of life stood still at last.'

His least praise was, his talent for poetry; although Dr. Watts did not scruple to say, that 'that single poem, *Wrestling Jacob*, was worth all the verses he himself had written.'

"John Maylay, worn out in the service of his master: he suffered much in his last illness, and died triumphant in the Lord."

Thus neither his brother Charles, nor Mr. Fletcher, had a longer eulogy than any other preacher:—so great was Mr. Wesley's love of brevity.

The "care of the churches" now had come upon him, and was increasing; he had a responsibility to man as well as to God, for the right management of a people whom his labors and those of his coadjutors had formed into a body distinct from the national church, and indeed, as to all ecclesiastical control, separate from it, although, in part, the

This is mentioned, as several of the extracts will be new even to some of the senior preachers.

members were attendants on her services. He was most anxious that this people should be raised to the highest state of religious and moral excellence; that they should be exemplary in all the relations of life, civil and domestic; wise in the Scriptures; well read in useful books: self-denying in their conduct, almost to severity; and liberal in their charities, in order to which they were enjoined to abstain from all unnecessary indulgences, and to be plain and frugal in dress. They were expected to rise early to a religious service at five o'clock, and to attend some evening service, if possible, several times in the week; and, beside their own Sabbath meetings, to be punctual in observing the services of the church. They were to add to all this the most zealous efforts to do good to the bodies and souls of those who were around them; and to persevere in all these things with an ardor and an unweariedness equal to his own. With these great objects so strongly impressed upon his mind, that he should feel compelled to superintend every part of the system he had put into operation, and attend to every thing great or little which he conceived to retard or accelerate its motion, was the natural consequence, and became with him matter of imperative conscience. A nobler object man could not propose to himself, than thus to spread the truth and the example of a living and practical Christianity through the land, and to revive the spirit of piety in a fallen church, and among a neglected people; and he had sufficient proofs from the wonderful success which had followed; success, too, of the most unequivocal kind, because the hearts of "multitudes had been turned to the Lord," that he was in the path of duty, and that the work was of God; but the standard which he set up in his own mind, and in his rules, both for his preachers and people, was so high, that, in the midst of all those refreshing joys which the review of the work often brought, feelings of disappointment, and something like vexation, occasionally break forth in the minutes of his conferences. On the preachers in their circuits an activity, an occupation of time, and an attention to various duties, had been enjoined, similar to his own; but the regulations under which they were placed, were often minute, and in minor matters they were often failing, even when in other respects they most faithfully and laboriously fulfilled their ministry. Stewards, leaders, and trustees, come in also occasionally for their share of remonstrance and rebuke on account of inattention; whilst the societies, as being exposed to the various errors of the day, and to the ordinary influences of the temptations of an earthly state, sometimes declined, and then again revived; in some places were negligent, and in others were almost every thing he could wish them to be, so that he could say with an apostle respecting them, "Great is my glorying." To Mr. Wesley's frequent trials of patience were to be added the controversies, often very illiberal, in which he was engaged, and the constant misrepresentations and persecutions to which he and the societies were for many years exposed. When all these things are considered, and when it is also recollected how much every man who himself works by a strict method is apt to be affected by the irregularities and carelessness of others; the full and tranquil flow of his zeal and energy, and the temper, at once so strict and so mild, which breathes in the minutes of the conferences, place him in a very admirable point of light. Vexation and disappointment passed over his serene mind like the light clouds over the bright summer field. The principle of an entire devotedness to serve God, and "his generation according to the will of God," in him never relaxed; and the words of one of his own beautiful hymns, to which in advanced life, in a conversation with a friend, he once alluded, as expressing his own past and habitual experience, were in him finely realized:—

"Jesus confirm my heart's desire,
To work, and speak, and think for thee;
Still let me guard the holy fire,
And still stir up thy gift in me.

"Ready for all thy perfect will,
My acts of faith and love repeat,
Till death thy endless mercies seal,
And make the sacrifice complete."

CHAPTER X.

The doctrines and principal branches of the discipline of the body being generally settled, Mr. Wesley desisted from publishing extracts from the minutes of the annual conferences from 1749 to 1765. In the minutes of the latter year we find for the first time a published list of the circuits, and of the preachers.* The circuits were then *twenty-five* in England, extending from Cornwall to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; in Scotland *four;* in Wales *two;* in Ireland *eight;* in all *thirty-nine*. The total number of the preachers, given up entirely to the work, and acting under Mr. Wesley's direction, had then risen to *ninety-two*. But it will be necessary to look back upon the labors of the two brothers during this interval. Instead, however, of tracing Mr. Wesley's journeys into various parts of the kingdom in detail from his journals, which present one uniform and unwearied activity in his high calling, it will be sufficient to notice the principal incidents.

Mr. Charles Wesley married in 1749, yet still continued his labors with but little abatement. He was in London at the time of the earthquake, and was preaching at the Foundry early in the morning when the second shock occurred. The entry in his journal presents him in a sublime attitude, and may be given as an instance of what may be truly called the majesty of faith: "March 8th, 1750. This morning, a quarter after five, we had another shock of an earthquake far more violent than that of February 8th. I was just repeating my text, when it shook the Foundry so violently, that we all expected it to fall on our heads. A great cry followed from the women and children. I immediately called out, 'Therefore we will not fear, though the earth be moved, and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea; for the Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.' He filled my heart with faith, and my mouth with words, shaking their souls as well as their bodies. The earth moved westward, then eastward, then westward again, through all London and Westminster. It was a strong and jarring motion, attended with a rumbling noise like that of thunder. Many houses were much shaken, and some chimneys thrown down, but without any further hurt."†

The impression produced in London by this visitation is thus recorded in a letter from Mr. Briggs to Mr. John Wesley:—"This great city has been, for some days past, under terrible apprehensions of another earthquake. Yesterday, thousands fled out of town, it having been confidently asserted by a dragoon, that he had a revelation that great part of London, and Westminster especially, would be de-

* In the manuscript copy of the first minutes before mentioned, lists of circuits occasionally appear, as in 1746:—"How many circuits are there? *Answer.*—Seven. 1. London, including Surrey and Kent. 2. Bristol, including Somersetshire, Portland, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire. 3. Cornwall. 4. Evesham, including Shrewsbury, Leominster, Hereford, Stroud, and Wednesbury. 5. York, including Yorkshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire. 6. Newcastle. 7. Wales."

† Journal.

stroyed by an earthquake on the 4th instant, between twelve and one at night. The whole city was under direful apprehensions. Places of worship were crowded with frightened sinners, especially our two chapels, and the Tabernacle, where Mr. Whitefield preached. Several of the classes came to their leaders, and desired that they would spend the night with them in prayer; which was done, and God gave them a blessing. Indeed all around was awful. Being not at all convinced of the prophet's mission, and having no call from any of my brethren, I went to bed at my usual time, believing I was safe in the hands of Christ; and likewise, that, by doing so, I should be the more ready to rise to the preaching in the morning; which I did, praised be my kind Protector." In a postscript he adds, "Though crowds left the town on Wednesday night, yet crowds were left behind; multitudes of whom, for fear of being suddenly overwhelmed, left their houses, and repaired to the fields, and open places in the city. Tower Hill, Moorfields, but above all, Hyde Park, were filled, the best part of the night, with men, women, and children, lamenting. Some, with stronger imaginations than others, mostly women, ran crying in the streets, 'An earthquake! an earthquake!' Such distress, perhaps, is not recorded to have happened before in this careless city. Mr. Whitefield preached at midnight in Hyde Park. Surely God will visit this city; it will be a time of mercy to some. O may I be found watching!"*

So ready were these great preachers of the time to take advantage of every event by which they might lead men to God. One knows not which most to admire, Mr. Whitefield preaching at midnight in Hyde Park to a crowd of affrighted people, expecting the earth to swallow them up; or Mr. Charles Wesley, with the very ground reeling under him, calling out to the congregation, "Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea; for the Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge;" and using this as his text.

The detected immorality and expulsion of one of the preachers, James Wheatley,† led the brothers to determine upon instituting a more strict inquiry into the life and behavior of every preacher in connection with them. Mr. Charles Wesley undertook that office, as being perhaps more confident in his own discernment of character, and less influenced by affection to the preachers. The result was, however, highly creditable to them, for no irregularity of conduct was detected; but as the visitation was not conducted, to say the least of it, in the bland manner in which it would have been executed by Mr. John Wesley, who was indeed alone regarded as the father of the connection, it led, as might be expected, to bickerings. Many of the preachers did not come up to Mr. Charles Wesley's notions of attachment to the church; some began to wish a little larger share in the government; and a few did not rise to his standard of ministerial abilities, although of this he judged only by report. From this time a stronger feeling of disunion between the preachers and him grew up, which ultimately led to his taking a much less active part in the affairs of the body, except to interfere occasionally with his advice, and in still later years, now and then to censure the increasing irregularity of his brother's proceedings. The fact was, Mr. John Wesley was only carried forward by the same stream which had impelled both the brothers irretrievably far beyond the line prescribed to regular churchmen; and Charles was chafing himself with the vain attempt to buffet back the tide, or at least to render it stationary. He saw, no doubt, during the visitation which he had lately undertaken, a growing tendency to separation from the church both among many of the preachers and the people, which, although it was the natural, nay, almost necessary, result of the circumstances in which they were placed, he somewhat uncandidly attributed to the ambition of the former; and, laying it down as a necessary qualification, that no preacher ought to be employed without giving some explicit pledge as to his purpose of adherence to the church, he attempted to associate himself with his brother in the management, with equal power to call preachers into the work, and then to govern them. He appears laudably to have wished to improve their talents; but he proposed also greatly to restrict their number, and to subject them to stricter tests as to their attachment to the establishment. Here began an important difference between the two brothers. Some impression was made upon the mind of Mr. John Wesley by his brother's letters written to him during his tour of inquisition, principally as they exaggerated the growing danger of separation from the church; and upon Charles' return to London, John was persuaded, although "with difficulty," to sign an agreement, engaging that no preacher should be called into the work except by both of them conjointly, nor any re-admitted but with mutual consent. The intention of Charles was evidently to obtain a controlling power over his brother's proceedings; but there was one great rule to which Mr. John Wesley was more steadily faithful. This was to carry on and extend that which he knew to be the work of God, without regarding probable future consequences of separation from the church after his death;* which was in fact the principle on which they had agreed at the first conference of 1744, and to which Charles stood pledged as fully as himself. It seems, therefore, that when Mr. John Wesley more fully discovered his brother's intention to restrict the number of preachers, under the plea of employing only men of superior abilities; and more especially after all that had passed between Charles and them during the inquisitorial visitation just named had been reported to him, he felt little disposed to assent to his having co-authority with himself in the management of the connection; and Charles withdrawing more from public life, the government remained with John still more exclusively than before. This *acquisition* of entire authority, as it has been called, has been referred to by one of Mr. Wesley's biographers as a proof of his ambition, and his inability to bear a rival. The affection of the brothers itself affords a strong presumption against the existence of any such jealousy between them: and besides, we find no previous instance of a single struggle for authority. But the fact was, that John always led the way, as sole director, with Charles as a confidential adviser; and they long acted together in this relation as with one soul. In the present case it was Charles only who grasped at a power which he had not previously possessed; and this was for a moment yield-

* Whitehead's Life.

† Mr. Wesley has been censured by some persons for sanctioning the publication of a pamphlet on the "Duties of Husbands and Wives," written, as they supposed, by this wretched man, and especially for doing this after the misconduct of the author had been brought to light. But the charge is without foundation. The pamphlet in question was not written by James Wheatley, the preacher, but by William Whateley, the puritan minister of Banbury; a man of the most exemplary piety, and one of the best practical writers of his age, who died in 1639. The work from which the pamphlet was extracted is entitled, "A Bride-Bush," and bears the date of 1619; which was at least a hundred years before Wheatley was born.

* "Church or no church," he observes in one of his letters to Charles, "we must attend to the work of saving souls." And in another, "I neither set it up, nor pull it down; but let you and I build the city of God."

ed, though hesitatingly, upon an *ex parte* statement, and under views not fully manifested. When, however, those were disclosed, John recoiled; and his brother, by a partial secession from the work, left the whole care of it upon his hands. Mr. Charles Wesley had indeed, some time before this, rather hastily interposed to prevent the marriage of his brother with a very pious and respectable woman, Mrs. Grace Murray, to whom he was attached, and that probably under the influence of a little family pride, as she was not in an elevated rank of life;* and this affair, in which there appears to have been somewhat of treachery, although no doubt well intended, had for the first time interrupted their harmony. But it is not at all likely that any feeling of resentment remained in the mind of John; and indeed the commission of visitation, with which Charles had been invested, was a sufficient proof that confidence had been restored. The true reason of the difference was, that the one wished to contract the work, from fear of the probable consequence of separation from the church; the other pursued his course of enlarging and extending it, resolving to prevent separation to the best of his power, but leaving that issue in higher hands. Still, however, the affection of the brothers remained unimpaired.

In the year 1751, as Mr. Wesley was still resolved to marry, believing that his usefulness would be thereby promoted, he took to wife Mrs. Vizelle, a widow lady of independent fortune. She was a woman of a cultivated understanding, as her remaining letters testify; and that she appeared to Mr. Wesley to possess every other qualification, which promised to increase both his usefulness and happiness, we may conclude from his having made choice of her as his companion. We must suppose, also, that as he never intended to relax his labors, and adopt a more settled mode of life, this matter also was fully understood, and agreed to before marriage. But whatever good qualities Mrs. Wesley might appear to have, they were at length wholly swallowed up in the fierce passion of jealousy. For some time she travelled with him; but becoming weary of this, and not being able to bind him down to a more domestic life, this passion increased. The violence of her temper broke out also against Mr. Charles Wesley and his wife. This arose from very trifling circumstances, magnified into personal slights; and various unpleasant scenes are mentioned in Mr. Charles Wesley's unpublished letters, and described with a sprightliness which, whilst it shows that he was unconscious of having given her any just cause of offence, equally indicates the absence of sympathy. Perhaps this had been worn out by the long continuance of her caustic attacks upon him and his family, both by word and by letter. Certainly Mr. Charles Wesley must have felt her to be an annoying correspondent, if we may judge from some of her letters still preserved, and in which, singular as it may appear, she zealously contends for her husband's superiority, and is indignant that he should be wearing himself out with excessive labor, whilst Charles was remaining at home in ease. Dr. Southey has candidly and justly stated the matter betweeen her and her persecuted husband:—

"Had Mrs. Wesley been capable of understanding her husband's character, she could not possibly have been jealous; but the spirit of jealousy possessed her, and drove her to the most unwarrantable actions. It is said that she frequently travelled a hundred miles for the purpose of watching, from a window, who was in the carriage with him when he entered a town. She searched his pockets, opened his letters, put his letters and papers into the hands of his enemies, in hopes that they might be made use of to blast his character, and sometimes laid violent hands upon him, and tore his hair. She frequently left his house, and, upon his earnest entreaties returned again; till, after having thus disquieted twenty years of his life, as far as it was possible for any domestic vexations to disquiet a man whose life was passed in loco-motion, she seized on part of his journals, and many other papers, which were never restored, and departed, leaving word that she never intended to return. He simply states the fact in his journal, saying that he knew not what the cause had been; and he briefly adds, *Non eam reliqui, non dimisi, non revocabo;* 'I did not forsake her, I did not dismiss her, I will not recall her.'"*

The worst part of Mrs. Wesley's conduct, and which only the supposition of a degree of insanity, excited by jealousy, can palliate, was that she interpolated several letters, which she had intercepted, so as to make them bear a bad construction: and as Mr. Wesley had always maintained a large correspondence with all classes of persons, and among others with pious females, in some of whose letters

* Mr. Charles Wesley and Mr. Whitefield got the lady hastily married to Mr. Bennett, one of the preachers, whilst his brother was at a distance, probably not being himself aware, any more than she, of the strength of his attachment. The following extract from one of Mr. Wesley's unpublished letters shows, however, that he deeply felt it:—"The sons of Zeruiah were too strong for me. The whole world fought against me, but, above all, *my own familiar friend.* Then was the word fulfilled, 'Son of man, behold, I take from thee the desire of thine eyes at a stroke, yet shalt thou not lament, neither shall thy tears run down.' The fatal, irrecoverable stroke was struck on Thursday last. Yesterday I saw my friend, (that was,) and him to whom she is sacrificed. 'But why should a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?'" The following passages, from a letter of the venerable vicar of Shoreham to Mr. Charles, intimate how much he sympathised with Mr. John Wesley on the occasion, and how anxious he was to prevent a breach between the brothers, which this, certainly unbrotherly act, the only one into which Charles seems to have been betrayed, was near producing. The letter is dated, Shoreham, 1749:—"Yours came this day to hand. I leave you to guess how such news must affect a person whose very soul is one with yours, and our friend. Let me conjure you to soothe his sorrows. Pour nothing but oil and wine into his wounds. Indulge no views, no designs, but what tend to the honor of God, the promoting the kingdom of his dear Son, and the healing of our wounded friend. How would the Philistines rejoice could they hear that Saul and Jonathan were in danger from their own swords!"

I have seen an explanation of Mr. Charles Wesley's conduct in this affair by the late Miss Wesley; but as the matter occurred before her birth, I have much doubt as to her perfect knowledge of the circumstances, so that I shall not fully state it. She lays the fault chiefly on the lady's want of explicitness; states that she had formed a previous, but concealed, attachment to Mr. Bennett; and that Mr. Charles having discovered this, he hastened the marriage.

Whatever the ostensible reason might be, it was no doubt eagerly seized by Mr. Charles Wesley as an occasion of breaking off a match, which he appears some time before to have interfered with, influenced, it is most probable, by the consideration of Mrs. Murray's inferior rank. From this feeling Mr. John Wesley was much more exempt, as the following anecdote, found in one of Miss Wesley's letters, indicates in a way very creditable to his amiable temper:—"My brother Charles had an attachment in early youth to an amiable girl of inferior birth; this was much opposed by my mother and her family, who mentioned it with concern to my uncle. Finding from my father that this was the chief objection, my uncle only replied, 'Then there is no family blood? I hear the girl is good; but of no family.' 'Nor fortune either,' said my mother. He made no reply; but sent my brother a sum of money as a wedding present; and I believe sincerely regretted that he was ultimately crossed in his inclination.

* Southey's Life.

there were strong expressions of Christian affection, she availed herself of this means of defaming him. Some of these she read to different persons in private, and especially to Mr. Wesley's opponents and enemies, adding extempore passages in the same tone of voice, but taking care not to allow the letters themselves to be read by the auditors; and in one or two instances she published interpolated or forged letters in the public prints. How he conducted himself amidst these vexations, the following passages, in a letter from Miss Wesley to a friend, written a little before her death, will show. They are at once important as explanatory of the kind of annoyance to which this unhappy marriage subjected her uncle, and as containing an anecdote strongly illustrative of his character:—

"I think it was in the year 1775 my uncle promised to take me with him to Canterbury and Dover. About this time Mrs. Wesley had obtained some letters which she used to the most injurious purposes, misinterpreting spiritual expressions, and interpolating words. These she read to some Calvinists, and they were to be sent to the Morning Post. A Calvinist gentleman, who esteemed my father and uncle, came to the former, and told him that, for the sake of religion, the publication should be stopped, and Mr. John Wesley be allowed to answer for himself. As Mrs. Wesley had read, but did not show the letters to him, he had some doubts of their authenticity; and though they were addressed to Mr. John Wesley, they might be forgeries; at any rate he ought not to leave town at such a juncture, but clear the matter satisfactorily.

"My dear father, to whom the reputation of my uncle was far dearer than his own, immediately saw the importance of refutation, and set off to the Foundry to induce him to postpone his journey, while I, in my own mind, was lamenting such a disappointment, having anticipated it with all the impatience natural to my years. Never shall I forget the manner in which my father accosted my mother on his return home. 'My brother,' says he, 'is indeed an extraordinary man. I placed before him the importance of the character of a minister, the evil consequences which might result from his indifference to it; the cause of religion; stumbling-blocks cast in the way of the weak; and urged him by every relative and public motive to answer for himself, and stop the publication. His reply was, Brother, when I devoted to God my ease, my time, my life, did I except my reputation? No. Tell Sally I will take her to Canterbury to-morrow.'

"I ought to add, that the letters in question were satisfactorily proved to be mutilated, and no scandal resulted from his trust in God."

Some of these letters mutilated, interpolated, or forged by this unhappy woman, have got into different hands, and are still preserved. In the papers of the Wesley family, recently collected, there are, however, sufficient materials for a full explanation of the whole case in detail; but as Mr. Wesley himself spared it, no one will, I presume, ever farther disturb this unpleasant affair, unless some publication on the part of an enemy, for the sake of gain, or to gratify a party feeling, should render it necessary to defend the character of this holy and unsuspecting man.*

A school at Kingswood, near Bristol, for the children of the poor, had been long built; but that neighborhood was also fixed upon by Mr. Wesley for an institution, in which the sons of the preachers, and those of the richer Methodists, should receive at once the best education, and the most efficient religious training. It was opened in June, 1748, and he published soon after a "Short Account" of the institution, with the plan of education adopted, particularly for those who were to remain so long in it as to go through a course of academical learning; and adds, "Whoever carefully goes through this course will be a better scholar than nine in ten of the graduates at Oxford and Cambridge." In this great and good design he grasped at too much; and the school came in time to be confined to the sons of the preachers, and ceased, as at first, to receive boarders. Indeed, from the increase of the preachers' families, the school was rapidly filled, and required enlargement at different times; and finally, it was necessary to establish a second school at Woodhouse Grove, in Yorkshire. The circumstance of the preachers being so much from home, and removing every one or two years from their circuits, rendered an institution of this kind imperative; and, as it necessarily grew out of the system of itinerancy, it was cheerfully and liberally, though often inadequately, supported by private subscriptions, and a public annual collection throughout all the congregations. The most gratifying moral results have followed; and a useful and religious education has been secured to the sons of the preachers, many of whom, especially of late years, having afforded undeniable proofs of genuine conversion, and of a divine call to public labors in the church of Christ, have been admitted into the ministry, and are among its highest ornaments, or its brightest hopes. It is however to be regretted, that the original plan of Mr. Wesley, to found an institution for the connection at large, which should unite the advantages of a school and a college, has not been resumed in later and more favorable times. Various circumstances, at that early period, militated against the success of this excellent project, which have gradually disappeared; and if in that infant state of the cause, Mr. Wesley wisely thought that Methodism should provide for all its wants, religious and educational, within itself, much more incumbent is it to do so now. Many of the sons of our friends, for want of such a provision, have been

* The following passage, in a letter from Mr. Perronet to Mr. Charles Wesley, dated Shoreham, Nov. 3, 1752, shows that Mr. Wesley's matrimonial afflictions must have commenced a very short time after marriage: "I am truly concerned that matters are in so melancholy a situation. I think the unhappy lady is most to be pitied, though the gentleman's case is mournful enough. Their sufferings proceed from widely different causes. His are the visible chastisements of a loving Father. Her's the immediate effects of an angry, bitter spirit; and, indeed, it is a sad consideration, that, after so many months have elapsed, the same warmth and bitterness should remain." This truly venerable and holy man died in 1785, in the ninety-second year of his age. Two days before his death, his grand-daughter, Miss Briggs, who attended him day and night, read to him the three last chapters of Isaiah. He then desired her to go into the garden, to take a little fresh air. Upon her return, she found him in an ecstacy, with the tears running down his cheeks, from a deep and lively sense of the glorious things which she had just been reading to him; and which, he believed, would shortly be fulfilled in a still more glorious sense than heretofore. He continued unspeakably happy all that day. On Sunday, his happiness seemed even to increase, till he retired to rest. Miss Briggs then went into the room to see if any thing was wanting; and as she stood at the feet of the bed, he smiled and said, "God bless thee, my dear child, and all that belongs to thee! Yea, he will bless thee!" This he earnestly repeated till she left the room. When she went in the next morning, his happy spirit had returned to God!

Mr. Perronet, like those great and good men, Messrs Grimshaw and Fletcher, continued steadily attached to Mr. Wesley, and to the Methodists. He received the preachers joyfully, fitted up a room in the parsonage house for their use, and attended their ministry himself at every opportunity. His house was one of the regular places of the Kent circuit, and so continued to the day of his death. All his family were members of the society, and two of his sons preachers.

placed in schools where their religious principles have been neglected or perverted; and too often have been taught to ridicule, or to be ashamed of, the religious profession of their fathers.

In 1753, Mr. Wesley visited Scotland a second time, and preached at Glasgow to large congregations. He had gone there on the invitation of that excellent man, Dr. Gillies, minister of the college kirk, who, a few days after he left, wrote to him as follows:—"The singing of hymns here meets with greater opposition than I expected. Serious people are much divided. Those of better understanding and education are silent; but many others are so prejudiced, especially at the singing publicly, that they speak openly against it, and look upon me as led to do a very wrong or sinful thing. I beg your advice, whether to answer them only by continuing in the practice of the thing, with such as have freedom to join, looking to the Lord for a blessing upon his own ordinance: or, if I should publish a sheet of arguments from reason, and Scripture, and the example of the godly. Your experience of the most effectual way of dealing with people's prejudices, makes your advice on this head of the greater importance.

"I bless the Lord for the benefit and comfort of your acquaintance, for your important assistance in my historical collections, and for your edifying conversation and sermons in this place. May our gracious God prosper you wherever you are. O, my dear sir, pray for your brother, that I may be employed in doing something for the advancement of His glory, who has done so much for me, and who is my only hope."

This prejudice in favor of their own doggerel version of the Psalms of David, generally remains among the Scotch to this day; and even in the Wesleyan societies raised up there, great opposition was at first made to the use of hymns. The Historical Collections of Dr. Gillies, mentioned in his letter, do justice to that revival of religion in this country of which Methodism was the instrument, and gives many valuable accounts of similar revivals, and special effusions of the Holy Spirit upon the churches of Christ, in different ages.

The following extracts from two of Mr. Wesley's letters, written about this time, show how meekly this admirable man could take reproof; and with how patient a temper he could deal with peevish and complaining men.

"You give," says he, "five reasons why the Rev. Mr. P——— will come no more amongst us: 1. 'Because we despise the ministers of the church of England.' This I flatly deny. I am answering letters this very post, which bitterly blame me for just the contrary. 2. 'Because so much backbiting and evil speaking is suffered amongst our people.' It is not suffered; all possible means are used, both to prevent and remove it. 3. 'Because I, who have written so much against hoarding up money, have put out seven hundred pounds to interest.' I never put sixpence out to interest since I was born; nor had I ever one hundred pounds together, my own, since I came into the world. 4. 'Because our lay preachers have told many stories of my brother and me.' If they did, I am sorry for them; when I hear the particulars I can answer, and perhaps make those ashamed who believed them. 5. 'Because we did not help a friend in distress.' We did help him as far as we were able. 'But we might have made his case known to Mr. G———, Lady H———,' &c. So we did, more than once; but we could not pull money from them, whether they would or no. Therefore these reasons are of no weight. You conclude with praying, that God would remove pride and malice from amongst us. Of pride I have too much: of malice I have none: however, the prayer is good, and I thank you for it."

The other letter from which I shall give an extract, was written apparently to a gentleman of some rank and influence:—"I do not recollect, for I kept no copy of my last, that I charged you with want of humility or meekness. Doubtless these may be found in the most splendid palaces. But did they ever move a man to build a splendid palace? Upon what motive you did this, I know not; but you are to answer it to God, not to me.

"If your soul is as much alive to God, if your thirst after pardon and holiness is as strong, if you are as dead to the desire of the eye and the pride of life, as you were six or seven years ago, I rejoice; if not, I pray God you may; and then you will know how to value a real friend.

"With regard to myself, you do well to warn me against 'popularity, a thirst of power and of applause; against envy, producing a seeming contempt for the conveniences or grandeur of this life; against an affected humility; against sparing from myself to give to others, from no other motive than ostentation.' I am not conscious to myself, that this is my case. However, the warning is always friendly; and it is always seasonable, considering how deceitful my heart is, and how many the enemies that surround me.—What follows I do not understand:—'You behold me in the ditch, wherein you helped, though innocently, to cast me, and with a Levitical pity pass by on the other side. He and you, sir, have not any merit, though Providence should permit all these sufferings to work together for my good.'—I do not comprehend one line of this, and therefore cannot plead either guilty or not guilty I presume, they are some that are dependant on me, who, you say, 'keep not the commandments of God; who show a repugnance to serve and obey, who are as full of pride and arrogance, as of filth and nastiness; who do not pay lawful debts, nor comply with civil obligations; who make the waiting on the offices of religion, a plea of sloth and idleness; who, after I had strongly recommended them, did not perform their moral duty, but increased the number of those incumbrances which they forced on you, against your will.'—To this I can only say, 1. I know not whom you mean; I am not certain that I can so much as guess at one of them. 2. Whoever they are, had they followed my instructions, they would have acted in a quite different manner. 3. If you will tell me them by name, I will renounce all fellowship with them."

In the autumn of 1753, Mr. Wesley was threatened with consumption, brought on by repeated attacks of cold. By the advice of Dr. Fothergill he retired to Lewisham; and here, not knowing how it might please God to dispose of him, and wishing "to prevent vile panegyric," in case of death, he wrote his epitaph as follows:—

HERE LIETH
THE BODY OF JOHN WESLEY,
A BRAND PLUCKED OUT OF THE BURNING;
WHO DIED OF A CONSUMPTION IN THE FIFTY-FIRST
YEAR OF HIS AGE.
NOT LEAVING, AFTER HIS DEBTS ARE PAID,
TEN POUNDS BEHIND HIM:
PRAYING
God be merciful to me an unprofitable servant!

He ordered, that this, if any inscription, should be placed on his tomb-stone.

During Mr. Wesley's illness, Mr. Whitefield wrote to him in a strain which shows the fulness of

affection which existed between those great and good men, notwithstanding their differences of opinion:—

"BRISTOL, Dec. 3, 1753.

"REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR,

"IF seeing you so weak when leaving London distressed me, the news and prospect of your approaching dissolution hath quite weighed me down. I pity myself and the church, but not you. A radiant throne awaits you, and ere long you will enter into your Master's joy. Yonder he stands with a massy crown, ready to put it on your head, amidst an admiring throng of saints and angels. I, poor I, that have been waiting for my dissolution these nineteen years, must be left behind to grovel here below! Well! this is my comfort: it cannot be long ere chariots will be sent even for worthless me. If prayers can detain them, even you, Rev. and very dear Sir, shall not leave us yet; but if the decree has gone forth, that you must now fall asleep in Jesus, may he kiss your soul away, and give you to die in the embraces of triumphant love! If in the land of the dying, I hope to pay my last respects to you next week. If not, Rev. and very dear Sir, F—a—r—e—w—e—ll; *Ego sequar, etsi non passibus æquis.** My heart is too big, tears trickle down too fast, and you are, I fear, too weak, for me to enlarge. Underneath you may there be Christ's everlasting arms! I commend you to his never failing mercy, and am,

"Rev. and very dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate sympathizing, and afflicted, younger brother in the gospel of our common Lord,

"G. WHITEFIELD."

From Lewisham he removed to the Hot Wells near Bristol; and, ever intent upon improving time, began his Notes on the New Testament. For some time after this, he appears to have remained in an invalid state. During his retirement at Paddington he read a work which made a forcible attack upon his prejudices as a churchman; and soon afterwards, another, which still farther shook the deference he had once been disposed to pay to ecclesiastical antiquity.

"In my hours of walking, I read Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's life. What a scene is opened there! In spite of all my prejudices of education, I could not but see, that the poor nonconformists had been used without either justice or mercy; and that many of the protestant bishops of King Charles had neither more religion nor humanity than the popish bishops of Queen Mary."

"I read Mr. Baxter's history of the councils. It is utterly astonishing, and would be wholly incredible, but that his vouchers are beyond all exception. What a company of execrable wretches have they been, (one cannot justly give them a milder title,) who have, almost in every age since St. Cyprian, taken upon them to govern the church! How has one council been perpetually cursing another; and delivering all over to Satan, whether predecessors or contemporaries, who did not implicitly receive their determinations, though generally trifling, sometimes false, and frequently unintelligible, or self contradictory! Surely Mahometanism was let loose to reform the Christians! I know not but Constantinople has gained by the change."

During Mr. Wesley's illness, Mr. Charles Wesley went forth to visit the societies, and to supply his brother's place.

In 1755, at the conference held in Leeds, a subject which had been frequently stirring itself, was formally discussed:—

"The point on which we desired all the preachers to speak their minds at large, was, whether we ought to separate from the church. Whatever was advanced on one side or the other was seriously and calmly considered: and on the third day we were all fully agreed in that general conclusion, that, whether it was *lawful* or not, it was no ways *expedient*."

Part of the preachers were, without restraint, permitted to speak in favor of a measure which in former conferences would not have been listened to in the shape of discussion; and the conclusion was, that the question of lawfulness of separation was evaded, and the whole matter was reduced to "expediency." Of this conference we have no minutes; but where was Mr. Charles Wesley?* Mr. Charles Perronet and some others, for whom Mr. Wesley had great respect, were at this time urging him to make full provision for the spiritual wants of his people, as being in fact in a state of real and hopeless separation from the church; and he did some years afterwards so far relax, as to allow of preaching in church hours under certain circumstances, as, 1. When the minister was wicked; or held pernicious doctrine; 2. When the churches would not contain the population of a town; or where the church was distant. In that case he prescribed reading the psalms and lessons and part of the liturgy. And for this purpose, as well as for the use of the American societies, he published his abridgment of the Common Prayer under the title of the "Sunday Service of the Methodists."

In 1756 he printed an address to the clergy, plain, affectionate, and powerful; breathing at once the spirit of an apostle, and the feeling of a brother. Happy if that call had been heard! He might perhaps be influenced in this by a still lingering hope of a revival of the spirit of zeal and piety among the ministers of the established church; in which case that separation of his people from the church, which he began to foresee as otherwise inevitable, he thought might be prevented; and this he had undoubtedly much at heart. Under the same view it probably was that in 1764 he addressed a circular to all the serious clergy, whom he knew, inviting them to a closer co-operation in promoting the influence of religion in the land, without any sacrifice of opinion, and being still at liberty, as to outward order to remain "quite regular, or quite irregular, or partly regular and partly irregular." Of the thirty four clergymen addressed, only three returned any answer. This seems to have surprised both him and some of his biographers. The reason is, however, very obvious: Mr. Wesley did not propose to abandon his plan and his preachers, or to get the latter ordained and settled in curacies, as proposed a few years before by Mr. Walker, of Truro; and the matter had now obviously gone too far for the clergy to attach themselves to Methodism. They saw, with perhaps clearer eyes than Mr. Wesley's, that the Methodists could not now be embodied in the church; and that for them to co-operate directly with him, would only be to partake of his reproach, and to put difficulties in their own way, to which they had not the same call. A few clergymen, and but a few, still continued to give him, with fulness of heart, the right hand of fellowship, and to co-operate in some degree with him. Backward he could not go; but the forward career of still more extended usefulness was before him. From this time he gave up all hope of a formal connection with even the pious clergy. "They are," he ob-

*"I shall follow, though not with equal steps."

* Three years after, Mr. Wesley published twelve reasons against separation, all however of a prudential kind. To these Mr. Charles Wesley added his separate testimony; but as to *himself*, he adds that he thought it not *lawful*. Here then was another difference in the views of the brothers.

serves, "a rope of sand, and such they will continue; and he therefore set himself with deep seriousness to perpetuate the union of his preachers. At the conference of 1769, he read a paper, the object of which was to bind the preachers together by a closer tie, and to provide for the continuance of their union after his death. They were to engage solemnly to devote themselves to God, to preach the old Methodist doctrines, and to maintain the whole Methodist discipline; after Mr. Wesley's death they were to repair to London, and those who chose to act in concert were to draw up articles of agreement; whilst such as did not so agree were to be dismissed "in the most friendly way possible." They were then to choose a committee by vote, each of the members of which was to be moderator in his turn, and this committee was to enjoy Mr. Wesley's power of proposing preachers to be admitted or excluded, of appointing their stations for the ensuing year, and of fixing the time of the next conference. This appears to have been the first sketch of an ecclesiastical constitution for the body, and it mainly consisted in the entire delegation of the power which Mr. Wesley had always exercised, to a committee of preachers to be chosen by the rest when assembled in conference. The form of government he thus proposed was therefore a species of episcopacy to be exercised by a committee of three, five, or seven, as the case might be. Another and more eligible provision was subsequently made; but this sufficiently shows that Mr. Wesley had given up all hope of union with the church; and his efforts were henceforth directed merely to prevent any thing like formal separation, and the open renunciation of her communion, during his own life, by allowing his preachers to administer the sacraments.

About this time much prejudice was excited against Mr. Wesley in Scotland, by the republication of Hervey's Eleven Letters. He had three times visited this country; and preaching only upon the fundamental truths of Christianity, had been received with great affection. The societies had increased, and several of his preachers were stationed in different towns. Lady Frances Gardiner, the widow of Col. Gardiner, and other persons eminent for piety and rank, attended the Methodist ministry; but the publication of this wretched work caused a temporary odium. Hervey, who had been one of the little band at Oxford, became a Calvinist; and as his notions grew more rigid with age, so his former feelings of gratitude and friendship to Mr. Wesley were blunted. He had also fallen into the hands of Cudworth, a decided Antinomian, who "put in and out" of the letters "what he pleased." They were not, however, published until Hervey's death, and against his dying injunction. It is just to so excellent a man to record this fact; but the work was published in England, and republished, with a violent preface by Dr. Erskine, in Scotland; and among the Calvinists it produced the effect of inspiring great horror of Mr. Wesley as a most pestilent heretic, whom it was doing God service to abuse without measure or modesty. The feelings of Mr. Charles Wesley at this treatment of his brother may be gathered from the answer he returned upon being requested to write Hervey's epitaph:—

ON BEING DESIRED TO WRITE AN EPITAPH FOR MR. JAMES HERVEY.

"O'ER-REACHED, impelled by a sly Gnostick's art,
To stab his father, guide, and faithful friend,
Would pious Hervey act the accuser's part?
And *could* a life like his in malice end?

"No: by redeeming love the snare is broke
In death his rash ingratitude he blames;
Desires and *wills* the evil to revoke,
And dooms the unfinished libel to the flames.

"Who then for filthy gain betrayed his trust,
And showed a kinsman's fault in open light?
Let *him* adorn the monumental bust,—
Th' encomium fair in brass or marble write:

"Or if they need a nobler trophy raise,
As long as Theron and Aspasio live,
Let Madan or Romaine record his praise;
Enough that Wesley's brother can *forgive!*" *

The unfavorable impression made by Hervey's Letters, surcharged by Cudworth's Antinomian venom, was however, quickly effaced from all but the bigots; and with them, judging from Moncrief's Life of Erskine, it remains to this day. In his future visits to Scotland, Mr. Wesley was received with marks of the highest respect, and at Perth he had the freedom of the city handsomely conferred upon him.

CHAPTER XI.

METHODISM having begun to make some progress in America, in consequence of the emigration of some of the members of the society from England and Ireland, Mr. Wesley inquired of the preachers at the conference of 1769, whether any of them would embark in that service. Messrs. Boardman and Pilmoor, two excellent men, of good gifts, volunteered their services, and were sent to take the charge of the societies. From this time the work spread with great rapidity; more than twenty preachers had devoted themselves to it previously to the war of independence; and societies were raised up in Maryland, Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania. During the war they still prosecuted their labors; though as several of them took the side of the mother country, they were exposed to danger. Others, with more discretion, held on their way in silence, speaking only of the things of God. The warm loyalty of Mr. Wesley led him to publish a pamphlet on the subject of the quarrel, entitled, "A calm address to the American colonies;" but the copies which were shipped for America were laid hold of by a friend, who suppressed them; so that the work remained unknown in the colonies until a considerable time afterwards. This was probably a fortunate incident for the infant cause. After the war had terminated, political views were of course laid aside, and Mr. Wesley made a provision for the government of his American societies, which will be subsequently adverted to. They became, of course, independent of British Methodism, but have most honorably preserved the doctrines, the general discipline, and

* Mr. Charles Wesley, however, afterwards wrote and published some verses upon Mr. Hervey's death, in which the kind recollections of old friendship are embodied, and the anticipations of a happy meeting in heaven are sweetly expressed. The following are the concluding stanzas:

"Father, to us vouchsafe thy grace,
Which brought our friend victorious through;
Let us his shining footsteps trace,
Let us his steadfast faith pursue;
Follow this follower of the Lamb,
And conquer all through Jesus' name.

"Free from the law of sin and death,
Free from the Antinomian leaven,
He led his Master's life beneath;
And, laboring for the rest of heaven,
By active love and watchful prayer,
He showed his heart already there.

"O might we all, like him, believe,
And keep the faith, and win the prize!
Father, prepare and then receive
Our hallowed spirits to the skies,
To chant with all our friends above,
Thy glorious everlasting love."

above all the spirit of the body. Great, and even astonishing, has been their success in that new and rising country, to the wide-spread settlements of which their plan of itinerancy was admirably adapted. The Methodists are become, as to numbers, the leading religious body of the union; and their annual increase is very great. In the last year it was thirty six thousand, making a total in their communion of one thousand nine hundred ministers, and four hundred and seventy-six thousand members, having, as stated in a recent statistical account published in the United States, upwards of two millions five hundred thousand of the population under their immediate influence. In the number of their ministers, members, and congregations, the Baptists nearly equal the Methodists; and these two bodies, both itinerant in their labors, have left all the other religious denominations far behind. It is also satisfactory to remark, that the leading preachers and members of the Methodist church in the United States appear to be looking forward with enlarged views, and with prudent regard, to the future, and to aim at the cultivation of learning in conjunction with piety. Several colleges have been from time to time established; and recently a university, for the education of the youth of the American connection, has been founded. The work in the United States has been distinguished by frequent and extraordinary revivals of religion, in which a signal effect has been produced upon the moral condition of large districts of country, and great numbers of people have been rapidly brought under a concern for their salvation. In the contemplation of results so vast, and in so few years, we may devoutly exclaim, "What hath God wrought!"

The mention of what are called revivals of religion in the United States may properly here lead us to notice, that, in Great Britain also, almost every Methodist society has at different times experienced some sudden and extraordinary increase of members, the result of what has been believed to be, and that not without good reason, a special effusion of divine influence upon the minds of men. Sometimes these effects have attended the preaching of eminently energetic preachers, but have often appeared where those stationed in the circuits have not been remarkably distinguished for energy or pathos. Sometimes they have followed the continued and earnest prayers of the people; at others they have come suddenly and unlooked for. The effects however have been, that the piety of the societies has been greatly quickened, and rendered more deep and active, and that their number has increased; and of the real conversion of many who have thus been wrought upon, often very suddenly, the best evidence has been afforded. To sudden conversions, as such, great objections have been indeed taken. For these, however, there is but little reason; for if we believe the testimony of Scripture, that the Spirit is not only given to the disciples of Christ, *after* they assume that character, but *in order to* their becoming such; that, according to the words of our Lord, this Spirit is sent "to convince the world of sin," to the end that they may believe in Christ; and that the gospel, faithfully and fully proclaimed by the ministers of Christ, is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," and is made so by the accompanying influence of the Holy Ghost; who shall prescribe a mode to divine operation? Who, if he believes in such an influence accompanying the truth, shall presume to say that when that truth is proposed, the attention of the careless shall be roused only by a gradual and slow process?—that the heart shall not be brought into a state of right feeling as to eternal concerns, but by a reiteration of means which we think most adapted to produce that effect?—that no influence on the mind is genuine and divine, if it operates not in a prescribed manner?—that the Holy Spirit shall not avail himself of the variety which exists in the mental constitutions of men, to effect his purposes of mercy by different methods?—and that the operations of grace shall not present, as well as those of nature, that beauteous variety which so much illustrates the glory of Him "who worketh all in all?" And further, who shall say, that even the peculiarities of men's natures shall not, in some instances, be set aside in the course of a divine and secret operation, which touching the springs of action, and opening the sources of feeling, gives an intensity of energy to the one, and a flow to the other, more eminently indicative of the finger of God in a work which his own glory, and the humility proper to man, require should be known and acknowledged as His work alone?—Assuredly there is nothing in the reason of the case to fix the manner of producing such effects to one rule, and nothing in Scripture. Instances of sudden conversion occur in the New Testament in sufficient number to warrant us to conclude, that this may be often the mode adopted by divine wisdom, and especially in a slumbering age, to arouse attention to long despised and neglected truths. The conversions at the day of Pentecost were sudden, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, they were real; for the persons so influenced were thought worthy to be "added to the church." Nor was it by the miracle of tongues that the effect was produced. If miracles could have converted them, they had witnessed greater than even that glorious day exhibited.—The dead had been raised up in their sight, the earth had quaked beneath their feet, the sun had hid himself and made an untimely night, and Christ himself had arisen from a tomb sealed and watched. It was not by the impression of the miracle of tongues alone, but by that supervenient gracious influence which operated with the demonstrative sermon of Peter, after the miracle had excited the attention of his hearers, that they were "pricked in their hearts, and cried, men and brethren, what shall we do?"

The only true rule of judging of professed conversion is its fruits. The modes of it may vary from circumstances of which we are not the fit judges, and never shall be, until we know more of the mystic powers of mind, and of that intercourse which Almighty God, in his goodness, condescends to hold with it.

It is granted, however, that in such cases a spurious feeling has been often mixed up with these genuine visitations; that some ardent minds, when even sincere, have not sufficiently respected the rules of propriety in their acts of worship; that some religious deception has taken place: that some persons have confounded susceptibility of feeling with depth of grace; that censoriousness and spiritual pride have displaced that humility and charity which must exist wherever the influence of the Spirit of God is really present; and that, in some cases, a real fanaticism has sprung up, as in the case of George Bell and his followers in London, at an early period of Methodism. But these are accidents—tares sown in the field among the good seed, which were never spared by Mr. Wesley or his most judicious successors. In the early stages of their growth indeed, and before they assumed a decided character, they were careful lest, by plucking them up, they should root out the good seed also, but both in Great Britain and in America, no extravagance has ever been encouraged by the authorities of either society, and no importance is attached to any thing but the genuine fruits of conversion.

In the early part of 1770, we find Mr. Wesley, as usual, prosecuting his indefatigable labors in different parts of the kingdom, and every where diffusing

the influence of spirituality and zeal, and the light of a "sound doctrine." His journals present a picture of unwearied exertion, such as was perhaps never before exhibited, and in themselves they form ample volumes, of great interest, not only as a record of his astonishing and successful labors, but from their miscellaneous and almost uniformly instructive character. Now he is seen braving the storms and tempests in his journeys, fearless of the snows of winter, and the heats of summer; then, with a deep susceptibility of all that is beautiful and grand in nature, recording the pleasures produced by a smiling landscape, or by mountain scenery:—Here turning aside to view some curious object of nature; there some splendid mansion of the great; showing at the same time in his pious and often elegant, though brief reflections, with what skill he made all things contribute to devotion and cheerfulness. Again, we trace him into his proper work, preaching in crowded chapels, or to multitudes collected in the most public resorts in towns, or in the most picturesque places of their vicinity. Now he is seen by the side of the sick and dying, and then, surrounded with his societies, uttering his pastoral advices. An interesting and instructive letter frequently occurs; then a jet of playful and good humored wit upon his persecutors, or the stupidity of his casual hearers; occasionally, in spite of the philosophers, an apparition story is given as he heard it, and of which his readers are left to judge; and often we meet with a grateful record of providential escapes, from the falls of his horses, or from the violence of mobs. Notices of books also appear, which are often exceedingly just and striking; always short and characteristic; and as he read much on his journeys, they are very frequent. A few of these notices, in his journal of this year, taken without selection, may be given as a specimen:—

"I read, with all the attention I was master of, Mr. Hutchinson's Life, and Mr. Spearman's Index to his Works. And I was more convinced than ever, 1. That he had not the least conception, much less experience, of inward religion: 2. That an ingenious man may prove just what he pleases, by well-devised scriptural etymologies: especially if he be in the fashion, if he affect to read the Hebrew without vowels: and, 3. That his whole hypothesis, philosophical and theological, is unsupported by any solid proof.

"I sat down to read and seriously consider some of the writings of Baron Swedenborg. I began with huge prejudice in his favor, knowing him to be a pious man, one of a strong understanding, of much learning, and one who thoroughly believed himself. But I could not hold out long. Any one of his visions puts his real character out of doubt. He is one of the most ingenious, lively, entertaining madmen that ever set pen to paper. But his waking dreams are so wild, so far remote both from Scripture and common sense, that one might as easily swallow the stories of Tom Thumb, or Jack the Giant-killer.

"I met with an ingenious book, the late Lord Lyttleton's 'Dialogues of the Dead.' A great part of it I could heartily subscribe to, though not to every word. I believe Madam Guion was in several mistakes, speculative and practical too; yet I would no more dare to call her, than her friend Archbishop Fenelon, 'a distracted enthusiast.' She was undoubtedly a woman of a very uncommon understanding, and of excellent piety. Nor was she any more 'a lunatic,' than she was a 'heretic.'

"Another of this lively writer's assertions is, 'Martin has spawned a strange brood of fellows, called Methodists, Moravians, Hutchinsonians, who are madder than Jack was in his worst days.' I would ask any one who knows what good breeding means, Is this language for a nobleman or for a porter? But let the language be as it may, is the sentiment just? To say nothing of the Methodists, (although some of them too are not quite out of their senses,) could his lordship show me in England many more sensible men than Mr. Gambold and Mr. Okeley? And yet both of these were called Moravians. Or could he point out many men of stronger and deeper understanding than Dr. Horne and Mr. William Jones? (if he could pardon them for believing the Trinity!) And yet both of these are Hutchinsonians. What pity is it, that so ingenious a man, like many others gone before him, should pass so peremptory a sentence, in a cause which he does not understand! Indeed, how could he understand it? How much has he read upon the question? What sensible Methodist, Moravian, or Hutchinsonian, did he ever calmly converse with? What does he know of them, but from the caricatures drawn by Bishop Lavington, or Bishop Warburton? And did he ever give himself the trouble of reading the answers to those warm, lively men? Why should a good-natured and a thinking man thus condemn whole bodies of men by the lump? In this I can neither read the gentleman, the scholar, nor the Christian.

"I set out for London, and read over in the way that celebrated book, 'Martin Luther's Comment on the Epistle to the Galatians.' I was utterly ashamed. How have I esteemed this book, only because I had heard it so commended by others! or, at best, because I had read some excellent sentences, occasionally quoted from it! But what shall I say, now I judge for myself? now I see with my own eyes? Why, not only that the author makes nothing out, clears up not one considerable difficulty; that he is quite shallow in his remarks on many passages, and muddy and confused almost on all; but that he is deeply tinctured with mysticism throughout, and hence often dangerously wrong. To instance only in one or two points. How does he (almost in the words of Tauler) decry reason, right or wrong, as an irreconcilable enemy to the gospel of Christ? Whereas, what is reason (the faculty so called) but the power of apprehending, judging, and discoursing?—which power is no more to be condemned in the gross, than seeing, hearing, or feeling. Again, how blasphemously does he speak of good works and of the law of God; constantly coupling the law with sin, death, hell, or the devil; and teaching, that Christ delivers us from them all alike. Whereas it can no more be proved by Scripture, that Christ delivers us from the law of God, than that he delivers us from holiness or from heaven. Here (I apprehend) is the real spring of the grand error of the Moravians. They follow Luther, for better for worse. Hence their 'No works, no law, no commandment.' But who art thou that 'speakest evil of the law, and judgest the law?'

"I read over, and partly transcribed, Bishop Bull's 'Harmonia Apostolica.' The position with which he sets out is this, 'that all good works, and not faith alone, are the necessarily previous condition of justification,' or the forgiveness of our sins. But in the middle of the treatise he asserts, 'that faith alone is the condition of justification; for faith,' says he, 'referred to justification, means all inward and outward good works.' In the latter end he affirms, 'that there are two justifications: and that only inward good works necessarily precede the former, but both inward and outward the latter.'"

Mr. Wesley meant this brief but just analysis to be Bishop Bull's refutation, and it is sufficient.

"Looking for a book in our college library, I took down, by mistake, the works of Episcopius; which opening on an account of the Synod of Dort, I believed it might be useful to read it through. But

what a scene is here disclosed! I wonder not at the heavy curse of God, which so soon after fell on the church and nation. What a pity it is, that the holy Synod of Trent, and that of Dort, did not sit at the same time!—nearly allied as they were, not only as to the purity of doctrine, which each of them established, but also as to the spirit wherewith they acted;—if the latter did not exceed.

"Being in the Bodleian library, I lit on Mr. Calvin's account of the case of Michael Servetus; several of whose letters he occasionally inserts: wherein Servetus often declares in terms, 'I believe the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.' Mr. Calvin, however, paints him such a monster as never was, an Arian, a blasphemer, and what not; besides, strewing over him his flowers of dog, devil, swine, and so on, which are the usual appellations he gives to his opponents. But still he utterly denies his being the cause of Servetus's death. 'No,' says he: 'I only advised our magistrates, as having a right to restrain heretics by the sword, to seize upon and try that arch-heretic. But after he was condemned, I said not one word about his execution!'"

The above may be taken as instances of his laconic reviews of books.

Mr. Wesley's defence of the power he exercised in the government of the Methodist societies may also here be given; observing, that it is easier, considering the circumstances in which he was placed, to carp at it, than to find a solid answer. Few men, it is true, have had so much power: but on the other hand, he could not have retained it in a perfectly voluntary society, had he not used it mildly and wisely, and with a perfectly disinterested and public spirit.

"What is that power? It is the power of admitting into and excluding from the societies under my care; of choosing and removing stewards; of receiving or not receiving helpers; of appointing them when, where, and how to help me, and of desiring any of them to confer with me when I see good. And as it was merely in obedience to the Providence of God, and for the good of the people, that I at first accepted this power, which I never sought; so it is on the same consideration, not for profit, honor, or pleasure, that I use it at this day.

"'But several gentlemen are offended at your having so much power.' I did not seek any part of it. But when it was come unawares, not daring to bury that talent, I used it to the best of my judgment. Yet I never was fond of it. I always did, and do now, bear it as my burden, the burden which God lays upon me; and therefore I dare not lay it down.

"But if you can tell me any one, or any five men, to whom I may transfer this burden, who can and will do just what I do now, I will heartily thank both them and you."*

This year, 1770, is memorable in the history of Methodism, for having given birth to a long and very ardent controversy on the doctrines of Calvinism. It took its rise from the publication of the minutes of the conference in which it was determined, that, in some particulars then pointed out, the preachers had "leaned too much to Calvinism." This is easily explained. Mr. Whitefield, and Howell Harris, the early coadjutors of the Wesleys, became Calvinists; but the affection which existed among this little band, was strong; and as they all agreed in preaching, what was at that time most needed, the doctrine of salvation by faith, "an agreement" was made at a very early period, between the Wesleys and Howell Harris, to forget all peculiarities of opinion as much as possible in their sermons, to use as far as they could, with a good conscience, the same phrases in expressing the points on which they substantially agreed, and to avoid controversy. Such an agreement shows the liberal feeling which existed among the parties; but it was not of a nature to be so rigidly kept as to give entire satisfaction. On these articles of peace, we find therefore, endorsed, at a subsequent period, in the hand writing of Mr. Charles Wesley, "vain agreement." Mr. Wesley's anxiety to maintain unity of effort as well as affection with Mr. Whitefield, led him also, in 1743, to concede to his Calvinistic views, as far as possible; and he appears not to have been disposed to deny, though he says he could not prove it, that some persons might be unconditionally elected to eternal glory; but not to the necessary exclusion of any other from salvation. And he was then "inclined to believe" that there is a state attainable in this life, "from which a man cannot finally fall." But he was subsequently convinced by the arguments of Mr. Thomas Walsh, that this was an error.* These considerations will account for the existence of what Mr. Wesley called "a leaning to Calvinism," both in himself, and among some of the preachers, and rendered a review of the case necessary.† Though the leaders had approached so near "the very edge of Calvinism" on one side, and "of Antinomianism" also, with safety, it was not to be wondered at that others should overstep the line. Besides, circumstances had greatly changed. A strong tide of Antinomianism had set in, and threatened great injury to practical godliness throughout the land. Dr. Southey attributes this to the natural tendency of Methodism; but here he shows himself only partially acquainted with the subject. The decline of religion among many of the dissenting churches had scattered the seeds of this heresy all around them, though not without calling forth a noble testimony against it from some of their ablest ministers; and when they began to feel the influence of the revival of piety in the last century, the tares sprung up with the plants of better quality. The Calvinism taught by Mr. Howell Harris, and Mr. Whitefield, was also perverted by many of their hearers to sanction the same error.—Several of the evangelical clergy, likewise, who had no immediate connection with Mr. Wesley, were Calvinists of the highest grade; and as their number increased, their incautious statements of the doctrines of grace and faith, carried beyond their own intentions, became more mischievous. To show, however, that Antinomianism can graft itself upon other stocks besides that of the Calvinistic decrees, it was found also among many

* Wesley's works.

* Mr. Walsh was received by Mr. Wesley as a preacher in 1750, and died in 1759. The following is Mr. Wesley's character of him:—"That blessed man sometimes preached in Irish, mostly in English; and wherever he preached, whether in English or Irish, the word was sharper than a two edged sword. So that I do not remember ever to have known any preacher, who, in so few years as he remained upon earth, was an instrument of converting so many sinners from the error of their ways. By violent straining of his voice, he contracted a true pulmonary consumption, which carried him off. O what a man to be snatched away in the strength of his years! Surely thy 'judgments are a great deep!'

"He was so thoroughly acquainted with the Bible, that if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek word in the New Testament, he would tell, after a little pause, not only how often one or the other occurred in the Bible, but also what it meant in every place. Such a master of biblical knowledge I never knew before, and never expect to see again."

† Mr. Wesley's sermon on imputed righteousness is an instance of his anxiety to approach his Calvinistic brethren, in his modes of expression, as far as possible; and in this attempt he sometimes laid himself open to be misunderstood on both sides.

of the Moravians; and the Methodists did not escape. Wherever, indeed, the doctrine of justification by faith is preached, there is a danger, as St. Paul himself anticipated in his epistle to the Romans, lest perverse, vain, and evil minds should pervert it to licentiousness; heavenly as it is in authority, and pure in its influence, when rightly understood. In fact, there is no such exclusive connection between the more sober Calvinistic theories of predestination, and this great error, as some have supposed. It is too often met with, also, among those who hold the doctrine of general redemption; though it must be acknowledged, that, for the most part, such persons, at length, go over to predestinarian notions, as affording, at least, some collateral confirmation of the solifidian theory. That Calvinistic opinions, in their various forms, were at this time greatly revived and diffused, is certain. The religious excitement produced gave activity to theological inquiries; and speculative minds, especially those who had some taste for metaphysical discussions, were soon entangled in questions of predestination, prescience, necessity, and human freedom. The views of Calvin on these subjects were also held by many, who, connecting them with vital and saving truths, were honored with great usefulness; and as the Wesleyan societies were often involved in these discussions, and in danger of having their faith unsettled, and their practical piety injured by those in whom Calvinism had begun to luxuriate into the ease and carelessness of Antinomian license, no subject at that period more urgently required attention. For this reason, Mr. Wesley brought it before his conference of preachers. The withering effects of this delusion were also strongly pointed out in his sermons, and were afterwards still more powerfully depicted by the master pencil of Mr. Fletcher, in those great works to which he now began to apply himself, in order to stem the torrent. Dr. Southey has fallen into the error of imagining that Mr. Fletcher's descriptions of the ravages of Antinomianism were drawn from its effects upon the Wesleyan societies; but that mistake arose from his not adverting to the circumstance, that neither Mr. Wesley nor Mr. Fletcher confined their cares to these societies, but kept an equally watchful eye upon the state of religion in the land at large, and consequently in the church of which they were ministers. The societies under Mr. Wesley's charge were indeed at no time more than very partially affected by this form of error. Still, in some places they had suffered, and in all were exposed to danger; and as Mr. Wesley regarded them, not only as a people given to him by God to preserve from error, but to engage to bear a zealous and steadfast testimony "against the evils of the time;" in every place, he endeavored to prepare them for their warfare, by instructing them fully in the questions at issue.

The minutes of 1770 contained, therefore, the following passages:—

"We said, in 1744, 'We have leaned too much toward Calvanism.' Wherein?

"1. With regard to man's faithfulness. Our Lord himself taught us to use the expression. And we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert, on his authority, that if a man is not 'faithful in the unrighteous mammon,' God will not give 'him the true riches.'

"2. With regard to 'working for life.' This also our Lord has expressly commanded us. 'Labor,' ἐργάζεσθε, literally, 'work for the meat that endureth to everlasting life.' And in fact, every believer, till he comes to glory, works *for* as well as *from* life.

"3. We have received it as a maxim, that 'a man is to do nothing in order to justification.' Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favor with God should 'cease from evil, and learn to do well.' Whoever repents should do 'works meet for repentance.' And if this is not in order to find favor, what does he do them for?

"Review the whole affair.

"1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God?

"He that now believes in Christ, with a loving and obedient heart.

"2. But who among those that never heard of Christ?

"He that feareth God and worketh righteousness, according to the light he has.

"3. Is this the same with 'he that is sincere?'

"Nearly, if not quite.

"4. Is not this 'salvation by works?'

"Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition*.

"5. What have we then been disputing about for these thirty years?

"I am afraid, about words.

"6. The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions is drawn from the matter of fact. God does in fact justify those who, by their own confession, neither feared God nor wrought righteousness. Is this an exception to the general rule?

"It is a doubt, whether God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure, that the person in question never did fear God and work righteousness? His own saying so is not proof: for we know how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect.

"7. Does not talking of a justified or a sanctified *state* tend to mislead men? almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas we are every hour and every moment pleasing or displeasing to God, 'according to our works;'—according to the whole of our inward tempers, and our outward behavior."

That these were passages calculated to awaken suspicion, and that they gave the appearance of inconsistency to Mr. Wesley's opinions, and indicated a tendency to run to one extreme, in order to avoid another—an error which Mr. Wesley more generally avoided than most men—cannot be denied. They, however, when fairly examined, expressed nothing but what was found in substance in the doctrinal conversations at the conferences from 1744 to 1747; but the sentiments were put in a stronger form, and were made to bear directly against the Antinomian opinions of the day. To "man's faithfulness" nothing surely could be reasonably objected; it is enjoined upon believers in the whole gospel, and might have been known by the objectors to have been always held by Mr. Wesley, but so as necessarily to imply a constant dependance upon the influence of the Holy Spirit. That the rewards of eternity are also to be distributed in higher or lower degrees according to the obedient works of believers, yet still on a principle of *grace*, is a doctrine held by divines of almost every class, and is confirmed by many passages of Scripture. To the Antinomian notion, that a man is to do nothing in order to justification, Mr. Wesley opposes the same sentiment which he held in 1744, that previously to justification, men must repent, and, if there be opportunity, do works meet for repentance; and when he asks, "if they do them not *in order* to justification, what do they do them for?"—these words are far enough from intimating that such works are meritorious, although they are capable of being misunderstood. Repentance is indeed a condition of justification, as well as faith, but indirectly and remotely—"Repent ye, and believe the gospel;" and seeing that Mr. Wesley, so expressly in the same page, shuts out the *merit* of works, no one could be justly offended with this statement (except as far as the phrase is concerned) who did not embrace some obvious form of practical error.

The doctrine of the acceptance of such heathens as "fear God and work righteousness," might be offensive to those who shut out all heathens, *as such* from the mercies of God—a tenet, however, which is not necessarily connected with Calvinism; and it ought not to have been objected to by others, unless Mr. Wesley had stated, as some of his opponents understood him to do, that "a heathen might be saved without a Saviour." No such thought was ever entertained by him, as Mr. Fletcher observes in his defence; for he held that whenever a heathen is accepted, it is merely through the merits of Christ, although it is in connection with "his fearing God, and working righteousness." "'But how comes he to see that God is to be feared, and that righteousness is his delight?' Because a beam of our Sun of righteousness shines in his darkness. All is therefore of grace; the light, the works of righteousness done by that light, and acceptance in consequence of them."*

But when the minutes went on to state that this shows that salvation is by works as a "*condition*, though not by the merit of works," the highest point of heresy was supposed to be reached. Yet from this charge, though it derived some color from a paradoxical mode of expression not to be commended, Mr. Fletcher brings off his friend unhurt:—

"Our church expresses herself more fully on this head in the Homily on Salvation, to which the article refers. 'St. Paul,' says she, 'declares nothing (necessary) on the behalf of man concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith, and yet (N. B.) that faith does not shut out repentance, hope, love, (of desire when we are coming, love of delight when we are come,) dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with it in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying; so that they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not all together.' This is agreeable to St. Peter's doctrine, maintained by Mr. Wesley. Only *faith in Christ* for Christians, and *faith in the light* of their dispensation for heathens, is necessary in order to acceptance. But though faith only justifies, yet it is never alone; for repentance, hope, love of desire, and the fear of God, necessarily accompany this faith, if it be living. Our church therefore is not at all against works proceeding from, or accompanying, faith in all its stages. She grants, that whether faith seeks or finds its object, whether it longs for or embraces it, it is still a lively, active, and working grace. She is only against the vain conceit that works have any hand in *meriting* justification or *purchasing* salvation, which is what Mr. Wesley likewise strongly opposes.

"If any still urge, 'I do not love the word condition,' I reply it is no wonder; since thousands so hate the thing, that they even choose to go to hell, rather than perform it. But let an old worthy divine, approved by all but Crisp's disciples, tell you what we mean by condition: 'An antecedent condition (says Mr. Flavel, in his Discourse of Errors) signifies no more than an act of ours, which, though it be neither perfect in any degree, nor in the least meritorious of the benefit conferred, nor performed in our own natural strength, is yet, according to the constitution of the covenant, required of us, in order to the blessings consequent thereupon, by virtue of the promise; and consequently, benefits and mercies granted in this order are and must be suspended by the donor, till it be performed.' Such a condition we affirm faith to be, with all that faith necessarily implies."†

The greatest stone of stumbling was, however, the remarks on *merit:*

"As to merit itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: we are rewarded 'according to our works,' yea, 'because of our works.' How does this differ from, 'for the sake of our works?' And how differs this from *secundum merita operum*, 'as our works deserve?' Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot."

"The outcry of "dreadful heresy" raised against him, particularly on this article, was the more uncandid, because by explaining the phrase *secundum merita operum*, to mean, *as our works deserve*, it was clear, especially taking the passage in connection with what he had previously stated, that he understood merit in that loose, and not perhaps always correct, sense in which it had often been used by several of the ancient fathers; and also that he was not speaking of our present justification, but of our final reward. But here Mr. Fletcher shall again be heard:—

"If Mr. Wesley meant, that we are saved by the *merit of works*, and not entirely by that of Christ, you might exclaim against his proposition as erroneous; and I would echo back your exclamation. But as he flatly denies it in those words, 'Not by the merit of works,' and has constantly asserted the contrary for above thirty years, we cannot, without monstrous injustice, fix that sense upon the word merit in this paragraph.

"Divesting himself of bigotry and party spirit, he generously acknowledges truth even when it is held forth by his adversaries: an instance of candor worthy of our imitation! He sees that God offers and gives his children, here on earth, particular rewards for particular instances of obedience. He knows that when a man is saved meritoriously by Christ, and *conditionally by* (or, if you please, *upon the terms of*) *the work of faith, the patience of hope, and the labor of love*, he shall particularly be rewarded in heaven for his works: and he observes, that the Scriptures steadily maintain, we are recompensed *according to our works*, yea, *because of our works.*

"The former of these assertions is plain from the parable of the talents, and from these words of our Lord, Matt. xvi. 27, 'The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, and reward every man according to his works;' unbelievers according to the various degrees of demerit belonging to their evil works; (for some of them shall comparatively 'be beaten with few stripes;') and believers according to the various degrees of excellence found in their good works; 'for as one star differeth from another star in glory, so also is the resurrection of the 'righteous 'dead.'

"If we detach from the word *merit* the idea of 'obligation on God's part to bestow any thing upon creatures, who have a thousand times forfeited their comforts and existence'—if we take it in the sense we fix to it in a hundred cases; for instance this: 'A master may reward his scholars according to the *merit* of their exercises, or he may not: for the *merit* of the best exercise can never bind him to bestow a premium for it, unless he has promised it of his own accord'—if we take, I say, the word *merit* in this simple sense, it may be joined to the word *good works*, and bear an evangelical meaning.

"To be convinced of it, candid reader, consider, with Mr. Wesley, that 'God accepts and rewards no work but so far as it proceeds from his own grace through the Beloved.' Forget not that Christ's Spirit is the savor of each believer's salt, and that he puts excellence into the *good* works of his people, or else they could not be *good*. Remember, he is as much concerned in the good tempers, words, and actions, of his living members, as a tree is concerned in the sap, leaves, and fruit of the branches it bears, John xv. 5. Consider, I say, all this, and tell us whether it can reflect dishonor upon Christ and

* Fletcher's Works. † Ibid.

his grace, to affirm, that as his personal merit—the merit of his holy life and painful death—'opens the kingdom of heaven to all believers;' so the merit of those works which he enables his members to do, will determine the peculiar degrees of glory graciously allotted to each of them."*

Mr. Fletcher came forward to defend his venerable friend, on account of the great uproar which the Calvinistic party had raised against him upon the publication of these minutes. The countess of Huntingdon had taken serious alarm and offence; and the Rev. Walter Shirley, her brother and chaplain, had written a circular letter to all the serious clergy, and several others, inviting them to go in a body to the ensuing conference, and "insist upon a formal recantation of the said minutes, and, in case of refusal, to sign and publish their protest against them." Mr. Shirley and a few others accordingly attended the Bristol conference, where, says Mr. Wesley, "We had more preachers than usual in consequence of Mr. Shirley's circular letter. At ten on Thursday morning he came, with nine or ten of his friends: we conversed freely for about two hours; and I believe they were satisfied, that we were not such 'dreadful heretics' as they imagined, but were tolerably sound in the faith."

The meeting was creditable to each party. Mr. Wesley acknowledged that the minutes were "not sufficiently guarded." This must be felt by all; they were out of his usual manner of expressing himself, and he had said the same truths often in a clearer, and safer, and even stronger manner. He certainly did not mean to alter his previous opinions, or formally to adopt other terms in which to express them; and therefore to employ new modes of speaking, though for a temporary purpose, was not without danger, although they were capable of an innocent explanation. Even Mr. Fletcher confesses that the minutes wore "a new aspect;" and that at first they appeared to him "unguarded, if not erroneous." Mr. Wesley showed his candor in admitting the former; and to prevent all future misconstruction, he and the conference issued the following "Declaration," to which was appended a note from Mr. Shirley, acknowledging his mistake as to the meaning of the minutes:

BRISTOL, *August* 9, 1771.

"WHEREAS the doctrinal points in the minutes of a conference held in London, August 7, 1770, have been understood to favor 'justification by works:' now the Rev. John Wesley and others, assembled in conference, do declare, that we had no such meaning; and that we abhor the doctrine of 'justification by works,' as a most perilous and abominable doctrine. And as the said minutes are not sufficiently guarded in the way they are expressed, we hereby solemnly declare, in the sight of God, that we have no trust or confidence but in the alone *merits* of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for justification or salvation, either in life, death, or the day of judgment. And though no one is a real Christian believer (and consequently cannot be saved) who doeth not good works, where there is time and opportunity; yet our works have no part in meriting or purchasing our justification, from first to last, either in whole or in part.

"Signed by the Rev. Mr. Wesley, and fifty-three preachers."†

*Fletcher's Works.

†This affair is capable of more illustration than it has received from Mr. Wesley's biographers hitherto. Mr. Shirley's circular letter was naturally resented by Mr. Wesley, as being published before any explanations respecting the minutes had been asked from him their author; and also from its assuming that Mr. S. and the clergy who might obey his summons, had the right to come into the conference, and to demand a recantation. Mr. Shirley, therefore, soon found, that he must approach in a more brotherly manner, or that Mr. Wesley and the conference would have no intercourse with him. This led Lady Huntingdon and Mr. Shirley to address explanatory letters to Mr. Wesley. "As the method of proceeding, as well as the terms in which we had delivered ourselves," says Mr. Shirley, "was objected to by many as by no means proper, and in submission to the precept, 'Give no offence to Jew or Gentile, or to the church of God,' Lady Huntingdon and I wrote the following letters, which were delivered to Mr. Wesley the evening before the conference met." Lady Huntingdon says, "As you and your friends, and many others, have objected to the mode of the application to you in conference, as an arbitrary way of proceeding, we wish to retract what a more deliberate consideration might have prevented," &c. Mr. Shirley's letter acknowledges "that the circular was too hastily drawn up and improperly expressed; and therefore, for the offensive expressions in it we desire we may be hereby understood to make every suitable submission to you." On this explanation, Mr. Shirley and his friends were *invited* by Mr. Wesley, to come to the conference on the third day of its sitting. Mr. Shirley's published narrative thus proceeds—"To say the truth, I was pleased that the invitation came from Mr. Wesley, without any application made on our parts, that there might not be left the least room for censuring our proceedings as violent. On that day, therefore, I went thither, accompanied with the Rev. Mr. Glascot, the Rev. Mr. Owen, (two ministers officiating in Lady Huntingdon's chapels,) John Lloyd, Esq. of Bath; Mr. James Ireland, merchant of Bristol; Mr. Winter, and two students belonging to Lady Huntingdon's college.

"I shall only give you a brief detail of what passed, and rather the substance of what was spoken, than the exact words; omitting likewise many things of no great weight or consequence.

"After Mr. Wesley had prayed, I desired to know whether Lady Huntingdon's letter and mine to Mr. Wesley had been read to the conference. Being answered in the negative, I begged leave to read the copies of them, which was granted. I then said that I hoped the submission made was satisfactory to the gentlemen of the conference. This was admitted; but then it was urged, that as the offence given by the circular letter had been very public, so ought the letter of submission. I therefore readily consented to the publication of it, and have now fulfilled my promise. Mr. Wesley then stood up; the purport of his speech was a sketch of his ministry from his first setting out to the present time; with a view (as I understood) to prove that he had ever maintained justification by faith, and that there was nothing in the minutes contrary thereunto. He complained of ill treatment from many persons, that he apprehended had been under obligations to him; and said that the present opposition was not to the minutes, but to himself personally.—In answer I assured them in the most solemn manner, that, with respect to myself, my opposition was not to Mr. Wesley, or any particular person, but to the doctrines themselves.—And they were pleased thus far to give me credit.—I then proceeded to speak to the point; informed them of the great and general offence the minutes had given; that I had numerous protests and testimonies against them sent me from Scotland, and from various parts of these kingdoms; that it must seem very extraordinary indeed, if so many men of sense and learning should be mistaken, and that there was nothing really offensive in the plain natural import of the minutes; that I believed they themselves (whatever meaning they might have intended) would allow that the more obvious meaning was reprehensible; and, therefore, I recommended to them, nay, I begged, and entreated for the Lord's sake, that they would go as far as they could with a good conscience, in giving the world satisfaction. I said I hoped they would not take offence, (for I did not mean to give it,) at my proposing to them a declaration which I had drawn up, wishing that something at least analogous to it might be agreed to. I then took the liberty to read it; and Mr. Wesley, after he had made some (not very material) alterations in it, readily consented to sign it; in which he was followed by fifty-three of the preachers in connection with him; there being only one or two that were against it.

"Thus was this most important matter settled. But one of the preachers (namely, Mr. Thomas Olivers)

MR. SHIRLEY'S NOTE.

"Mr. Shirley's Christian respects wait on Mr. Wesley. The declaration agreed to in conference the 8th of August, 1771, has convinced Mr. Shirley he had mistaken the meaning of the doctrinal points in the minutes of the conference held in London, August 7, 1770; and hereby wishes to testify the full satisfaction he has in the said declaration, and his hearty concurrence and agreement with the same.

"Mr. Wesley is at full liberty to make what use he pleases of this.

"August 10, 1771."

Mr. Fletcher had entitled his defence of Mr. Wesley, "The first check to Antinomianism:" but he did not content himself with *evangelizing* the apparently *legal* minutes, and defending the doctrinal consistency and orthodoxy of Mr. Wesley. He incidentally discussed various other points of quinquarticular controversy; and he, as well as Mr. Wesley, was quickly assailed by a number of replies not couched in the most courteous style. Mr. Fletcher's skill and admirable temper so fully fitted him to conduct the dispute which had arisen, that Mr. Wesley left the contest chiefly to him, and calmly pursued his labors; and the whole issued in a series of publications, from the pen of the Vicar of Madeley, which, as a whole, can scarcely be too highly praised or valued.* While the language endures, they will effectually operate as checks to Antinomianism in every subtle form which it may assume; and present the pure and beautiful system of evangelical truth, as well guarded on the other hand against Pelagian self-sufficiency. The Rev. Augustus Toplady, Mr. (afterward Sir Richard) Hill, and his brother, the Rev. Rowland Hill, with the Rev. John Berridge, were his principal antagonists; but his learning, his acuteness, his brilliant talent at illustrating an argument, and, above all, the hallowed spirit in which he conducted the controversy, gave him a mighty superiority over his opponents; and although there will be a difference of opinion, according to the systems which different readers have adopted, as to the side on which the victory of *argument* remains, there can be none as to which bore away the prize of *temper*. Amidst the scurrilities and vulgar abuse of Mr. Toplady, otherwise an able writer, and a man of learning, and the coarse virulence or buffoonery of the Hills and Berridge,† it is refreshing to remark, in the writings of "the saintly Fletcher," so fine a union of strength and meekness; an edge so keen, and yet so smooth, and a heart kept in such perfect charity with his assailants, and so intent upon establishing truth, not for victory, but for salvation.

In this dispute, Mr. Wesley wrote but little, and that chiefly in defence of his own consistency, in reply to Mr. Hill. His pamphlets also are models of temper, logical and calm, but occasionally powerfully reproving; not so much as feeling that he had received abuse and insult, as holding it his duty to bring the aggressor to a due sense of his own misdoings. The conclusion of his first reply to Mr. Hill is a strong illustration:—

"Having now answered the queries you proposed, suffer me, sir, to propose one to you; the same which a gentleman of your own opinion proposed to me some years since:—"Sir, how is it that so

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kept us a long time in debate; strenuously opposed the declaration; and to the last would not consent to sign it. He maintained that our second justification (that is, at the day of judgment) is by works; and he saw very clearly that for one that holds that tenet solemnly 'to declare in the sight of God that he has no trust or confidence but in the alone merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for justification or salvation, either in life, death, or the day of judgment,' would be acting neither ■ consistent, nor an upright part; for all the subtilties of metaphysical distinction can never reconcile tenets so diametrically opposite as these. But, blessed be God, Mr. Wesley, and fifty-three of his preachers, do not agree with Mr. Olivers in this material article; for it appears from their subscribing the declaration, that they do not maintain a second justification by works.

"After the declaration had been agreed to, it was required of me, on my part, that I would make some public acknowledgment that I had mistaken the meaning of the minutes. Here I hesitated ■ little; for though I was desirous to do every thing (consistently with truth and ■ good conscience) for the establishment of peace and Christian fellowship; yet I was very unwilling to give any thing under my hand that might seem to countenance the minutes in their obvious sense. But then, when I was asked by one of the preachers whether I did not believe Mr. Wesley to be an honest man; I was distressed on the other hand, lest, by refusing what was desired, I should seem to infer a doubt to Mr. Wesley's disadvantage. Having confidence, therefore, in Mr. Wesley's integrity, who had declared he had no such meaning in the minutes, as was favorable to justification by works; and, considering that every man is the best judge of his own meaning, and has a right, so far, to our credit, and that, though nothing else could, yet the declaration did convince me, they had some other meaning than what appeared:—I say, (these things considered,) I promised them satisfaction in this particular; and, a few days afterwards, sent Mr. Wesley the following message, with which he was very well pleased:

[Then follows Mr. Shirley's note, as given above.]

"Thus far all was well.—The foundation was secured.—And, with respect to lesser matters of difference, we might well bear with one another; and if either party should see occasion to oppose the other's peculiar opinion, it might be done without vehemence, and without using any reproachful terms. The whole was conducted with great decency on all sides. We concluded with prayer, and with the warmest indications of mutual peace and love. For my own part, believe me, I was perfectly sincere; and thought this one of the happiest and most honorable days of my life."

The whole conduct of Mr. Shirley, in this affair, affords a pleasing contrast to that of the Hills, Toplady, and others, who soon rushed hot and reckless into the controversy. Mr. Shirley, it is true, complains, that, after this adjustment, Mr. Fletcher should have so severely attacked him in his five letters; but he appears never to have departed from the meekness of a Christian, and the manners of a gentleman.

* It ought to be observed, that Mr. Fletcher's writings are not to be considered, in every particular, as expressing the views of Mr. Wesley, and the body of Methodists; and that, though greatly admired among us, they are not reckoned among the *standards* of our doctrines.

† The titles of several of the pieces written by Toplady and others, such as "An old Fox tarred and feathered;" "The Serpent and the Fox;" "Pope John," &c.; are sufficient evidences of the temper and manner of this band of controversialists. In what the Rev. Rowland Hill calls "*Some Gentle Strictures*" on a sermon by Mr. Wesley, preached on laying the foundation-stone of the city road chapel, Mr. Wesley is subjected to certain not very *gentle* objurgations, which it would be too sickening a task to copy or to read. The Gospel Magazine, so called, was equally unmeasured in its abuse, and as vulgar; but to do justice to all parties, the Calvinists even of that day disapproved of this publication, and it was given up. Even Mr. Rowland Hill appears to have incurred the displeasure of some of his brethren; for in a second edition of his "Gentle Strictures," he explains himself—awkwardly enough, certainly—that when he called Mr. Wesley "wretch," and "miscreant," they must remember that "wretch" means "an unhappy person;" and "miscreant," "one whose belief is wrong!" We have happily no recent instances of equally unbrotherly and unchristian temper in connection with this controversy, except in the bitter and unsanctified spirit of Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters. The two doctors, however, were in the habit of declining the merit of the passages on Methodism, in favor of each other; and to which of them the honor of the authorship is due, has never yet, I believe, been ascertained.—"Where there is shame," says Dr. Johnson, "there may in time be virtue."

as a man comes to the knowledge of THE TRUTH, it spoils his temper?' That it does so I had observed over and over, as well as Mr. J. had. But how can we account for it? Has the truth (so Mr. J. termed what many love to term the doctrine of free grace) a natural tendency to spoil the temper? To inspire pride, haughtiness, superciliousness? To make a man 'wiser in his own eyes than seven men that can render a reason?' Does it naturally turn a man into a cynic, a bear, a Toplady? Does it at once set him free from all the restraints of good nature, decency, and good manners? Cannot a man hold distinguishing grace, as it is called, but he must distinguish himself for passion, sourness, bitterness? Must a man, as soon as he looks upon himself to be an absolute favorite of heaven, look upon all that oppose him as Diabolonians, as predestinated dogs of hell? Truly, the melancholy instance now before us would almost induce us to think so. For who was of a more amiable temper than Mr. Hill, a few years ago? When I first conversed with him in London, I thought I had seldom seen a man of fortune who appeared to be of a more humble, modest, gentle, friendly disposition. And yet this same Mr. H., when he has once been grounded in the knowledge of THE TRUTH, is of a temper as totally different from this, as light is from darkness! He is now haughty, supercilious, disdaining his opponents as unworthy to be set with the dogs of his flock! He is violent, impetuous, bitter of spirit! In a word, the author of the review!

"O, sir, what a commendation is this of your doctrine? Look at Mr. Hill the Arminian! The loving, amiable, generous, friendly man. Look at Mr. Hill the Calvinist! Is it the same person? this spiteful, morose, touchy man? Alas! what has the knowledge of THE TRUTH done? What a deplorable change has it made? Sir, I love you still, though I cannot esteem you, as I did once. Let me entreat you, if not for the honor of God, yet for the honor of your cause, avoid, for the time to come, all anger, all spite, all sourness and bitterness, all contemptuous usage of your opponents, not inferior to you, unless in fortune. O, put on again bowels of mercies, kindness, gentleness, long suffering; endeavoring to hold, even with them that differ from you in opinion, the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace!"

This controversy, painful as it was in many respects, and the cause of much unhallowed joy to the profane wits of the day, who were not a little gratified at this exhibition of what they termed "spiritual gladiatorship," has been productive of important consequences in this country. It showed to the pious and moderate Calvinists how well the richest views of evangelical truth could be united with Arminianism; and it effected, by its bold and fearless exhibition of the logical consequences of the doctrines of the decrees, much greater moderation in those who still admitted them, and gave birth to some softened modifications of Calvinism in the age that followed;—an effect which has remained to this day. The disputes on these subjects have, since that time, been less frequent, and more temperate; nor have good men so much labored to depart to the greatest distance from each other, as to find a ground on which they could make the nearest approaches. This has been especially the case between the Methodists and the evangelical dissenters. Of late a Calvinism of a higher and sterner form has sprung up among a certain sect of the clergy of the church of England; though some of them, whatever their private theory may be, feel that these points are not fit subjects for the edification of their congregations in public discourses. Of Calvinism since the period of this controversy the Methodist preachers and societies have been in no danger; so powerful and complete was its effect upon them. At no conference, since that of 1770, has it been necessary again to ask, "wherein have we leaned too much to Calvinism?" There has been indeed, not in the body, but in some of its ministers occasionally, a leaning to what is worse than Calvinism—to a sapless, legal, and philosophizing theology. The influence of the opinions of the majority of the preachers has always, however, counteracted this; and the true balance between the extremes of each system, as set up in the doctrinal writings of Mr. Wesley, has been of late years better preserved than formerly. Those writings are, indeed, more read and better appreciated in the connection, than at some former periods; and perhaps at the present time they exert a more powerful influence than they ever did over the theological views of both preachers and people. To this the admirably complete, correct, and elegant edition of Mr. Wesley's works, lately put forth by the labor and judgment of the Rev. Thomas Jackson, will still further contribute. Numerous valuable pieces on different subjects, which had been quite lost to the public, have been recovered; and others, but very partially known, have been collected.

In the midst of all these controversies and cares, the societies continued to spread and flourish under the influence of the zeal and piety of the preachers, animated by the ceaseless activity and regular visits of Mr. Wesley, who, though now upwards of seventy years of age, seemed to possess his natural strength unabated.* His thoughts were, however, frequently turning with anxiety to some arrangement for the government of the connection after his death; and not being satisfied that the plan he had sketched out a few years before would provide for a case of so much consequence, he directed his attention to Mr. Fletcher, and warmly invited him to come forth into the work, and to allow himself to be introduced by him to the societies and preachers as their future head. Earnestly as this was pressed, Mr. Fletcher could not be induced to undertake a task to which, in his humility, he thought himself inadequate. This seems to have been his only objection; but had he accepted the offer, the plan would have failed, as Mr. Fletcher was a few years afterwards called into another world. From Mr. Charles Wesley, who had become a family man, and had nearly given up travelling, he had no hope as a successor; and even then a farther settlement would have been necessary, because he could not be expected long to survive his brother. Still therefore this important matter remained undetermined. At the time the overture was made to Mr. Fletcher, the preachers who were fully engaged in the work amounted to one hundred and fifty; and the societies, in Great Britain and Ireland, to upwards of thirty-five thousand, exclusive of the regular hearers. This rapid and constant enlargement of the connection heightened the urgency of the question of its future settlement; and it is pleasing to remark, that Mr. Charles Wesley at length entered into this feeling, and offered his suggestions. In spite of the

* In his seventy-second year he thus speaks of himself, "This being my birth day, the first day of my seventy-second year, I was considering, how is this that I find just the same strength as I did thirty years ago? that my sight is considerably better now, and my nerves firmer than they were then? that I have none of the infirmities of old age, and have lost several I had in my youth? The grand cause is the good pleasure of God, who doeth whatsoever pleaseth him.—The chief means are, 1. My constantly rising at four for about fifty years: 2. My generally preaching at five in the morning, one of the most healthy exercises in the world; 3. My never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in a year."

little misunderstandings which had arisen, he maintained a strong interest in a work of which he had been so eminent an instrument; and this grew upon him in his latter years. Thus we have seen him springing into activity upon the sickness of his brother, before mentioned, and performing for him the full "work of an evangelist," by travelling in his place; and, upon Mr. Wesley's recovery, his labors were afforded locally to the chapels in London and Bristol, to the great edification of the congregations. In one of his latest letters to his brother, entering into the question of a provision for the settlement of the future government of the connection, he says, "I served West-street chapel on Friday and Sunday. Stand to your own proposal: 'Let us agree to differ.' I leave America and Scotland to your latest thoughts and recognitions; only observing now, that you are exactly right—keep your authority while you live; and, after your death, *detur digniori*, or rather, *dignioribus*. You cannot settle the *succession*. You cannot divine how God will settle it."

Thus Charles gave up as hopeless the return to the church, and suggested the plan which his brother adopted, to devolve the government, not indeed upon one, but upon many whom he esteemed "the worthiest," for age, experience, talent, and moderation.

CHAPTER XII.

In 1775, Mr. Wesley, during a tour in the north of Ireland, had a dangerous sickness occasioned by sleeping on the ground, in an orchard, in the hot weather, which he says he had been "accustomed to do for forty years without ever being injured by it." He was slow to admit that old age had arrived, or he trusted to triumph long over its infirmities. The consequence in this case, however, was that, after manfully struggling with the incipient symptoms of the complaint, and attempting to throw them off by reading, journeying, and preaching, he sunk into a severe fever, from which, after lying insensible for some days, he recovered with extraordinary rapidity: and resumed a service which, extended as it had been through so many years, was not yet to be terminated. Whilst in London the next year, the following incident occurred:—

An order had been made by the house of lords, "That the commissioners of his majesty's excise do write circular letters to all persons whom they have reason to suspect to have plate, as also to those who have not paid regularly the duty on the same," &c. In consequence of this order, the accountant-general for household plate sent Mr. Wesley a copy of the order, with the following letter:—

"Reverend sir,

"As the commissioners cannot doubt but you have plate for which you have hitherto neglected to make an entry, they have directed me to send you the above copy of the lords' order, and to inform you, they expect that you forthwith make due entry of all your plate, such entry to bear date from the commencement of the plate duty, or from such time as you have owned, used, had; or kept any quantity of silver plate, chargeable by the act of parliament; as in default hereof, the board will be obliged to signify your refusal to their lordships.

"N. B. An immediate answer is desired."

Mr. Wesley replied as follows:—

"Sir,

"I have two silver tea-spoons at London, and two at Bristol. This is all the plate which I have at present; and I shall not buy any more while so many around me want bread.

"I am, sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

No doubt the commissioners of his majesty's excise thought that the head of so numerous a people had not forgotten his own interests, and that the interior of his *episcopal* residence in London was not without superfluities and splendor.

The bishop of Sodor and Man having written a pastoral letter to all the clergy within his diocese, to warn their flocks against Methodism, and exhorting them to present all who attended its meetings, in the spiritual courts, and to repel every Methodist preacher from the sacrament, Mr. Wesley hastened to the island, and in May, 1777, landed at Douglas. In every place he appears to have been cordially received by all ranks; and his prompt visit probably put a stop to this threatened ecclesiastical violence, for no farther mention is made of it. The societies in the island continued to flourish; and, on Mr. Wesley's second visit, he found a new bishop of a more liberal character.

The Foundry having become too small for the comfortable accommodation of the congregation in that part of London, and being also gloomy and dilapidated, a new chapel had been erected. "November 1st," says Mr. Wesley, "was the day appointed for opening the new chapel in the city-road. It is perfectly neat, but not fine, and contains far more than the Foundry; I believe, together with the morning chapel, as many as the tabernacle. Many were afraid that the multitudes, crowding from all parts, would have occasioned much disturbance; but they were happily disappointed; there was none at all: all was quietness, decency, and order. I preached on part of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple; and both in the morning and afternoon God was eminently present in the midst of the congregation."*

Here the brothers agreed to officiate as often as possible till the congregation should be settled. Two resident clergymen were also employed at this chapel as curates, for reading the full church service, administering the sacraments, and burying the dead. But Mr. Charles Wesley took some little offence at the liberty given to the preachers to officiate in his brother's absence, and when he himself could not supply. His letter of complaint produced, however, no change in his brother's appointments, nor was it likely. Mr. Wesley knew well that his own preaching at the new chapel, and the ministrations of the other clergymen, during the hours of service in the parish church, without a license from the bishop, or the acknowledgment of his spiritual jurisdiction, was just as irregular an affair, considered ecclesiastically, as the other. The city-road chapel, with its establishment of clergy, service in canonical hours, and sacraments, was, in the eye of the law, as much as any dissenting place of worship in London, a conventicle; though, when tried by a better rule, it was eminently, in those days of power and simplicity, "none other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven," to devout worshippers. An influence of a very extraordinary kind often rested upon the vast congregations assembled there; thousands were trained up in it for the kingdom of God; and the society exhibited a greater number of members, perhaps, than any other, except that in Bristol, who, for intelligence, deep experience in the things of God, stability, meekness of spirit, and holiness of life, were at once the ornaments of Methodism, and an influential example to the other societies of the metropolis.

In 1778, Mr. Wesley began to publish a periodical work, which he entitled, "The Arminian Magazine; consisting of extracts and original treatises on universal redemption." He needed a medium through which he could reply to the numerous at-

* Journal.

tacks made upon him; and he made use of it farther to introduce into general circulation several choice treatises on universal redemption, and to publish selections from his valuable correspondence with pious persons. He conducted this work while he lived; and it is still continued by the conference, under the title of the "Wesleyan Methodist Magazine," on the same general principles as to its theology, though on a more enlarged plan.

A dispute of a somewhat serious aspect arose in the following year out of the appointment of a clergyman by Mr. Wesley to preach every Sunday evening in the chapel at Bath. It was not probable that the preachers of the circuit should pay the same deference to a strange clergyman, recently introduced, as to Mr. Wesley; but when this exclusive occupation of the pulpit on Sunday evenings was objected to by them and part of the society, Mr. Wesley, supported by his brother, who had accompanied him to Bath, stood firmly upon his right to appoint *when* and *where* the preachers should officiate, as a fundamental part of the compact between them; and the assistant preacher, Mr. M'Nab, was suspended until "he came to another mind." As Mr. M'Nab, who had thus fallen under Mr. Wesley's displeasure, was supported by many of the other preachers, a stormy conference was anticipated. To this meeting Mr. Wesley, therefore, foreseeing that his authority would be put to the trial, strongly invited his brother, in order that he might assist him with his advice. At first Mr. Charles Wesley declined, on the ground that he could not trust to his brother's vigor and resolution. He, however, attended; but when he saw that Mr. Wesley was determined to heal the breach by concession, he kept entire silence. The offending preacher was received back without censure; and, from this time, Dr. Whitehead thinks that Mr. Wesley's authority in the conference declined. This is not correct; but that authority was exercised in a different manner. Many of the preachers had become old in the work; and were men of great talents, tried fidelity, and influence with the societies. These qualities were duly appreciated by Mr. Wesley, who now regarded them more than formerly, when they were young and inexperienced, as his counsellors and coadjutors. It was an eminent proof of Mr. Wesley's practical wisdom, that he never attempted to contend with circumstances not to be controlled; and from this time he placed his supremacy no longer upon authority, but upon the influence of wisdom, character, and age, and thus confirmed rather than diminished it. Had Mr. Charles Wesley felt sure of being supported by his brother with what he called "vigor," it is plain from his letter on the occasion, that he would have stood upon the alternative of the unconditional submission of all the preachers, or a separation. His brother chose a more excellent way, and no doubt foresaw, not only that if a separation had been driven on by violence, it would have been an extensive one; but that among the societies which remained the same process would naturally, and necessarily, at some future time, take place, and so nothing be ultimately gained, to counterbalance the immediate mischief. The silence maintained by Mr. Charles Wesley in this conference did him also great honor. He suspected "the warmth of his temper;" he saw that, as his brother was bent upon conciliation, any thing he could say would only endanger the mutual confidence between him and his preachers, and he held his peace. He himself believed that a formal separation of the body of preachers and people from the church would inevitably take place after his brother's death, and thought it best to bring on the crisis before that event. "You," says he, to his brother, "think otherwise, and I submit." The fact has been, that no *such* separation as he feared, that is, separation on such principles, and under such feelings of hostility to the established church, has yet taken place.

The following letter written by Mr. Wesley in 1782, to a nobleman high in office, shows how much his mind was alive to every thing which concerned the morals and religion of the country, and is an instance of the happy manner in which he could unite courtesy with reproof, without destroying its point. A report prevailed that the ministry designed to embody the militia, and exercise them on a Sunday.

"My lord,

"If I wrong your lordship I am sorry for it; but I really believe, your lordship fears God; and I hope your lordship has no unfavorable opinion of the Christian revelation. This encourages me to trouble your lordship with a few lines which otherwise I should not take upon me to do.

"Above thirty years ago, a motion was made in parliament, for raising and embodying the militia, and for exercising them, to save time, on Sunday. When the motion was like to pass, an old gentleman stood up and said, 'Mr. Speaker, I have one objection to this: I believe an old book, called the Bible.' The members looked at one another, and the motion was dropped.

"Must not all others, who believe the Bible, have the very same objection? And from what I have seen, I cannot but think, these are still three fourths of the nation. Now, setting religion out of the question, is it expedient to give such a shock to so many millions of people at once? And certainly it would shock them extremely: it would wound them in a very tender part. For would not they, would not all England, would not all Europe, consider this as a virtual repeal of the Bible? And would not all serious persons say, 'we have little religion in the land now; but by this step we shall have less still. For wherever this pretty show is to be seen, the people will flock together: and will lounge away so much time before and after it, that the churches will be emptier than they are already!'

"My lord, I am concerned for this on a double account. First, because I have personal obligations to your lordship, and would fain, even for this reason, recommend your lordship to the love and esteem of all over whom I have any influence. Secondly, because I now reverence your lordship for your office' sake; and believe it to be my bounden duty to do all that is in my little power, to advance your lordship's influence and reputation.

"Will your lordship permit me to add a word in my old fashioned way? I pray Him that has all power in heaven and earth to prosper all your endeavors for the public good, and am,

"My lord,

"Your lordship's willing servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

In 1783, Mr. Wesley paid a visit to Holland, having been pressed to undertake this journey by a Mr. Ferguson, formerly a member of the London society, who had made acquaintance with some pious people, who, having read Mr. Wesley's sermons, were desirous of seeing him.

The following are extracts from his journal: and they will be read with pleasure, both as exhibiting his activity at so advanced an age, and as they present an interesting picture of his intercourse with a pious remnant in several parts of that morally deteriorated country:—

"Wednesday, June 11, I took coach with Mr. Brackenbury, Broadbent, and Whitefield; and in the evening we reached Harwich. I went immediately to Dr. Jones, who received me in the most affectionate manner: about nine in the morning we

sailed; and at nine on Friday 13, landed at Helvoetsluys. Here we hired a coach for Briel; but were forced to hire a wagon also, to carry a box, which one of us could have carried on his shoulders. At Briel we took a boat to Rotterdam. We had not been long there, when Mr. Bennet, a bookseller, who had invited me to his house, called for me. But as Mr. Loyal, the minister of the Scotch congregation, had invited me, he gave up his claim, and went with us to Mr. Loyal's. I found a friendly, sensible, hospitable, and I am persuaded, a pious man.

"Saturday, 14. I had much conversation with the two English ministers, sensible, well-bred, serious men. These, as well as Mr. Loyal, were very willing I should preach in their churches; but they thought it would be best for me to preach in the episcopal church. By our conversing freely together many prejudices were removed, and all our hearts seemed to be united together.

"Sunday, 15. The episcopal church is not quite so large as the chapel in West-street: it is very elegant both without and within. The service began at half past nine. Such a congregation had not often been there before. I preached on, 'God created man in his own image.' The people 'seemed all, but their attention, dead.' In the afternoon the church was so filled, as (they informed me) it had not been for these fifty years. I preached on, 'God hath given us eternal life; and this life is in his Son.' I believe God applied it to many hearts. Were it only for this hour, I am glad I came to Holland.

"Monday, 16. We set out in a track-skuit for the Hague: by the way we saw a curiosity; the gallows near the canal, surrounded by a knot of beautiful trees! so the dying man will have one pleasant prospect here, whatever befalls him hereafter!

"At eleven we came to Delft, a large, handsome town; where we spent an hour at a merchant's house; who as well as his wife, a very agreeable woman, seemed both to fear and to love God. Afterwards we saw the great church, I think, nearly, if not quite, as long as York Minster. It is exceedingly light and elegant within, and every part is kept exquisitely clean.

"When we came to the Hague, though we had heard much of it we were not disappointed. It is indeed beautiful beyond expression. Many of the houses are exceedingly grand, and are finely intermixed with water and wood; yet not too close, but so as to be sufficiently ventilated by the air.

"Being invited to tea by Madam de Vassenaar, (one of the first quality in the Hague,) I waited upon her in the afternoon. She received us with that easy openness and affability, which is almost peculiar to Christians and persons of quality. Soon after came ten or twelve ladies more who seemed to be of her own rank, (though dressed quite plainly,) and two most agreeable gentlemen: one of whom, I afterwards understood, was a colonel in the Prince's Guards. After tea I expounded the three first verses of the thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: Captain M. interpreted, sentence by sentence. I then prayed, and Col. V. after me. I believe this hour was well employed.

"Tuesday, 17. We dined at Mrs. L—'s, in such a family as I have seldom seen. Her mother, upwards of seventy, seemed to be continually rejoicing in God her Saviour. The daughter breathes the same spirit; and her grandchildren, three little girls and a boy, seem to be all love. I have not seen four such children together in England. A gentleman coming in after dinner, I found a particular desire to pray for him. In a little while he melted into tears, as indeed did most of the company. Wednesday, 18. In the afternoon Madam de Vassenaar invited us to a meeting at a neighboring lady's house. I expounded Gal. vi. 14, and Mr. M. interpreted as before.

"Thursday, 19. We took boat at seven. Mrs. L. and one of her relations, being unwilling to part so soon, bore us company to Leyden, a large and populous town, but not so pleasant as Rotterdam. In the afternoon we went to Haarlem, where a plain good man and his wife received us in a most affectionate manner. At six we took boat again: as it was filled from end to end, I was afraid we should not have a very pleasant journey. After Mr. Ferguson had told the people who we were, we made a slight excuse, and sung a hymn: they were all attention. We then talked a little, by means of our interpreter, and desired that any of them who pleased would sing. Four persons did so, and sung well: after a while we sung again; so did one or two of them; and all our hearts were strangely knit together, so that when we came to Amsterdam, they dismissed us with abundance of blessings.

"Friday, 20. At five in the evening we drank tea at a merchant's, Mr. G—'s, where I had a long conversation with Mr. de H. one of the most learned as well as popular ministers in the city; and I believe (what is far more important) he is truly alive to God. He spoke Latin well, and seemed to be one of a strong understanding, as well as of an excellent spirit. In returning to our inn, we called at a stationer's, and though we spent but a few minutes, it was enough to convince us of his strong affection even to strangers. What a change does the grace of God make in the heart! Shyness and stiffness are now no more!

"Sunday, 22. I went to the new church, so called still, though four or five hundred years old. It is larger, higher, and better illuminated than most of our cathedrals. The screen that divides the church from the choir, is of polished brass, and shines like gold. I understood the psalms that were sung, and the text well, and a little of the sermon; which Mr. de H. delivered with great earnestness. At two I began the service at the English church, an elegant building, about the size of West-street chapel; only it has no galleries, nor have any of the churches in Holland. I preached on Isaiah lv. 6, 7, and I am persuaded many received the truth in the love thereof.

"After service I spent another hour at Mr. V's. Mrs. V. again asked me abundance of questions concerning deliverance from sin, and seemed a good deal better satisfied with regard to the great and precious promises. Thence we went to Mr. B. who had lately found peace with God. He was full of faith and love, and could hardly mention the goodness of God without tears. His wife appeared to be of the same spirit, so that our hearts were soon knit together. From thence we went to another family, where a large company were assembled; but all seemed open to receive instruction, and desirous to be altogether Christians.

"Wednesday, 25. We took boat for Haarlem. The great church here is a noble structure, equalled by few cathedrals in England, either in length, breadth, or height: the organ is the largest I ever saw, and is said to be the finest in Europe. Hence we went to Mr. Van K.'s, whose wife was convinced of sin, and brought to God, by reading Mr. Whitefield's sermons.

"Here we were at home. Before dinner we took a walk in Haarlem wood. It adjoins to the town, and is cut out in many shady walks, with lovely vistas shooting out every way. The walk from the Hague to Scheveling is pleasant; those near Amsterdam more so; but these exceed them all.

"We returned in the afternoon to Amsterdam, and in the evening took leave of as many of our friends as we could. How entirely were we mistaken in the Hollanders, supposing them to be of a cold, phlegmatic, unfriendly temper! I have not

met with a more warmly affectionate people in all Europe! No, not in Ireland!

"Thursday, 26. Our friends having largely provided us with wine and fruits for our little journey, we took boat in a lovely morning for Utrecht, with Mr. Van K.'s, sister, who in the way gave us a striking account. 'In that house,' said she, (pointing to it as we went by,) 'my husband and I lived: and that church adjoining it, was his church. Five years ago, we were sitting together, being in perfect health, when he dropped down, and in a quarter of an hour died: I lifted up my heart and said, *Lord, thou art my husband now*; and found no will but his.' This was a trial worthy of a Christian: and she has ever since made her word good. We were scarcely got at our inn at Utrecht when Miss L. came; I found her just such as I expected. She came on purpose from her father's country-house, where all the family were. I observe of all the pious people in Holland, that, without any rule but the word of God, they dress as plainly as Miss March did formerly, and Miss Johnson does now! And considering the vast disadvantage they are under, having no connection with each other, and being under no such discipline at all as we are, I wonder at the grace of God that is in them.

"Saturday, 28. I have this day lived fourscore years; and by the mercy of God, my eyes are not waxed dim, and what little strength of body or mind I had thirty years since, is just the same I have now. God grant I may never live to be useless. Rather may I

> 'My body with my charge lay down,
> And cease at once to work and live.'

"Sunday, 29. At ten I began the service in the English church in Utrecht. I believe all the English in the city were present, and forty or fifty Hollanders. I preached on the 13th of the first of Corinthians, I think as searchingly as ever in my life. Afterwards a merchant invited me to dinner: for six years he had been at death's door by an asthma, and was extremely ill last night; but this morning, without any visible cause, he was well, and walked across the city to the church. He seemed to be deeply acquainted with religion, and made me promise, if I came to Utrecht again, to make his house my home.

"In the evening, a large company of us met at Miss L.'s, where I was desired to repeat the substance of my morning sermon. I did so, Mr. Toydemea, (the professor of law in the university,) interpreting it sentence by sentence. They then sung a Dutch hymn, and we an English one. Afterwards Mr. Regulet, a venerable old man, spent some time in prayer for the establishment of peace and love between the two nations.

"Tuesday, July 1. I called on as many as I could of my friends, and we parted with much affection. We then hired a yacht, which brought us to Helvoetsluys about eleven the next day. At two we went on board: but the wind turning against us, we did not reach Harwich till about nine on Friday morning. After a little rest, we procured a carriage, and reached London about eleven at night.

"I can by no means regret either the trouble or expense which attended this little journey. It opened me a way into, as it were, a new world, where the land, the buildings, the people, the customs, were all such as I had never seen before: but as those with whom I conversed were of the same spirit with my friends in England, I was as much at home in Utrecht and Amsterdam, as in Bristol and London."

That provision for the stability and the government of the connection after his death which had been to Mr. Wesley a matter of serious concern for several years, was accomplished in 1784, and gave him, whenever he subsequently adverted to the subject, the greatest satisfaction. From this time he felt that he had nothing more to do, than to spend his remaining life in the same spiritual labors in which he had been so long engaged; and that he had done all that a true prudence required, to provide for the continuance and extension of a work which had so strangely enlarged under his superintendence.

This settlement was effected by a legal instrument, enrolled in chancery, called "A Deed of Declaration," in which one hundred preachers, mentioned by name, were declared to be "the conference of the people called Methodists." By means of this deed, a legal description was given to the term conference, and the settlement of the chapels upon trustees was provided for; so that the appointment of preachers to officiate in them should be vested in the conference, as it had heretofore been in Mr. Wesley. The deed also declares how the succession and identity of the yearly conference is to be continued, and contains various regulations as to the choice of a president and secretary, the filling up of vacancies, expulsions, &c. Thus "the succession," as it was called in Mr. Charles Wesley's letter, above quoted, was provided for; and the conference, with its president, chosen annually, came into the place of the founder of the connection, and has so continued to the present day. As the whole of the preachers were not included in the deed, and a few who thought themselves equally entitled to be of the hundred preachers who thus formed the legal conference were excepted, some dissatisfaction arose; but as all the preachers were eligible to be introduced into that body, as vacancies occurred, this feeling was but partial, and soon subsided.* All the preachers in full connection were also allowed to vote in the conference; and subsequently, those who were not of the hundred, but had been in connection a certain number of years, were permitted, by their votes, to put the president into nomination for the confirmation of the legal conference. Thus all reasonable ground for mistrust and jealousy was removed from the body of the preachers at large; and with respect to the hundred preachers themselves, the president being chosen annually, and each being eligible to that honor, efficiency of administration was wisely connected with equality. The consequence has been, that the preachers have generally remained most firmly united by affection and mutual confidence, and that few serious disputes have ever arisen among them, or have extended beyond a very few individuals. Ecclesiastical history does not, perhaps, present an instance of an equal number of ministers brought into contact so close, and called so frequently together, for the discussion of various subjects, among whom so much general unanimity, both as to doctrines and points of discipline, has prevailed, joined with so much real good will and friendship towards each other, for so great a number of years. This is the more remarkable, as by their frequent changes from

* "Messrs. John Hampson, sen., and John Hampson, jun., his son, William Eells, and Joseph Pilmoor, with a few other travelling preachers, were greatly offended that their names were not inserted in the deed. By Mr. Fletcher's friendly efforts, a partial reconciliation was effected between them and Mr. Wesley; but it was of short continuance. Soon after the conference, 1784, Mr. Hampson, senior, became an independent minister: but being old and infirm, and the people poor among whom he labored, he was assisted out of the preachers' fund while he lived. He died in the year 1795. Mr. Hampson, jun. procured ordination in the established church, and got a living in Sunderland, in the north of England. Mr. Eells also left the connection, and, some time after, joined Mr. Atlay at Dewsbury; and Mr. Pilmoor went to America."—*Myles.*

station to station, opposite interests and feelings are very often brought into conflict. The final decisions of the conference on their appointment to these stations, generally the most perplexing part of its annual business, are, however, cheerfully or patiently submitted to, from the knowledge that each has of the public spirit with which that body is actuated, and the frank and brotherly manner in which all its proceedings are conducted. The order of proceeding in the business of the conference is the same as in the days of Mr. Wesley. It admits candidates for the ministry, on proper recommendation from the superintendents and district meetings; examines those who have completed their probation of four years, and receives the approved into full connection, which is its ordination; investigates, without any exception, the character and talents of those who are already in connection year by year; appoints the stations of the year ensuing; sends additional preachers to new places; receives the reports of the committees appointed to manage and distribute various funds; reviews the state of the societies; and issues an annual pastoral address. At the time of the meeting of the conferences, beside the Sunday services, public worship is held early in the morning, and in the evening of every day, except Saturday, which is usually attended by great multitudes. The business of each conference, exclusive of that done in committees which meet previously, occupies, on the average, about a fortnight in every year. Were it not for the district meetings, composed of the preachers, and the stewards of a number of circuits, or stations, in different parts of the kingdom, (an arrangement which was adopted after Mr. Wesley's death,) the business of the conference would require a much longer time to transact; but in these meetings much is prepared for its final decision.

In this important and wise settlement of the government of the connection by its founder, there appears but one regulation which seems to controvert that leading maxim to which he had always respect, namely, to be guided by circumstances in matters not determined by some great principle. I allude to the proviso which obliges the conference not to appoint any preacher to the same chapel for more than three years successively, thus binding an itinerant ministry upon the societies for ever. Whether this system of changing ministers be essential to the spiritual interests of the body or not, or whether it might not be usefully modified, will be matters of opinion; but the point ought perhaps to have been left more at liberty.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE state in which the separation of the United States from the mother country left the Methodist American societies, had become a matter of serious concern to Mr. Wesley, and presented to him a new case, for which it was imperative to make some provision. This, however, could not be done but by a proceeding which he foresaw would lay him open to much remark, and some censure, from the rigid English episcopalians. But with him, the principle of making every thing indifferent give place to the necessity of doing good or preventing evil, was paramount; and when that necessity was clearly made out, he was not a man to hesitate. The mission of Messrs. Boardman and Pilmoor to America has been already mentioned. Two years afterward, in 1771, Mr. Wesley sent out Messrs. Asbury and Wright; and in 1773, Messrs. Rankin and Shadford. In 1777, the preachers in the different circuits in America had amounted to forty, and the societies had also greatly increased. These were scattered in towns and settlements so distant, that it required constant and extensive travelling from the preachers to supply them with the word of God. The two last mentioned preachers returned, after employing themselves on the mission for about five years; and Mr. Asbury, a true itinerant, who in this respect followed in America the unwearied example of Mr. Wesley, gradually acquired a great and deserved influence, which, supported as it was by his excellent sense, moderating temper, and entire devotedness to the service of God, increased rather than diminished to the end of a protracted life. The American preachers, like those in England, were at first restrained by Mr. Wesley from administering either of the sacraments; but when, through the war, and the acquisition of independence by the states, most of the clergy of the church of England had left the country, neither the children of the members of the Methodist societies could be baptized, nor the Lord's supper administered among them, without a change of the original plan. Mr. Asbury's predilections for the former order of things prevented him from listening to the request of the American societies to be formed into a regular church, and furnished with all its spiritual privileges; and a division had already taken place among them. This breach, however, Mr. Asbury had the address to heal; and at the peace he laid the whole case before Mr. Wesley. The result will be seen in the following letter:—

"TO DR. COKE, MR. ASBURY, AND OUR BRETHREN IN NORTH AMERICA.

Bristol, Sept. 10, 1784.

"By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from their mother country, and erected into independent states. The English government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the congress, partly by the provincial assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation, some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice; and, in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

"Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain.. For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers; but I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined, as little as possible, to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

"But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. So that, for some hundred miles together, there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

"I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America, as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's supper. And I have prepared a liturgy little differing from that of the church of England, (I think the best constituted national church in the world,) which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise

the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.

"If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object, 1. I desired the bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail: 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay: 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

"JOHN WESLEY."

Two persons were thus appointed as superintendents or bishops, and two as elders, with power to administer the sacraments, and the American Methodists were formed into a church, because they could no longer remain a society attached to a colonial establishment which then had ceased to exist. The propriety and even necessity of this step is sufficiently apparent; but the mode adopted exposed Mr. Wesley to the sarcasms of his brother, who was not a convert to his opinion as to the identity of the order of bishops and presbyters; and to all high churchmen the proceeding has had the appearance of great irregularity. The only real irregularity, however, has been generally overlooked, whilst a merely apparent one has been made the chief subject of animadversion. The true anomaly was, that a clergyman of the church of England should ordain, in any form, without separating from that church, and formally disavowing its authority; and yet, if its spiritual governors did not choose to censure and disown him for denying the figment of the uninterrupted succession, which he openly said "he knew to be a fable;" for maintaining that bishops and priests were originally one order only; (points, let it be observed, which perhaps but few churchmen will now, and certainly but few at that time, would very seriously maintain, so decisive is the evidence of Scripture and antiquity against them, and so completely was the doctrine of the *three* orders given up by the founders of the English church itself;)* nor, finally, for proceeding to act upon that principle by giving orders; it would be hard to prove that he was under any moral obligation to withdraw from the church. The bishops did not institute proceedings against him, and why should he formally renounce them altogether? It was doubtless such a view of his liberty, in this respect, that made him say on this occasion, in answer to his brother, "I firmly believe that I am a scriptural ἐπίσκοπος as much as any man in England, or in Europe; for the uninterrupted succession I know to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove. But this does, in no wise, interfere with my remaining in the church of England; from which I have no more desire to separate than I had fifty years ago."

The point which has been most insisted upon is the absurdity of a priest ordaining bishops. But this absurdity could not arise from the principle which Mr. Wesley had adopted, viz. that the orders were identical; and the censure therefore rests only upon the assumption, that bishops and priests were of different orders, which he denied. He never did pretend to ordain bishops in the modern sense, but only according to his view of primitive episcopacy. Little importance therefore is to be attached to Mr. Moore's statement,* that Mr. Wesley having named Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury simply superintendents, he was displeased when, in America, they took the title of bishops. The only objection he could have to the name was, that from long association it was likely to convey a meaning beyond his own intention. But this was a matter of mere prudential feeling, confined to himself: so that neither are Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury to be blamed for using that appellation in Mr. Wesley's sense, which was the same as presbyter, as far as order was concerned; nor the American societies, (as they have sometimes inconsiderately been,) for calling themselves, in the same view, 'The American Methodist Episcopal Church;' since their episcopacy is founded upon the principle of bishops and presbyters being of the same *degree*—a more extended *office* only being assigned to the former, as in the primitive church. For though nothing can be more obvious than that the primitive pastors are called bishops or presbyters indiscriminately in the New Testament; yet, at an early period, those presbyters were, by way of distinction, denominated bishops, who presided in the meetings of the presbyters, and were finally invested with the government of several churches, with their respective presbyteries; so that two *offices* were then, as in this case, grafted upon the same *order*. Such an arrangement was highly proper for America, where many of the preachers were young, and had also to labor in distant and extensive circuits, and were therefore incapable of assisting, advising, or controlling each other. A travelling episcopacy, or superintendency, was there an extension of the office of elder or presbyter, but it of course created no other distinction; and the bishops of the Methodist church in America have in practice as well exemplified the primitive spirit, as in principle they were conformed to the primitive discipline. Dr. Coke was only an occasional visitant in America, and though in the sense of *office* he was a bishop there, when he returned home, as here he had no such office, so he used no such title, and made no such pretension. Of this excellent man, it ought here to be said, that occasional visits to America could not satisfy his ardent mind; he became the founder and soul of the Methodist missions in various parts of the world, first

* "I am not ashamed of the room and office which I have given unto me by Christ to preach his gospel; for it is the power of God, that is to say, the elect organ or instrument ordained by God, and endued with such virtue and efficacy, that it is able to give, and administer effectually, everlasting life unto all those that will believe and obey unto the same.

"Item. That this office, this power and authority, was committed and given by Christ and his apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto priests and bishops whom they did elect, call and admit thereunto, by their prayers, and imposition of their hands.

"*The truth is, there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops.*—A DECLARATION MADE OF THE FUNCTIONS AND DIVINE INSTITUTION OF BISHOPS AND PRIESTS, *Regno Hen.* VIII. *circiter A. D.* 1537—40.

"This declaration was signed by Cromwell, the vicar general, Cranmer and Holgate, the archbishops, with many of their suffragans, together with other persons intituled.

"*Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Ecclesiastici et Civilis, Professores.*"

Archbishop Usher's plan for comprehending the Presbyterians and Episcopalians in the time of Charles I. was also founded upon the principle of bishops and presbyters being *one order*.

* Life of Wesley.

under the direction of Mr. Wesley, and then in conjunction with the conference; and by his voyages, travels, and labors, he erected a monument of noble and disinterested zeal and charity, which will never be obliterated.* But Mr. Asbury remained the preaching, travelling, self-denying bishop of the American societies, till afterwards others were associated with him, plain and simple in their manners as the rest of their brethren, and distinguished from them only by "labors more abundant."

It was by thus absurdly confounding episcopacy in the modern acceptation, and in Mr. Wesley's view, that a good deal of misplaced wit was played off on this occasion; and not a little bitterness was expressed by many. He, however, performed a great and good work, and not only provided for the spiritual wants of a people who indirectly had sprung from his labors; but gave to the American church a form of administration admirably suited to a new and extensive empire, and, under which, the societies have, by the divine blessing, prospered beyond all precedent. Some letters passed between him and Mr. Charles Wesley on the subject of the American ordinations. The first, written by Charles, was warm, and remonstrative; the second, upon receiving his brother's calm answer, was more mild, and shows, that he was less afraid of what his brother had done for America, than that Dr. Coke, on his return should form the Methodists of England into a regular and separate church also! The concluding paragraph of this letter is, however, so affecting, so illustrative of that oneness of heart, which no difference of opinion between the brothers could destroy, that it would be unjust to the memory of both, not to insert it:—

"I thank you for your intention to remain my friend. Herein my heart is as your heart. Whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder. We have taken each other for better for worse, till death do us—part? no: but eternally unite. Therefore, in the love which never faileth, I am

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"C. WESLEY."

Some time after this, Mr. Wesley appointed several of the English preachers, by imposition of hands, to administer the sacraments to the societies in Scotland. There the English establishment did not extend, and a necessity of a somewhat similar kind existed, though not of so pressing a nature as in America. He, however, steadily objected to give this liberty, generally, to his preachers in England, and those who administered the sacraments in Scotland were not permitted to perform the same office in England upon their return. The reason why he refused to appoint in the same manner, and for the same purpose, for England, is stated in the letter above given. He was satisfied of his power, as a presbyter, to ordain for such an administration; but, he says, "I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but, because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged." This was a prudent principle most sincerely held by him; and it explains his conduct in those particulars for which he has been censured by opposite parties. When it could not be avoided, without sacrificing some real good, he did violate "the established order," thinking that this order was in itself merely prudential. When that necessity did not exist, his own predilections, and the prejudices of many members of his societies, enforced upon him this abstinence from innovation. It may, however, be asked, in what light Mr. Wesley's appointments to the ministry, in the case of his own preachers, ought to be viewed. That they were ordinations to the work and office of the ministry, cannot be reasonably and scripturally doubted; and that they were so in his own *intention*, we have before shown from his own minutes. It was required of them, as early as 1746, to profess to be "moved by the Holy Ghost, and to be called of God to preach." This professed call was to be tested by their piety, their gifts, and their usefulness; all of which points were investigated; and after probation they were solemnly received by prayer "to labor with him in the gospel;" and from that time were devoted wholly to their spiritual work,* including the *pastoral* care of societies. Here was ordination, though without imposition of hands, which, although an impressive ceremony, enters not, as both the Scriptures and the nature of the thing itself point out, into the essence of ordination; which is a separation of men by ministers, to the work of the ministry, by solemn prayer. This was done at every conference, by Mr. Wesley, who, as he had, as early as 1747, given up the uninterrupted succession and the distinct order of bishops as a fable, left himself, therefore, at liberty to appoint to the ministry in his own way. He made, it is true, a distinction at one time between the primitive offices of evangelists or teachers, and pastors, as to the right of giving the sacraments, which he thought belonged to the latter only; but as this implied, that the primitive pastors had powers, which the primitive evangelists, who ordained them, had not, it was too unsupported a notion for him long to maintain.† Yet, had this view of the case been allowed, the preachers were not mere teachers, but pastors in the fullest sense. They not only taught, but guided, and managed the societies; receiving members, excluding members, and administering private, as well as public, admonitions; and if they were constituted teachers and pastors by his ordination, without the circumstance of the imposition of hands, it is utterly impossible to conceive that that ceremony conveyed any larger right, *as such*, to administer the sacraments, in the case of the few he did ordain in that manner for Scotland and America. As to them it was a form of *permission* and *appointment* to exercise the right. His appointments to the ministry every conference, necessarily conveyed all the rights of a pastor, because they conveyed the pastoral office; but still it did not follow, that all the abstract rights of the ministry, thus conveyed to the body of the preachers, should be actually used. It was not imperative upon them to exercise all their functions; and he assumed no improper authority as the father and founder of the connection, to determine to what extent it was prudent to exercise them, provided he was satisfied that the sacraments were not put out of the power of the societies to observe. He exercised this suspending authority even over those preachers whom he appointed to give the sacraments in Scotland, by prohibiting them from administering in the English societies, over which they became pastors. So little difference did his ordination by imposition of hands make in their case, even in his own estimation.‡ It

* Dr. Coke connected himself with Mr. Wesley in 1776, as stated by the latter in his journal:—"Being at Kingston, near Taunton, I found a clergyman, Dr. Coke, late gentleman commoner of Jesus College, in Oxford, who came twenty miles on purpose. I had much conversation with him, and a union then began, which, I trust, shall never end." His name did not appear on the minutes till the year 1778. In that year he was appointed to labor in London.

* It is observable, that in the conference of 1768 he enjoined abstinence from all secular things upon them, both on the scriptural principle, 1 Tim. iv. 13, and on the ground, that the church, "in her office of ordination," required this of her ministers.

† See Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. ii. p. 340.

‡ When a few of the preachers received ordination from a Greek bishop, then in England, and from whom he was falsely reported himself to have sought consecra-

was, when it followed the usual mode of introducing candidates into the ministry, a mere form of permission to exercise a previous right in a particular place, and a solemn designation to this service according to a liturgical form which he greatly admired; but the true ordination of those who were so set apart to administer the sacraments to the ministry itself, was the same as that of the rest of their brethren, and took place at the same time. Thus, in Mr. Wesley's strongest language to Mr. Charles Perronet and the other preachers who thought it their duty to administer, he places his objection upon the decisive ground of his thinking it "a sin;" but not from their want of true ordination, to which he makes no allusion;* but he thought it sinful, because it would be injurious to the work of God, and so contrary to his word and will. That it was not in his view "a sin," for want of mere imposition of hands, is clear from the facts, that, in one case, he gave to one of the preachers leave to baptize and give the sacrament in particular circumstances, although he had no other ordination than his being "received into full connection" at the conference, like the rest; and allowed two others, Mr. Highfield, in England, and Mr. Myles, in Dublin, to assist him in giving the sacrament, to the great offence of the church people there.† That the original designation of the preachers to the ministry was considered by the conferences after his death—when they were obliged, in order to meet the spiritual wants and scriptural demands of the people, to administer the Lord's supper to the societies in England—as a true and full ordination to the whole office of the Christian ministry, is clear from their authorizing the preachers to give the sacraments, when requested by the societies, without reordination for this purpose, although they had Mr. Wesley's Presbyterian ordination by imposition of hands among themselves, and at their command, if they had judged it necessary to employ it. Their whole proceeding in this respect was merely to grant permission to exercise powers which they believed to have been previously conveyed by Mr. Wesley, in doing which they differed from him only in not marking that permission with any new form. Perhaps it might have been an improvement, had they accompanied all their future ordinations by the laying on of the hands of the president for the time being, assisted by a few of the senior preachers, and by using the fine ordination service of the church of England: not, indeed, that this would have given a tittle more of validity to the act; but the imposition of hands would have been in conformity to the usage of the majority of churches, and an instance of deference to an ancient scriptural form of solemn designation and blessing, used on various occasions. The whole of Mr. Wesley's proceedings, both as to America and Scotland, would have been as valid on scriptural grounds, had there been no other form used than simple prayer for men, already in the ministry, going forth on an important mission; but as the New Testament exhibited a profitable example of imposition of hands in the case of Paul and Barnabas, who had been long before ordained to the highest order of the ministry, when sent forth into a new field of labor, this example was followed.*

But we return to the continued and unabated labors of this venerable servant of God. In 1786, at the Bristol conference, the old subject of separating from the church was again discussed, and, "without one dissenting voice," it was determined to continue therein; "which determination," he remarks, "will, I doubt not, stand, at least till I am removed into a better world." After the conference was concluded, he paid a second visit to Holland, in company with Mr. Brackenbury and Mr. Broadbent, preached in various places, expounded to private companies, and engaged in conversation with many learned and pious individuals. On his return to England, his journal presents the usual record of constant preaching and travelling, interspersed with useful remark, and incident. A few gleanings from it will be read with interest:—

"Dec. 23, 1786. By great importunity I was induced (having little hope of doing good) to visit two of the felons in Newgate, who lay under sentence of

tion, he would not suffer them to administer, although he did not doubt that the Greek was a true bishop.

* As early as 1756, he says to some of the preachers, "You think it is a duty to administer. Do so, and therein follow your own conscience." That is, they were at liberty to leave him; but not a word about the invalidity of their appointment to the whole work of the ministry.

† Mr. Wesley's innovations on church-order in Dublin appear, from several of his letters, to have produced somewhat outrageous attacks upon him from several quarters in that city. In one of them he says, "Every week I am bespattered in the public papers. Many are in tears on the occasion; many terribly frightened, and crying out, 'O what will the end be?' What will it be? Why, glory to God in the highest, and peace and good will among men." Such was his rejoinder to these high church alarms. At the same time it must be conceded that, however faithful Mr. Wesley was in abiding by his leading principle of making mere adherence to what was called "*regular*," give place to the higher obligation of doing good, he was some times apt, in defending himself, to be too tenacious of appearing perfectly consistent.

* From the preceding observations, it will appear that Mr. Wesley's ordinations, both for America and Scotland, stood upon much the same ground. The full powers of the ministry had before been conveyed to the parties; but now they had a special designation to exercise them in every respect in a new and peculiar sphere. Still their ordination by imposition of hands, did not imply that their former ordination was deficient, as to the *right* of administering the sacraments which it conveyed; for then, how came Dr. Coke, who was already a presbyter of the church of England, to be ordained again, when, according to Mr. Wesley's own view, he could not be higher *in order* than a presbyter, although his powers might be *enlarge* as to their application? The conference after Mr. Wesley's death took therefore the true ground, in considering the act of admission into the ministry, so as to be devoted wholly to it, and to exercise the pastoral charge, to be a true and scriptural ordination both to preach the word, and to administer the sacraments; making wholly light of the absurd pretensions of a few among the preachers, who thought that they had received something more than their brethren from the mere ceremony of the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands, subsequent to the ordinary appointment by him when received into the body. Some of these at the first conference after Mr. Wesley's death, stood upon this point; but Mr. Benson refuted their notion, that imposition of hands was essential to ordination. He proved from the New Testament that this was but a circumstance, and showed that the body had always possessed a ministry scripturally, and therefore validly ordained, although not in the most customary or perhaps not in the most influential form. With Mr. Benson the conference coincided; so that ordination, without imposition of hands, has continued to be the general practice to the present time. It is remarkable, that the few preachers who insisted upon imposition of hands being essential to ordination, and plumed themselves upon being distinguished from their brethren because Mr. Wesley's hands had been laid upon them, did not remember a passage in a published letter of Mr. Wesley to Mr. Walker, of Truro, dated as long before as 1756, which sufficiently shows how totally disconnected the two things were in his mind; or that, if they adverted to it, its bearing in his controversy with Mr. Walker should not have been perceived: "That the seven deacons were outwardly ordained even to that low office, cannot be denied. But Paul and Barnabas were separated for the work to which they were called. This was not ordaining them; it was only inducting them to the province for which our Lord had appointed them. For this end the prophets and teachers fasted, prayed, and 'laid their hands upon them,' a rite which was used, not *in ordination only, but in blessing, and on many other occasions.*"

death. They appeared serious: but I can lay little stress on appearances of this kind. However, I wrote in their behalf to a great man. And perhaps it was in consequence of this that they had a reprieve.

"Sunday, 24. I was desired to preach at the Old Jewry; but the church was cold, and so was the congregation. We had congregations of another kind the next day, Christmas day, at four in the morning, as well as five in the evening, at the new chapel, and at West-street chapel about noon.

"Sunday, 31. From these words of Isaiah to Hezekiah, 'set thy house in order,' I strongly exhorted all who had not done it already, to settle their temporal affairs without delay. It is a strange madness which still possesses many who are in other respects men of understanding, that they put this off from day to day, till death comes in an hour when they looked not for it.

"Friday, Jan. 5, 1787, and in the vacant hours of the following days, I read Dr. Hunter's lectures. They are very lively and ingenious. The language is good, and the thoughts generally just. But they do not suit my taste. I do not admire that florid way of writing. Good sense does not need to be so studiously adorned. I love St. John's style, as well as matter.

"Sunday, Feb. 25. After taking a solemn leave of our friends, both at West-street and the new chapel, I took the mail coach, and the next evening reached Exeter a little after ten o'clock. Tuesday, 27. We went on to Plymouth Dock. The large, new house, far the best in the west of England was well filled, though on so short a warning: and they seemed cordially to receive the exhortation, 'rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous.' I had the satisfaction to find the society here in a more flourishing state than ever. Notwithstanding all the pains that have been taken, and all the art that has been used to tear them asunder, they cleave close together, and consequently increase in number as well as in strength.

"Wednesday, March 7. It rained much while we were at Plymouth and at the Dock, and most of the way from the Dock to Exeter. But we had lovely weather to-day, and came into Bath early in the evening. So crowded a house I had not seen here for many years. I fully delivered my own soul, by strongly enforcing those awful words, 'many are called, but few are chosen.' I believe the word sunk deep into many hearts. The next evening we had another large congregation equally serious. Thursday, 8. I went on to Bristol, and the same afternoon Mrs. Fletcher came thither from Madeley. The congregation in the evening was exceedingly large. I took knowledge what spirit they were of. Indeed the work of God has much increased in Bristol since I was here last, especially among the young men, many of whom are a pattern to all the society.

"Monday, April 2. About noon I preached at Stockport, and in the evening at Manchester, where I fully delivered my own soul, both then and the next day. Wednesday, 4. I went to Chester, and preached in the evening on Heb. iii. 12. Finding there was no packet at Parkgate, I immediately took places in the mail coach for Holyhead. The porter called us at two in the morning on Thursday, but came again in half an hour to inform us the coach was full: so they returned my money, and at four I took a post chaise. We overtook the coach at Conway, and crossing the ferry with the passengers, went forward without delay; so we came to Holyhead an hour before them, and went on board between eleven and twelve o'clock. At one we left the harbor, and at two the next day came into Dublin Bay.

"On the road, and in the ship, I read Mr. Blackwell's 'Sacred Classics Illustrated and Defended.' I think he fully proves his point, that there are no expressions in the New Testament which are not found in the best and purest Greek authors. In the evening we had a Sunday's congregation, and a blessing from on high.

"Sunday, 8. (Easter day.) I preached in Bethesda, Mr. Smyth's new chapel: it is very neat, but not gay, and I believe will hold about as many people as West-street chapel. Mr. Smyth read prayers, and gave out the hymns, which were sung by fifteen or twenty fine singers: the rest of the congregation listening with much attention, and as much devotion as they would have done to an opera. But is this Christian worship? Or ought it ever to be suffered in a Christian church? It was thought we had between seven and eight hundred communicants: and indeed the power of God was in the midst of them. Our own room in the evening was well filled with people, and with the presence of God.

"On Monday and Tuesday I preached again at Bethesda, and God touched several hearts, even of the rich and great: so that, for the time at least, they were 'almost persuaded to be Christians.' It seems as if the good Providence of God had prepared this place for those rich and honorable sinners who will not deign to receive any message from God, but in a *genteel* way.

"Friday, 27. We went to Kilkenny, nine and twenty Irish miles from Mount-Mellick. Religion was here at a low ebb, and scarcely any society left, when God sent three troop of horse. Several of the men are full of faith and love; since they came, the work of God has revived. I never saw the house so filled since it was built. And the power of God seemed to rest upon the congregation, as if he would still have a people in this place.

"Wednesday, April 9. We went to Bandon: here also there has been a remarkable work of God, and yet not without many backsliders. It was therefore my chief business to strengthen the weak, and recall the wanderers. So in the evening I preached in the assembly-room, (which was offered me by the provost,) on, 'How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?'—and God applied his word. At noon we took a walk to Castle Barnard. Mr. Barnard has given it a beautiful front, nearly resembling that of Lord Mansfield's house at Caen-Wood, and opened part of his lovely park to the house, which I think has now as beautiful a situation as Rockingham-house in Yorkshire. Mr. Barnard much resembles, in person and air, the late Sir George Saville. Though he is far the richest person in these parts, he keeps no race-horses or hounds, but loves his wife and home, and spends his time and fortune in improving his estate, and employing the poor. Gentlemen of this spirit are a blessing to their neighborhood. May God increase their number!

"In the evening, finding no building would contain the congregation, I stood in the main street, and testified to a listening multitude, 'This is not your rest.' I then administered the Lord's supper to the society, and God gave us a remarkable blessing.

"Friday, May 25. I had a day of rest in this lovely family, (Mr. Slack's,) only preaching morning and evening. Saturday, 26. I preached at Ballyconnel about eleven. In the afternoon I took a walk in the bishop of Kilmore's garden. The house is finely situated; has two fronts, and is fit for a nobleman. We then went into the church-yard, and saw the venerable tomb, a plain flat stone inscribed, '*Depositum Gulielmi Bedel, quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis;*' over whom even the rebel army sung, '*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum.*' 'Let the last of the Englishmen rest in peace.' At seven I preached to a large congregation: it blew a storm, but most of the congregation were covered by a

kind of shed raised for the purpose: and not a few were greatly comforted.

"Tuesday, 29. One of my horses I was obliged to leave in Dublin, and afterwards another; having bought two to supply their places. The third soon got a swelling in his shoulders, so that we doubted whether we could go on. And a boy at Clones, riding (I suppose galloping) the fourth over stones, the horse fell and nearly lamed himself: however, we went on softly to Aughalun, and found such a congregation as I had not seen before in the kingdom. The tent (that is, a covered pulpit) was placed at the foot of a green, sloping mountain, on the side of which the huge multitude sat (as their manner is) row above row. While I was explaining, 'God hath given unto us his Holy Spirit,' he was indeed poured out in a wonderful manner. Tears of joy, and cries were heard on every side: only so far suppressed as not to drown my voice. I cannot but hope that many will have cause to bless God for that hour to all eternity.

"Thursday, 31. We went over mountains and dales to Kerlish-Lodge, where we met with a hearty welcome, both from Alexander Boyle, and his amiable wife, who are patterns to all the country. Mr. Boyle had spoken to Dr. Wilson, the rector of a neighboring town, concerning my preaching in the church, who wrote to the bishop, and received a letter in answer, giving a full and free consent. The doctor desired me to breakfast with him. Meantime one of his parishioners, a warm seceder, took away the key of the church, so I preached in a neighboring orchard: I believe not in vain. The rector and his wife were in the front of the congregation. Afterward we took a view of Lord Abercorn's place. The house has a lovely situation: and the front of it is as elegant as any I have seen either in Great Britain or Ireland. The grounds are delightful indeed, perhaps equal to any in the kingdom.

"About five in the evening I preached at Killrail. No house would contain the congregation; so I preached in the open air. The wind was piercingly cold, but the people regarded it not. Afterwards I administered the Lord's supper to about a hundred of them, and then slept in peace.

"Wednesday, June 6. I took leave of my dear friends at Londonderry, and drove to Newton-Limavady. I had no design to preach there. But while we were at breakfast, the people were gathered so fast that I could not deny them. The house was soon filled from end to end. I explained to them the fellowship believers have with God. Thence I went on to Colerain, and preached at six, (as I did two years ago,) in the barrack-yard. The wind was high and sharp enough; but the people here are good old soldiers. Many attended at five in the morning, and a large congregation about six in the evening; most of whom, I believe, tasted the good word; for God was with us of a truth.

"Tuesday, 12. We came through a most beautiful country to Downpatrick, a much larger town than I imagined; I think, not much inferior to Sligo. The evening was uncommonly mild and bright, there not being a cloud in the sky. The tall firs shaded us on every side, and the fruitful fields were spread all around. The people were, I think, half as many more as were at Lisburn even on Sunday evening. On them I enforced those important words, 'Acquaint thyself now with him, and be at peace.'

"Wednesday, 13. Being informed we had only six and twenty miles to go, we did not set out till between six and seven. The country was uncommonly pleasant, running between two high ridges of mountains; but it was up hill and down all the way, so that we did not reach Rathfriland till nearly noon. Mr. Barber, the Presbyterian minister, (a princely personage, I believe six feet and a half high,) offering me his new, spacious preaching house, the congregation quickly gathered together. I began without delay to open and enforce, 'Now God commandeth all men, every where, to repent.' I took chaise the instant I had done; but the road being still up hill and down, we were two hours going what they called six miles. I then quitted the chaise, and rode forward. But even then, four miles, so called, took an hour and a half riding; so that I did not reach Dr. Lesley's, at Tandaragree, till half an hour past four. About six I stood upon the steps at Mr. Godly's door, and preached on, 'This is not your rest,' to a larger congregation, by a third, than even that at Downpatrick. I scarcely remember to have seen a larger, unless in London, Yorkshire, or Cornwall.

"Tuesday, 26.—Dublin. We were agreeably surprised with the arrival of Dr. Coke, who came from Philadelphia in nine and twenty days, and gave us a pleasing account of the work of God in America. Thursday, 28. I had a conversation with Mr. Howard, I think one of the greatest men in Europe. Nothing but the mighty power of God can enable him to go through his difficult and dangerous employments. But what can hurt us, if God be on our side?

"Sunday, July 22.—Manchester. Our service began at ten. Notwithstanding the severe cold, which has continued many days, the house was well filled; but my work was easy, as Dr. Coke assisted me. As many as could crowded in, in the evening; but many were obliged to go away. Afterwards I spent a comfortable hour with the society.

"Friday, 27. We went on to Bolton. Here are eight hundred poor children taught in our Sunday schools by about eighty masters, who receive no pay but what they are to receive from their great Master. About a hundred of them, part boys and part girls, are taught to sing. And they sang so true, that, all singing together, they seemed to be but one voice. The house was thoroughly filled, while I explained and applied the first and great commandment. What is all morality or religion without this? A mere castle in the air. In the evening, many of the children still hovering round the house, I desired forty or fifty to come in and sing,

'Vital spark of heavenly flame.'

Although some of them were silent, not being able to sing for tears, yet the harmony was such as I believe could not be equalled in the king's chapel.

"Monday, August 6th. Having taken the whole coach for Birmingham, we set out, expecting to be there as usual, about five in the evening. But having six persons within, and eight without, the coach could not bear the burden, but broke down before three in the morning. Having patched it together as well as we could, we went on to Congleton, and got another. In an hour or two this broke also; and one of the horses was so thoroughly tired, that he could hardly set one foot before the other. After all these hindrances, we got to Birmingham just at seven. Finding a large congregation waiting, I stepped out of the coach into the house, and began preaching without delay. And such was the goodness of God, that I found no more weariness when I had done, than if I had rested all the day.

"Here I took a tender leave of Mrs. Heath and her lovely daughters, about to embark with Mr. Heath, for America, whom I hardly expect to see any more till we meet in Abraham's bosom.

"Friday, 10.—Southampton. At six I preached on Hebrews iv. 14. In the afternoon I went with a gentleman (Mr. Taylor) to hear the famous musician that plays upon the glasses. By my appearing there, (as I had foreseen,) a heap of gentry attended in the evening. And I believe several of

them, as well as Mr. T. himself, did not come in vain.

"Tuesday, 14. Sailing on with a fair wind, we fully expected to reach Guernsey in the afternoon; but the wind turning contrary, and blowing hard, we found that would be impossible. We then judged it best to put in at the isle of Alderney; but we were very near being shipwrecked in the bay. About eight I went down to a convenient spot on the beach, and began giving out a hymn; a woman and two little children joined us immediately. Before the hymn was ended, we had a tolerable congregation, all of whom behaved well: part indeed continued at forty or fifty yards' distance, but they were all quiet and attentive.

"It happened, to speak in the vulgar phrase, that three or four who sailed with us from England, a gentleman, with his wife and sister, were near relations of the governor. He came to us this morning; and when I went into the room behaved with the utmost courtesy. This little circumstance may remove prejudice, and make a more open way for the gospel.

"Soon after we set sail; and after a very pleasant passage, through little islands on either hand, we came to the venerable castle, standing on a rock, about a quarter of a mile from Guernsey. The isle itself makes a beautiful appearance, spreading as a crescent to the right and left; about seven miles long, and five broad, part high land and part low. The town itself is boldly situated, rising higher and higher from the water. The first thing I observed in it was very narrow streets, and exceedingly high houses. But we quickly went on to Mr. De Jersey's, hardly a mile from the town. Here I found a most cordial welcome, both from the master of the house and all his family. I preached at seven, in a large room, to as deeply serious a congregation as I ever saw, on 'Jesus Christ, of God made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.'

"Monday, 20. We took ship between three and four in the morning, in a very small inconvenient sloop, and not a swift sailer, so that we were seven hours in sailing what is called seven leagues. About eleven we landed at St. Helier's, and went straight to Mr. Brackenbury's house. It stands very pleasantly near the end of the town, and has a large, convenient garden, with a lovely range of fruitful hills, which rise at a small distance from it. I preached in the evening to an exceedingly serious congregation, on Matt. iii. ult. And almost as many were present at five in the morning, whom I exhorted to go on to perfection, which many of them, Mr. Clarke informs me, are earnestly endeavoring to do.

"Thursday, 23. I rode to St. Mary's, five or six miles from St. Helier's, through shady, pleasant lanes. None at the house could speak English, but I had interpreters enow. In the evening our large room was thoroughly filled. I preached on, 'By grace ye are saved, through faith:' Mr. Brackenbury interpreted sentence by sentence, and God owned his word, though delivered in so awkward a manner: but especially in prayer; I prayed in English, and Mr. B. in French.

"Saturday, 25. Having now leisure, I finished a sermon on 'discerning the signs of the times.' This morning I had a particular conversation (as I had once or twice before) with Jeannie Bisson of this town, such a young woman as I have hardly seen elsewhere. She seems to be wholly devoted to God, and to have constant communication with him. She has a clear and strong understanding, and I cannot perceive the least tincture of enthusiasm. I am afraid she will not live long. I am amazed at the grace of God which is in her. I think she is far beyond Madam Guion in deep communion with God: and I doubt whether I have found her fellow in England. Precious as my time is, it would have been worth my while to come to Jersey, had it been only to see this prodigy of grace.

"Monday, 27. I thought when I left Southampton to have been there again at this day; but God's thoughts were not as my thoughts. Here we are, shut up in Jersey, for how long we cannot tell. But it is all well; for thou, Lord, hast done it. It is my part to improve the time, as it is not likely I should ever have another opportunity of visiting these islands.

"Tuesday, 28. Being still detained by contrary winds, I preached at six in the evening to a larger congregation than ever, in the assembly-room. It conveniently contains five or six hundred people.

"Wednesday, 29. I designed to have followed the blow in the morning; but I had quite lost my voice: however, it was restored in the evening, and I believe all in the assembly-room (more than the last evening) heard distinctly, while I explained and applied, 'I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.' In the morning, Thursday, 30, I took a solemn leave of the society. We set out about nine, and reached St. Peter's in the afternoon. Good is the will of the Lord. I trust he has something more for us to do here also. After preaching to a larger congregation than was expected, on so short a notice, on, 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself,' I returned to Mont-Plaisir, to stay just as long as it should please God. I preached there in the morning, Friday, 31, to a congregation as serious as death.

"Saturday, September 1. This day twelvemonth I was detained in Holland by contrary winds. All is well, so we are doing and suffering the will of our Lord. In the evening, the storm driving us into the house again, I strongly exhorted a very genteel audience, (such as I have rarely seen in England,) to 'ask for the old paths, and walk therein.'

"Sunday, 2. Being still pent up by the north-east wind, Dr. Coke preached at six in the morning to a deeply affected congregation. I preached at eight, on Rom. viii. 33. At one, Mr. Vivian, a local preacher, preached in French, the language of the island. At five, as the house would not contain half the congregation, I preached in a tolerably sheltered place, on the 'joy there is in heaven over one sinner that repenteth;' and both high and low seemed to hear it gladly. I then designed to meet the society, but could not. The people pressed so eagerly on every side that the house was filled presently; so that I could only give a general exhortation, 'to walk worthy of their profession.'

"I was in hopes of sailing in the morning, Monday 3, but the storm so increased that it was judged impracticable. The congregation, however, in the evening increased every day; and they appeared to be more and more affected; so that I believe we were not detained for nothing; but for the spiritual and eternal good of many.

"Tuesday, 4. The storm continued, so that we could not stir. I took a walk to-day, through what is called, the new ground, where the gentry are accustomed to walk in the evening: both the upper ground, which is as level as a bowling-green, and the lower, which is planted with rows of trees, is wonderfully beautiful. In the evening I fully delivered my own soul, by showing what it is to 'build upon a rock.' But still we could not sail, the wind being quite contrary as well as exceedingly high. It was the same on Wednesday. In the afternoon we drank tea at a friend's, who was mentioning a captain just come from France, that proposed to sail in the morning for Penzance, for which the wind would serve, though not for Southampton. In this

we plainly saw the hand of God: so we agreed with him immediately.

"Penzance, Saturday, 8. Dr. Coke preached at six to as many as the preaching house would contain. At ten I was obliged to take the field, by the multitude of people that flocked together. I found a very uncommon liberty of speech among them, and cannot doubt but the work of God will flourish in this place. In the evening I preached at St. Ives, (but it being the market day, so that I could not stand, as usual, in the market place,) in a very convenient field at the end of the town, to a very numerous congregation, I need scarcely add, and very serious; for such are all the congregations in the county of Cornwall.

"Sunday, 9. About nine I preached at the copper works, three or four miles from St. Ives, to a large congregation, gathered from all parts, I believe 'with the demonstration of the Spirit.' I then met the society in the preaching-house, which is unlike any other in England, both as to its form and materials. It is exactly round, and composed wholly of brazen slags, which I suppose will last as long as the earth. Between one and two I begun in the market place at Redruth to the largest congregation I ever saw there. They not only filled all the windows, but sat on the tops of the houses. About five I began in the amphitheatre at Gwenap: I suppose we had a thousand more than ever were there before: but it was all one; my voice was strengthened accordingly, so that every one could hear distinctly.

"London, Sunday, Nov. 4. The congregation at the new chapel was far larger than usual; and the number of communicants was so great, that I was obliged to consecrate thrice. Monday, 5. In my way to Dorking, I read Mr. Duff's Essay on Genius. It is beyond all comparison deeper and more judicious than Dr. G's. essay on that subject. If the doctor had seen it, which one can hardly doubt, it is a wonder he would publish his essay: yet I cannot approve of his method. Why does he not first define his term, that we may know what he is talking about? I doubt, because his own idea of it was not clear. For genius is not imagination, any more than it is invention. If we mean by it a quality of the soul, it is, in its widest acceptation, an extraordinary capacity either for some particular art or science, or for all, for whatever may be undertaken. So Euclid had a genius for mathematics, Tully for oratory: Aristotle and Lord Bacon had a universal genius applicable to every thing.

"Friday, 9. A friend offering to bear my expenses, I set out in the evening, and on Saturday 10, dined at Nottingham. The preaching house, one of the most elegant in England, was pretty well filled in the evening.

"Sunday, 11. At ten, we had a lovely congregation; and a very numerous one in the afternoon: but I believe the house would hardly contain one half of those that came to it. I preached a charity sermon for the infirmary, which was the design of my coming. This is not a county infirmary, but is open to all England, yea, to all the world. And every thing about it is so neat, so convenient, and so well ordered, that I have seen none like it in the three kingdoms.

Monday, 12. In the afternoon we took coach again, and on Tuesday returned to London.

"Sunday, 25. I preached two charity sermons, at West-street, in behalf of our poor children; in which I endeavored to warn them, and all that have the care of them, against that English sin, ungodliness, that reproach of our nation, wherein we excel all the inhabitants of the earth.

"Tuesday, Dec. 4. I retired to Rainham, to prepare another edition of the New Testament for the press.

"London, Sunday, 9. I went down at half an hour past five, but found no preacher in the chapel, though we had three or four in the house: so I preached myself. Afterwards inquiring why none of my family attended the morning preaching, they said it was because they sat up too late. I resolved to put a stop to this: and, therefore, ordered, that, 1. Every one under my roof should go to bed at nine: that, 2. Every one might attend the morning preaching: and so they have done ever since.

"Monday, 10. I was desired to see the celebrated wax-work at the Museum in Spring Gardens. It exhibits most of the crowned heads in Europe, and shows their characters in their countenances. Sense and majesty appear in the king of Spain: dulness and sottishness in the king of France: infernal subtlety in the late king of Prussia: (as well as in the skeleton Voltaire:) calmness and humanity in the emperor and king of Portugal: exquisite stupidity in the prince of Orange: and amazing coarseness, with every thing that is unamiable, in the Czarina.

"Sunday, 16. After preaching at Spitalfields, I hastened to St. John's, Clerkenwell, and preached a charity sermon for the Finsbury dispensary, as I would gladly countenance every institution of this kind.

"Saturday, 22. I yielded to the importunity of a painter, and sat, an hour and a half in all, for my picture. I think it is the best that ever was taken. But what is the picture of a man above fourscore!"

These extracts are from the Journal of 1787, when Mr. Wesley was in his eighty-fifth year. The labors and journeys of almost every day are similarly noticed, exhibiting at once a singular instance of natural strength, sustained, doubtless, by the special blessing of God, and of an entire consecration of time to the service of mankind, of which no similar example is probably on record, and which is rendered still more wonderful by the consideration that it had been continued for more than half a century, on the same scale of exertion, and almost without intermission. The vigor of his mind at this age is also as remarkable; the same power of acute observation as formerly is manifested; the same taste for reading and criticism; the same facility in literary composition. Nor is the buoyant cheerfulness of his spirit a less striking feature. Nothing of the old man of unrenewed nature appears; no forebodings of evil; no querulous comparisons of the present with the past;—there is the same delight in the beautiful scenes of nature; the same enjoyment of conversation, provided it had the two qualities of usefulness and brevity; the same joy in hopeful appearances of good; and the same tact at turning the edge of little discomfits and disappointments by the power of an undisturbed equanimity. Above all we see the man of *one business*, living only to serve God and his generation, "instant in season and out of season," seriously intent, not upon doing so much duty, but upon saving souls; and preaching, conversing, and writing for this end alone. And yet this is the man whom we still sometimes see made the object of the sneers of infidel or semi-infidel philosophers; and whom book-makers, when they have turned the interesting points of his character and history into a *marketable* commodity, endeavor to dress up in the garb of a fanatic, or a dreamer, by way of rendering their works more acceptable to frivolous readers—the man to whose labors, few even of the evangelical clergy of the national church have the heart or the courage to do justice; forgetting how much that improved state of piety which exists in the establishment is owing to the indirect influence of his long life of labor, and his successful minis-

try: and that even very many of themselves have sprung from families where Methodism first lighted the lamp of religious knowledge, and produced a religious influence. It will indeed provoke a smile, to observe what effort often discovers itself in writers of this party, when referring to the religious state of the nation in the last and present century, to keep this apostolic man wholly out of sight, as though he had never existed; feeling, we suppose, that because he did not conform to the order of their church in all particulars, it would be a sin against their own orthodoxy even to name him as one of those great instruments in the hands of God, who, in mercy to these lands, were raised up to effect that vast moral and religious change, the benefits of which they themselves so richly enjoy. This may be attributed not only to that exclusive spirit which marks so many of the clergy of this class, even beyond others, notwithstanding their piety and general excellence, but to the Calvinism which many of them have imbibed. The evangelical Arminianism of Wesley has been forgiven by the orthodox dissenters; but, by a curious anomaly, not by the Calvinistic party of the church. It is probably better understood by the former.*

At the time to which the above extracts from his Journal refer, Mr. Wesley had, however, no reason to complain of any want of respect, or of a due appreciation of his labors by the serious of all parties, although he regarded it not with improper exultation, but passed through "honor," as he had passed through "dishonor" in the former years of his life, as "seeing Him who is invisible." This period of his life must have been to him, on a much higher account, one of rich reflection. In his Journal of 1785, March 24, he observes—"I was now considering how strangely the grain of mustard seed, planted about fifty years ago, had grown up. It has spread through all Great Britain, and Ireland, the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Man; then to America, through the whole continent, into Canada, the Leeward Islands, and Newfoundland. And the societies, in all these parts, walk by one rule, knowing that religion is in holy tempers, and striving to worship God, not in form only, but likewise in spirit and in truth."

He must, indeed, have been insensible to the emotions of a generous nature, had he not felt an honest satisfaction, that he had lived down calumnies; and that where mobs formerly awaited him,

* The following passage from a sermon lately preached in his diocese, by Bishop Coplestone, may be quoted both as a better specimen of the spirit of a churchman than that above referred to, and as, perhaps, the only instance in which any thing approaching to a due estimate of Mr. Wesley's character, and the value of his labors, has been suffered publicly to escape the lips of a prelate. It was dictated evidently by a candid and liberal feeling, though not without being influenced by some of those mistaken views which will be corrected at the close of this account of Mr. Wesley's life:

"And here, not only candor and equity, but a just sense of the constitution of Christ's church, compels me to draw a marked line of distinction between those whose religious assemblies are supplementary, as it were, to our own establishment, offering spiritual comfort and instruction to hundreds unable to find it elsewhere, and those organized communities which exclude from their society any that communicate in the blessed sacrament of the Lord's supper with the national church.

"Of the former I would not only think and speak mildly, but in many cases I would commend the piety and zeal which animates them, full of danger as it is to depart from the apostolic ordinance, even in matters of outward discipline and order. The author and founder of those societies (for he was careful himself to keep them from being formed into a sect) was a regularly ordained minister, a man orthodox in his belief, simple and disinterested in his own views, and adorned with the most amiable and distinguished virtues of a true Christian. He found thousands of his countrymen, though nominally Christians, yet as ignorant of true Christianity as infidels and heathens; and in too many instances (it is useless to conceal or disguise the fact) ignorant, either through the inattention of the government in not providing for increased numbers, or through the carelessness and neglect of those whom the national church had appointed to be their pastors.

"But the beginning of schism, like that of strife, is as when one letteth out water. The gentle stream of piety and benevolence in which this practice originated, irrigating only and refreshing some parched or barren lands, soon became a swelling and rapid torrent, winding as it flowed on, and opening for itself a breach which it may yet require the care and prudence of ages to close. And even the pious author himself was not proof against that snare of Satan which, through the vanity and weakness of human nature, led him in his latter years to assume the authority of an apostle, and to establish a fraternity within the church, to be called after his own name, and to remain a lasting monument of his activity and zeal. But over errors such as these let us cast a veil; and rather rejoice in reflecting on the many whom he reclaimed from sin and wickedness, and taught to seek for salvation through the merits of their Saviour.

"Of such, I repeat, wherever a like deficiency of religious means is found, we ought to speak not only with tenderness, but with brotherly love and esteem."

It seems pretty obvious that Bishop Coplestone has taken his impressions from Southey's life of the founder of Methodism, although somewhat modified by better views of spiritual religion. The moral destitution of the country, and the negligence of the church, are acknowledged, as well as the important effects produced by Mr. Wesley's labors, at least in their early stages; and yet these results are spoken of as somewhat of a religious calamity! The beginning of "schism," as to church order, is compared to the letting out of water; and a fearful "breach" out of the established church completes the picture. How little does this sensible and amiable bishop know of the facts of the case!—as, for instance, 1. That the Methodist societies were in great part gathered not out of church-goers but church-neglecters. 2. That the effect was generally, for many years, to increase the attendance at church, and to lay the foundation in a great number of places, especially in the more populous towns, of large church congregations which have continued to this day. 3. That the still more extensive and ultimate result was, after persecution or silent contempt had been tried in vain, and when it was found that obstinate perseverance in neglect would not be any longer tolerated, that the establishment was roused into an activity by which it has doubtless been greatly benefited as far as respects its moral influence, the only influence of a church which can be permanent or valuable. 4. That very few of the Methodists of the present day would in all probability have been, in any sense which Bishop Coplestone would value, church-people; and so this supposed loss of ecclesiastical members affords but an imaginary ground for the regrets with which he seems to surround it. The intimation of Mr. Wesley's ambition is imitated from Southey. But of this enough has been said in refutation. Bishop Coplestone, indeed, regards it mildly as an infirmity, which he would charitably cover with Mr. Wesley's numerous and eminent virtues. That is kind; but Mr. Wesley himself would have taken a severer view of this "weakness," had he been conscious of the passion of ambition, in the sense in which it is here used. One might ask this respectable prelate to review the case, and say where Mr. Wesley, allowing him his conscientious conviction that he was bound to incessant activity in doing good to the souls of men, could have stopped? how he could have disposed of his societies, in the then existing state of the church? And whether, if he had this "ambition" to be the head of a sect, his whole life did not lay restraints upon it, since, from nearly the very first outset of his itinerancy and success, it has been shown in this work by extracts from the minutes of his first conferences, that he took views of ecclesiastical polity which then set him quite at liberty, had he chosen it, to form his societies into a regular church, to put himself at their head, and to kindle up a spirit of hostility to the establishment, and of warm partizanship in his own favor, throughout the land? A vicious ambition would have preferred this course. But it is not necessary to anticipate the remarks which will follow on these subjects.

he met with the kind and cheering attentions of the most respectable persons of all religious persuasions, in every part of the country. But, more than this, he could compare the dearth and barrenness of one age with the living verdure and fertility of another. Long-forgotten truths had been made familiar;—a neglected population had been brought within the range of Christian instruction, and the constant preaching of the word of life by faithful men;—religious societies had been raised up through the land, generally distinguished by piety and zeal;—by the blessing of God upon the labors of Mr. Whitefield, and others of his first associates, the old dissenting churches had been quickened into life, and new ones multiplied; the established church had been awakened from her lethargy; the number of faithful ministers in her parishes greatly multiplied; the influence of religion spread into the colonies, and the United States of America; and above all, a vast multitude, the fruit of his own ministerial zeal and faithfulness, had, since the time in which he commenced his labors, departed into a better world. These thoughts must often have passed through his mind, and inspired his heart with devout thanksgivings, although no allusion is ever made to them in a boastful manner. For the past, he knew to whom the praise belonged; and the future he left to God, certain at least of meeting in heaven a greater number of glorified spirits of whose salvation he had been, under God, the instrument, than any minister of modern ages. That "joyful hope" may explain an incident, which occurred towards the close of life, at the City-road chapel, London. After prayers had been read one Sunday afternoon, he ascended the pulpit; where, instead of announcing the hymn immediately, he, to the great surprise of the congregation, stood silent, with his eyes closed, for the space of at least ten minutes, rapt in thought; and then, with a feeling which at once conveyed to all present the subject which had so absorbed his attention, gave out the hymn commencing with the lines:—

"Come, let us join our friends above,
Who have obtained the prize," &c.

It was also his constant practice to preach on All Saints' Day, which was with him a favorite festival, on communion with the saints in heaven; a practice probably arising out of the same delightful association of remembrances and hope.

On his attaining his eighty-fifth year, he makes the following reflections:—

"I this day enter on my eighty-fifth year. And what cause have I to praise God, as for a thousand spiritual blessings, so for bodily blessings also! How little have I suffered yet, by 'the rush of numerous years!' It is true, I am not so agile as I was in times past: I do not run or walk so fast as I did. My sight is a little decayed. My left eye is grown dim, and hardly serves me to read. I have daily some pain in the ball of my right eye, as also in my right temple, (occasioned by a blow received some time since) and in my right shoulder and arm, which I impute partly to a sprain, and partly to the rheumatism. I find likewise some decay in my memory, with regard to names and things lately past: but not at all with regard to what I have read or heard, twenty, forty, or sixty years ago. Neither do I find any decay in my hearing, smell, taste, or appetite, (though I want but a third part of the food I once did,) nor do I feel any such thing as weariness, either in travelling or preaching, and I am not conscious of any decay in writing sermons, which I do as readily, and I believe as correctly, as ever.

"To what cause can I impute this, that I am as I am? First, doubtless, to the power of God, fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein: and next, subordinately to this, to the prayers of his children.—May we not impute it, as inferior means: 1. To my constant exercise and change of air? 2. To my never having lost a night's sleep, sick or well, at land or sea, since I was born? 3. To my having sleep at command, so that whenever I feel myself almost worn out, I call it, and it comes, day or night? 4. To my having constantly, for above sixty years, risen at four in the morning? 5. To my constant preaching at five in the morning, for above fifty years? 6. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little sorrow or anxious care?—Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye, temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time.

"Whether or not this is sent to give me warning that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle, I do not know: but, be it one way or the other, I have only to say,—

'My remnant of days
I spend to his praise,
Who died the whole world to redeem:
Be they many or few,
My days are his due,
And they all are devoted to Him!'"

And, referring to some persons in the nation who thought themselves endowed with the gift of prophecy, he adds, "If this is to be the last year of my life, according to some of these prophets, I hope it will be the best. I am not careful about it, but heartily receive the advice of the angel in Milton,—

'How well, is thine; how long, permit to heaven.'"

CHAPTER XIV.

The brothers, whose affection no differences of opinion, and no conflicts of party, could diminish, were now to be separated by death. Of the last days of Mr. Charles Wesley, Dr. Whitehead gives the following account:—

"Mr. Charles Wesley had a weak body, and a poor state of health, during the greatest part of his life. I believe he laid the foundation of both at Oxford by too close application to study and abstinence from food. He rode much on horseback, which probably contributed to lengthen out life to a good old age. I visited him several times in his last sickness; and his body was indeed reduced to the most extreme state of weakness. He possessed that state of mind which he had been always pleased to see in others—unaffected humility, and holy resignation to the will of God. He had no transports of joy, but solid hope and unshaken confidence in Christ, which kept his mind in perfect peace. A few days before his death he composed the following lines. Having been silent and quiet for some time, he called Mrs. Wesley to him, and bid her write as he directed.

In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart;
O could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity!'

"He died, March 29th, 1788, aged seventy-nine years and three months; and was buried, April 5th, in Marybone churchyard at his own desire. The pall was supported by eight clergymen of the church of England. On his tomb-stone are the following lines, written by himself on the death of one of his friends: they could not be more aptly applied to any person than to Mr. Charles Wesley:—

'With poverty of spirit bless'd,
Rest, happy saint, in Jesus rest;

A sinner sav'd, through grace forgiven,
Redeem'd from earth to reign in heaven!
Thy labors of unwearied love,
By thee forgot, are crown'd above;
Crown'd through the mercy of thy Lord
With a free, full, immense reward!'

"Mr. Charles Wesley was of a warm and lively disposition, of great frankness and integrity, and generous and steady in his friendships. In conversation he was pleasing, instructive, and cheerful; and his observations were often seasoned with wit and humor. His religion was genuine and unaffected. As a minister, he was familiarly acquainted with every part of divinity; and his mind was furnished with an uncommon knowledge of the Scriptures. His discourses from the pulpit were not dry and systematic, but flowed from the present views and feelings of his own mind. He had a remarkable talent of expressing the most important truths with simplicity and energy; and his discourses were sometimes truly apostolic, forcing conviction on the hearers in spite of the most determined opposition. As a husband, a father, and a friend, his character was amiable. Mrs. Wesley brought him five children, of whom two sons and a daughter are still living.* The sons discovered so fine a taste for music, at an early period of life, that they excited general astonishment; and they are now justly admired by the best judges for their talents in that pleasing art. The Methodists are greatly indebted to Charles Wesley for his unwearied labors and great usefulness at the first formation of the societies, when every step was attended with difficulty and danger. And being dead he yet speaketh by his numerous and excellent hymns, written for the use of the societies, which still continue to be the means of daily edification and comfort to thousands."†

For the spiritual advantages which the Methodists have derived from his inestimable hymns, which are in constant use in their congregations, as well as for his early labors, the memory of Mr. Charles Wesley indeed deserves to be had in their everlasting remembrance; and they are not insensible of the value of the gift. Their taste has been formed by this high standard; and, notwithstanding all the charges of illiteracy, and want of mental cultivation, which have been often brought against them, we may venture to say, there are few collections of psalms and hymns in use in any other congregations, that would, as *a whole*, be tolerated amongst them;—so powerful has been the effect produced by his superior compositions. The clear and decisive character of the religious experience which they describe; their force, and life, and earnestness; commended them, at the first, to the piety of the societies, and, through that, insensibly elevated the judgment of thousands, who, otherwise, might have relished, as strongly as others, the rudeness of the old version of the Psalms, the tameness of the new, and the tinsel metaphors and vapid sentimentalisms which disfigure numerous compositions of different authors, in most collections of hymns in use. It would seem, indeed, from the very small number of really good psalms and hymns which are adapted to public worship and the use of religious societies, that this branch of sacred poetry has not been very successfully cultivated: and that the combination of genius, judgment, and taste, requisite to produce them, is very rarely found. Germany is said to be more abundant in good hymns than England: and some of the most excellent of the Wesleyan hymns are imitations of German hymns admirably versified. But in our language the number is small. Hymns, indeed, abounding in sweet thoughts, though often feebly expressed, and such as may be used profitably in the closet or the family circle, are not so rare. But the true sacred lyric, suited for public worship, and the select assemblies of the devout, is as scarce as it is valuable. From the rustic rhyming of Sternhold and Hopkins, to the psalms and hymns of Dr. Watts, the advance was indeed unspeakably great. A few, however, only of the latter, in comparison of the whole number, are unexceptionable throughout.—When they are so, they leave nothing to be desired; but many of Dr. Watts's compositions begin well, often nobly, and then fall off into dulness and puerility; and not a few are utterly worthless, as being poor in thought, and still more so in expression. The piety and sweetness of Doddridge's hymns must be felt; but they are often verbose and languid, and withal faultily and affected in their metaphors. The Olney collection has many delightful hymns for private use; but they are far from being generally fit for the public services of religion, and are often in bad taste; not even excepting many of Cowper's. This may be spoken without irreverence, for the greatest poets have not proved the best hymn makers. Milton made but one tolerable psalm; and still more modern poets of note have seldom fully redeemed the credit of their class. The fact seems to be, that when the mind is very rich in sentiment and imagery, those qualities are usually infused into sacred song in too large proportions. Sentiment and genuine religious feeling are things quite distinct, and seldom harmonize; at least, though they may sometimes approach to the verge of each other, they will not amalgamate; and exuberance of metaphor is inconsistent with strong and absorbing devotion, and proves too artificial to express the natural language of the heart. The talent of correct and vigorous versification is, for these reasons, more likely to produce the true "spiritual song" than luxuriance of imagination and great creative genius, provided the requisite theological and devotional qualities be also present. A hymn suitable for social worship ought to be terse and vigorous; and it is improved when every verse closes with a sense so full and pointed as frequently to make some approach to the character of the ancient epigram; or,

* Miss Wesley, a lady of eminent talents, and great excellence, died September 19, 1828.

It would be improper to withhold, as I have them before me, in the unpublished letters with which I have been favored, some incidental remarks of the late Miss Wesley, on the character of her father:—

"Mr. Moore seems to think that my father preferred *rest to going about to do good.* He had a rising family, and considered it his duty to confine his labors to Bristol and London, where he labored most sedulously in ministerial offices; and judged that it was incumbent upon him to watch over the youth of his sons, especially in a profession which nature so strongly pointed out, but which was peculiarly dangerous. He always said his brother was formed to lead, and he to follow. No one ever more rejoiced in another's superiority, or was more willing to confess it. Mr. Moore's statement of his absence of mind in his younger days, was probably correct, as he was born impetuous, and ardent, and sincere. But what a change must have taken place when we were born! For his exactness in his accounts, in his manuscripts, in his bureau, &c., equalled my uncle's. Not in his dress, indeed; for my mother said, if she did not watch over him, he might have put on an old for a new coat, and marched out. Such was his power of abstraction, that he could read and compose, with his children in the room, and visitors talking around him. He was near forty when he married, and had eight children, of whom we were the youngest. So kind and amiable a character in domestic life can scarcely be imagined. The tenderness he showed in every weakness, and the sympathy in every pain, would fill sheets to describe. But, I am not writing his eulogy; only I must add, with so warm a temper, he never was heard to speak an angry word to a servant, or known to strike a child in anger—and he knew no guile!"

† Whitehead's Life.

as Mr. Montgomery has happily expressed it, "each stanza should be a poetical tune, played down to the last note."—The meaning ought also to be so obvious as to be comprehended at once, that men may speak to God directly, without being distracted by investigating the real meaning of the words put into their lips. And when metaphor is efficiently employed, it must be generally such as the Scriptures have already sanctioned; for with *their* imagery we are all familiar, and it stands consecrated to the service of the sanctuary by inspired authority. Yet even this ought not to be adopted in an extended form, approaching to allegory; and is always more successful when rather lightly touched and suggested, than when dwelt upon with particularity. Cowper's fine hymn on Providence is greatly improved by omitting the stanza:—

"His purposes will ripen fast,
Unfolding every hour;
The bud may have a bitter taste,
But sweet will be the flower."

This is a figure not only not found in sacred inspired poetry, but which has too much *prettiness* to be the vehicle of a sublime thought, and the verse has moreover the fault of an absurd antithesis, as well as a false rhyme. Many modern hymns are, indeed, as objectionable from the character of their imagery, as from the meagreness of their thoughts; and there are a few somewhat popular, which, leaving out or changing a few sacred terms, would chime agreeably enough to the most common sentimental subjects.

To Dr. Watts and to Mr. Charles Wesley the largest share of gratitude is due, in modern times, from the churches of Christ, for that rich supply of "Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs," in which the assemblies of the pious may make melody unto the Lord, in strains which "angels might often delight to hear." No others are to be named with these sweet singers of the spiritual Israel; and it is probable that, through the medium of their verse chiefly, will the devotions of our churches be poured forth till time shall be no more. No other poets ever attained such elevation as this. They honored God in their gifts, and God has thus honored them to be the mouth of his people to him, in their solemn assemblies, in their private devotions, and in the struggles of death itself.

It would be an unprofitable task to compare the merits of these two great psalmists. Each had excellencies not found in the other. Watts, however, excels Mr. Charles Wesley, only in the sweeter flow of his numbers, and in the feeling and sympathy of those of his hymns which are designed to administer comfort to the afflicted. In composition he was, in all respects, decidedly his inferior—in good taste, classic elegance, uniformity of excellence, correct rhyming, and vigor. As to the theology of their hymns respectively, leaving particular doctrines out of the question, the great truths of religious experience are also far more clearly and forcibly embodied by Mr. Charles Wesley than by Dr. Watts. Most justly does his brother say of them in his preface to "The Collection of Hymns for the use of the people called Methodists," of which, only a few are his own, and almost all the rest from the pen of Mr. Charles Wesley—"In these hymns, there is no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. Here is nothing turgid or bombastic, on the one hand, or low and creeping on the other. Here are no cant expressions, no words without meaning. Here are (allow me to say) both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language; and, at the same time, the utmost simplicity and plainness, suited to every capacity. *

* In this collection, beside a few hymns by Mr. John Wesley, there are four or five from Dr. Watts. Several are translations by the Wesleys: one from the Spanish, "O God, my God, my all thou art," &c.: one from the French, "Come Saviour Jesus, from above:" and the others from the German hymns of the Lutheran and Moravian churches. Several of these translated hymns Mr. Montgomery has inserted in his "Psalmist," and marked "Moravian." They appear indeed in the Moravian Hymn Book, but in departments there, in which are also found the hymns of Dr. Watts and other English authors. The preface of the edition of 1754, the first authorized collection of the English Moravians, and which embodies their former unauthorized publications, acknowledges "the foregoing labors of Mr. Jacobi and the Rev. Mr. Wesley," in the translation of German hymns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, besides extracts of English ones of the eighteenth, from "Watts, Stennett, Davis, Erskine, Wesley," &c.; which acknowledgment was no doubt overlooked by Mr. Montgomery. The hymns translated by the Wesleys, and said by Mr. Montgomery in his collection to be "Moravian," are, "Thou hidden love of God, whose height;" "Thee will I love, my strength, my tower;" "Shall I for fear of feeble man;" "O thou who camest from above;" "Now I have found the ground wherein;" "My soul before thee prostrate lies;" and "Holy Lamb, who thee receive." Now all these were published by the Wesleys before the Moravian Hymn Book of 1754, in which the "foregoing labors of Mr. Wesley," in translating from the German, are acknowledged; and indeed most of them appear in the very first hymn books published by John and Charles Wesley, two of which bear date so early as 1739, fifteen years previous to the publication of the authorized Moravian collection. As translations, they are not therefore "Moravian;" and, when they are translated from "the German," it does not follow that they all have a Moravian original, though some of them may; for the Moravian German book, like the English, as we learn from the preface to their English Hymn Book, "consists as well of hymns out of preceding church collections of their neighbors, as of others composed by themselves." The hymn, "High on his everlasting throne," marked "Moravian" by Mr. Montgomery, and mentioned also in his preface, is a Moravian German hymn; but the translation is by Mr. Charles Wesley; whilst "Give to the winds thy fears," also marked Moravian, is a German hymn of the Lutheran church, and the translation is Mr. Charles Wesley's. Of this hymn there is a version in the Moravian English Hymn book; the last stanza of which, when placed beside Mr. C. Wesley's, will show with what strength of internal evidence his translations distinguish themselves:—

WESLEY'S.

Thou seest our weakness, Lord,
Our hearts are known to thee:
O lift thou up the sinking hand,
Confirm the feeble knee!
Let us in life and death,
Thy steadfast truth declare;
And publish with our latest breath
Thy love and guardian care.

MORAVIAN.

O Lord, thou seest our weakness,
Yet knowest what our hearts mean:
Against desponding slackness,
Our feeble knees sustain.
Till, and beyond death's valley,
Let us thy truth declare:
Yea, then emphatically,
Boast of thy guardian care.

Some other comparisons might be made between Mr. C. Wesley's translations from German hymns and those from the same originals found in the Moravian Hymn Book, which would sufficiently show that the Moravians *then* at least, had no translator into English verse at all comparable to him; and indeed they have sufficient taste generally to adopt his translations in preference. But this is no reason why he should lose the credit of his own admirable performances in this department. Respect to literary justice has drawn out this note to so great a length; and it was the more necessary to state the matter correctly, because Mr. Montgomery's "Psalmist" might in future mislead. The first editions of the hymns and sacred poems, by the Wesleys, viz., those of 1739, 1743, and 1745, in which most of the above hymns are found, with several others in the Moravian

Few persons ever wrote so much poetry of the sacred and devotional kind, as Mr. Charles Wesley. It amounts to forty-eight distinct publications of different sizes, from the duodecimo volume, to the pamphlet of one or two sheets. Besides what is published, several thick quarto volumes of poetry in MS. remain, chiefly consisting of brief illustrations or paraphrases of the leading texts in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, and not inferior to his "Short Hymns on the chief passages of the Old and New Testaments," which have passed through several editions. A few of his poems are playful, a few others are keenly satirical. He satirized his brother's ordinations, and the preachers; but, high churchman as he was, he is very unsparing in the use of his poetic whip upon the persecuting and irreligious clergy. Of this, some of his published, and several of his unpublished paraphrases, on passages of the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in which the persecuting deeds of the Scribes and Pharisees are recorded, afford some caustic specimens;* and sufficiently indicate that he did not bear the contumely and opposition of his high church brethren with the equanimity and gentleness of his brother John. He also took a part in the Calvinistic controversy, by writing his hymns or poems on God's universal love. But by far the greater part of his poetry was consecrated to promote the work of God in the heart. Never were its different branches, from the first awakening of the soul out of the sleep of sin, to its state of perfected holiness, with all its intermediate conflicts and exercises, more justly or scripturally expressed; and there is, perhaps, no uninspired book from which, as to "the deep things of God," so much is to be learned, as from his hymn book in use in the Methodist congregations. The funeral hymns in this collection have but little of the softness of sorrow—perhaps too little; but they are written in that fulness of faith, which exclaims over the open tomb, "Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." The hymns on the last day are characterized also by the same unflinching faith, which, rejoicing in the smile of the Judge, defies the wild uproar of elements, and the general conflagration itself. In several of these, Mr. Charles Wesley has admirably Christianized "the just man" of Horace, dreadless, amidst the ruins of a world:

"*Si fractus illabatur orbis*
Impavidum ferient ruinæ;"

placing the same fine thought in various aspects, and illustrating it by different circumstances. His hymns of invitation are sweet and persuasive; and those on justification by faith, admirably illustrative of that important doctrine. Of the value set upon this hymn book by the Methodist congregations, this is a sufficient proof, that above sixty thousand copies are sold yearly in the United Kingdom alone.† The number in the United States of America, must be considerably larger.

With reference to his brother's poetry, a remark is incidentally, and somewhat oddly introduced by Mr. Wesley, in his Journal of 1790, Jan. 28:

"I retired to Peckham, and at leisure hours read part of a very pretty trifle, the life of Mrs. Bellamy. Surely never did any since John Dryden study more

'To make vice pleasing, and damnation shine.'

than this lively and elegant writer. She has a fine imagination, a strong understanding, an easy style, improved by much reading; a fine, benevolent temper; and every qualification that could consist with a total ignorance of God: but God was not in all her thoughts. Abundance of anecdotes she inserts, which may be true or false. One of them, concerning Mr. Garrick, is curious: she says, 'When he was taking ship for England, a lady presented him with a parcel, which she desired him not to open

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Hymn Book, are now become scarce, and in a few years may not be forthcoming to correct the error. For this reason it may also be noticed that Mr. Montgomery has inserted in his collection several hymns by Charles Wesley as the composition of "authors unknown." These, too, are found in the early editions of the Wesley hymns and poems, and in some later ones, as, "Come, let us who in Christ believe;" "Come, O thou all-victorious Lord;" "Fountain of being, source of good;" "God of my life, whose gracious power;" "Jesus my strength, my hope;" "Jesus, the name high over all;" "Leader of faithful souls, and guide;" "O that thou wouldst the heavens rent;" "Spirit of truth, come down;" "Thee, O my God and King;" "Thy ceaseless, unexhausted love;" and, "When quiet in my house I sit." There are two ways of accounting for Mr. Montgomery's want of information as to these hymns:—that he was not in possession of the early editions of hymns published by John and Charles Wesley;—and that some of the hymns in the hymn book in use amongst us, which he has ascribed to authors unknown, are parts of longer hymns, and were selected by Mr. John Wesley from his brother's poetry, sometimes from the middle or end of a piece, so that the first lines would not be found in the old indexes when consulted. Mr. Charles Wesley's hymns have not been unfrequently claimed for others, without any design to be unjust. In the Christian Observer, a few years ago, that exquisite production of one of his happiest moments, "Jesus lover of my soul," was assigned to Mr. Madan, although published by Mr. Charles Wesley in the year 1743; and the translation from the French, "Come, Saviour Jesus, from above," is found in the poetical works of Dr. John Byrom, published in 1773, although it appears in the Wesley "Hymns and Poems" of 1739. The probability is, that a copy of it was found among Byrom's papers, and so the editor of his poems concluded it to be his. A correct list of the different editions of the Hymns and Sacred Poems published by the Wesleys will be found in the last volume of Wesley's works, recently completed. The editions of 1739 are scarce, and it ought to be noticed that there are *two* distinct works published under the same title of "Hymns and Sacred Poems," each bearing that date. The hymn book now in use was compiled by Mr. John Wesley out of the preceding hymn books, of different sizes and editions, and from his brother's "Festival Hymns," "Scripture Hymns," &c. The whole underwent his severe criticism, and he abridged and corrected them with a taste and judgment which greatly increased their value.

* As almost all the family were poets, so they were all characterized by a vein of satire. This they appear to have inherited from their father, whose wit was both ready and pungent. The following is an instance, copied from the gentleman's Magazine, for the year 1802:—

"The authenticity of the following *extempore* grace by the Rev. Samuel Wesley, (father of the Rev. John,) formerly rector of Epworth, may be relied on. It is given on the authority of the late William Barnard, Esq. of Gainsborough, whose father, the preserver of John from the fire of 1707, was present at the time it was spoken, at Temple Belwood, after dinner. Mr. P., at whose house they dined, was a strange compound of avarice and oddity; many of his singularities are still remembered:

'Thanks for this feast, for tis no less
Than eating manna in the wilderness:
Here meagre famine bears controlless sway,
And ever drives each fainting wretch away.
Yet here, (O how beyond a saint's belief!)
We've seen the glories of a chine of beef;
Here chimneys smoke, which never smoked before,
And we have dined, where we shall dine no more.'"

The design of this odd extemporaneous effusion, we are bound to believe, was not to indulge in a levity, but to convey a useful reproof.

† As the number of hymns in this book, adapted for mixed congregations and festival occasions, was not thought sufficient, a supplement is now added; containing about an equal number of hymns, by Mr. Charles Wesley, and by other authors. Some of the best hymns he ever wrote are found in this smaller collection, chiefly on the festivals.

till he was at sea. When he did, he found Wesley's Hymns, which he immediately threw overboard.' I cannot believe it. I think Mr. G. had more sense. He knew my brother well. And he knew him to be not only far superior in learning, but in poetry, to Mr. Thomson, and all his theatrical writers put together: none of them can equal him, either in strong nervous sense, or purity and elegance of language. The musical compositions of his sons are not more excellent than the poetical ones of their father."

The last end of the truly venerable John Wesley was now also approaching. He was on his regular pastoral visit to Ireland, when he entered his eighty-seventh year, on which he remarks in his Journal. "This day I enter on my eighty-seventh year. I now find I grow old. 1. My sight is decayed, so that I cannot read a small print, unless in a strong light. 2. My strength is decayed, so that I walk much slower than I did some years since. 3. My memory of names, whether of persons or places, is decayed, till I stop a little to recollect them. What I should be afraid of is, if I took thought for the morrow, that my body should weigh down my mind, and create either stubbornness, by the decrease of my understanding, or peevishness, by the increase of bodily infirmities; but thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God!"

Notwithstanding these infirmities, we find him still acting under the impression—"I must be about my Father's business." Although in comparison of his former rapidity of movement, he crept rather than ran; it was still in the same ceaseless course of service. After holding the Irish conference in Dublin, and the English conference at Leeds, in August, he returned to London; from thence he set out to Bristol, and proceeded on his usual tour through the west of England and Cornwall. Notwithstanding his regular visits to Cornwall, he appears, from some reason, not to have turned aside to Falmouth, since the time of his preaching there forty years before when he met with so violent a reception. He now paid that place a visit, and remarks—"The last time I was here, about forty years ago, I was taken prisoner by an immense mob, gaping and roaring like lions; but how is the tide turned! High and low now lined the streets from one end of the town to the other, out of stark love and kindness, gaping and staring as if the king were going by. In the evening I preached on the smooth top of the hill, at a small distance from the sea, to the largest congregation I have ever seen in Cornwall, except in or near Redruth; and such a time I have not known before, since I returned from Ireland. God moved wonderfully on the hearts of the people, who all seemed to know the day of their visitation."

From Cornwall he returned by way of Bristol and Bath to London. In the early part of the next year, we find him again at Bristol; from whence he proceeded, preaching at several of the intermediate towns, to Birmingham; and from thence through Staffordshire to Madeley, where we find the following affecting entry in his Journal:—

"At nine I preached to a select congregation on the deep things of God; and in the evening on, 'He is able to save unto the uttermost of all them that come unto God through him.' Friday, 26, I finished my sermon on the 'Wedding garment;' perhaps the last that I shall write. My eyes are now waxed dim. My natural force is abated; however, while I can, I would fain do a little for God, before I drop into the dust."

The societies in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the North of England, once more, and for the last time, saw the man, to whom, under God, they owed their religious existence. On his return southward, he passed through the East Riding of Yorkshire, to Hull: preaching in every place as on the brink of eternity. He also visited Epworth, and various parts of Lincolnshire; and, upon attaining his eighty-eighth year, has the following reflections:—

"This day I enter into my eighty-eighth year. For above eighty-six years, I found none of the infirmities of old age; my eyes did not wax dim, neither was my natural strength abated; but last August, I found almost a sudden change: my eyes were so dim that no glasses would help me; my strength likewise now quite forsook me, and probably will not return in this world; but I feel no pain from head to foot: only it seems, nature is exhausted, and, humanly speaking, will sink more and more, till

'The weary springs of life stand still at last.'"

"This," says Dr. Whitehead, "at length was literally the case; the death of Mr. Wesley, like that of his brother Charles, being one of those rare instances in which nature, drooping under the load of years, sinks by a gentle decay. For several years preceding his death, this decay was, perhaps, more visible to others than to himself, particularly by a more frequent disposition to sleep during the day, by a growing defect in memory, a faculty he once possessed in a high degree of perfection, and by a general diminution of the vigor and agility he had so long enjoyed. His labors, however, suffered little interruption; and when the summons came, it found him, as he always wished it should, in the *harness*, still occupied in his Master's work!"

Still his Journal records his regular visitation of the principal places where societies existed, and exhibits the same variety and raciness of remark on men and books, and other subjects, although writing must, at that time, have become exceedingly difficult to him from the failure of his sight. This most interesting record of unparalleled labors "in the gospel" was, for this reason, it is presumed, discontinued, and closed, on Sunday, October 24th, 1790, when he states that he preached twice at Spitalfields church. He continued however, during the autumn and winter, to visit various places till February, continually praying, "Lord, let me not live to be useless." The following account of his last days is taken from the memoir prefixed to the edition of his works by the Rev. Joseph Benson, and is there inserted as a proper close to his Journal:—

"He preached, as usual, in different places in London and its vicinity, generally meeting the society after preaching in each place, and exhorting them to *love as brethren, to fear God, and honor the king*, which he wished them to consider as his last advice. He then usually, if not invariably, concluded, with giving out that verse—

O that, without a ling'ring groan
I may the welcome word receive;
My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live.'

"He proceeded in this way till the usual time of his leaving London approached, when, with a view to take his accustomed journey through Ireland or Scotland, he sent his chaise and horses before him to Bristol, and took places for himself and his friend in the Bath coach. But his mind, with all its vigor could no longer uphold his worn-out and sinking body. Its powers ceased, although, by slow and almost imperceptible degrees, to perform their sundry offices, until, as he often expressed himself,

'The weary wheels of life stood still at last.'

"Thursday, February 17, 1791, he preached at Lambeth; but, on his return, seemed much indisposed, and said, he had taken cold. The next day, however, he read and wrote as usual; and in the

evening, preached at Chelsea, from "The king's business requires haste," although with some difficulty, having a high degree of fever upon him. Indeed he was obliged to stop once or twice, informing the people that his cold so affected his voice as to prevent his speaking without those necessary pauses. On Saturday he still persevered in his usual employments, though, to those about him, his complaints seemed evidently increasing. He dined at Islington, and at dinner desired a friend to read to him four chapters out of the book of Job, viz. from the fourth to the seventh inclusive. On Sunday he rose early, according to custom, but quite unfit for any of his usual Sabbath-day's exercises. At seven o'clock he was obliged to lie down, and slept between three and four hours. When he awoke, he said, "I have not had such a comfortable sleep this fortnight past." In the afternoon he lay down again and slept an hour or two. Afterwards two of his own discourses on our Lord's sermon on the mount were read to him, and in the evening he came down to supper.

"Monday, the 21st, he seemed much better; and though his friends tried to dissuade him from it, he would keep an engagement, made some time before, to dine at Twickenham. In his way thither he called on Lady Mary Fitzgerald: the conversation was truly profitable, and well became a last visit. On Tuesday he went on with his usual work, preached in the evening at the chapel in the City-road, and seemed much better than he had been for some days. On Wednesday he went to Leatherhead, and preached to a small company on, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near." This proved to be his last sermon: here ended the public labors of this great minister of Jesus Christ. On Thursday he paid a visit to Mr. Wolff's family at Balham, where he was cheerful, and seemed nearly as well as usual, till Friday, about breakfast time, when he grew very heavy. About eleven o'clock he returned home, extremely ill. His friends were struck with the manner of his getting out of the carriage, and still more with his apparent weakness when he went up stairs and sat down in his chair. He now desired to be left alone, and not to be interrupted by any one, for half an hour. When that time was expired, some mulled wine was brought him, of which he drank a little. In a few minutes he threw it up, and said, 'I must lie down.' His friends were now alarmed, and Dr. Whitehead was immediately sent for. On his entering the room, he said, in a cheerful voice, 'doctor, they are more afraid than hurt.' Most of this day he lay in bed, had a quick pulse, with a considerable degree of fever and stupor. And Saturday, the 26th, he continued in much the same state; taking very little either of medicine or nourishment.

"Sunday morning he seemed much better, got up, and took a cup of tea. Sitting in his chair, he looked quite cheerful, and repeated the latter part of the verse, in his brother Charles' Scripture Hymns, on '*Forsake me not when my strength faileth*,' viz.—

'Till glad I lay this body down,
Thy servant, Lord, attend;
And, O! my life of mercy crown
With a triumphant end.'

Soon after, in a most emphatical manner, he said, 'our friend Lazarus sleepeth.' Exerting himself to converse with some friends, he was soon fatigued, and obliged to lie down. After lying quiet some time, he looked up, and said, 'speak to me; I cannot speak.' On which one of the company said, 'shall we pray with you, sir?' He earnestly replied, 'yes.' And while they prayed, his whole soul seemed engaged with God for an answer, and his hearty *amen* showed that he perfectly understood what was said. About half an hour after, he said, 'there is no need of more; when at Bristol my words were,

'I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me.'*

"One said, 'is this the present language of your heart, and do you now feel as you did then?' He replied 'yes.' When the same person repeated,

'Bold I approach the eternal throne,
And claim the crown, through Christ, my own;'

and added, ''tis enough. He our precious Immanuel has purchased, has promised, all;' he earnestly replied, 'He is all! He is all!' After this the fever was very high, and at times affected his recollection; but even then, though his head was subject to a temporary derangement, his heart seemed wholly engaged in his Master's work. In the evening he got up again, and, while sitting in his chair, he said, 'how necessary it is for every one to be on the right foundation!

'I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me!'

"Monday, the 28th, his weakness increased. He slept most of the day, and spoke but little; yet that little testified how much his whole heart was taken up in the care of the societies, the glory of God, and the promotion of the things pertaining to that kingdom to which he was hastening. Once he said, in a low but distinct manner, 'there is no way into the holiest, but by the blood of Jesus.' He afterwards inquired what the words were from which he had preached a little before at Hampstead. Being told they were these, 'ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich:' he replied, 'that is the foundation, the only foundation; there is no other.' This day Dr. Whitehead desired he might be asked, if he would have any other physician called in to attend him; but this he absolutely refused. It is remarkable that he suffered very little pain, never complaining of any during his illness, but once of a pain in his left breast. This was a restless night. Tuesday morning he sang two verses of a hymn: then lying still, as if to recover strength, he called for pen and ink; but when they were brought, he could not write. A person said, 'let me write for you, sir: tell me what you would say.' He replied, 'nothing, but that God is with us.' In the forenoon he said, 'I will get up.' While they were preparing his clothes, he broke out in a manner which, considering his extreme weakness, astonished all present, in singing,

'I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,
And when my voice is lost in death,
Praise shall employ my nobler powers:

* At the Bristol conference in 1783, Mr. Wesley was taken very ill: neither he nor his friends thought he could recover. From the nature of his complaint, he supposed a spasm would seize his stomach, and, probably, occasion sudden death. Under these views of his situation, he said to Mr. Bradford, "I have been reflecting on my past life: I have been wandering up and down, between fifty and sixty years, endeavoring, in my poor way, to do a little good to my fellow-creatures: and now it is probable, that there are but a few steps between me and death; and what have I to trust to for salvation? I can see nothing which I have done or suffered, that will bear looking at. I have no other plea than this,

"I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me.'"

The sentiment here expressed, and his reference to it in his last sickness, plainly show how steadily he had persevered in the same views of the gospel.

My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, and thought, and being last,
Or immortality endures!'

"Having got him into his chair, they observed him change for death. But he, regardless of his dying body, said, with a weak voice, 'Lord, thou givest strength to those that can speak, and to those who cannot. Speak, Lord, to all our hearts, and let them know that thou loosest tongues.' He then sung,

'To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Who sweetly all agree—'

Here his voice failed. After gasping for breath, he said, 'now we have done all.' He was then laid in the bed, from which he rose no more. After resting a little he called to those who were with him to 'pray and praise.' They kneeled down, and the room seemed to be filled with the divine presence. A little after, he said, 'let me be buried in nothing but what is woollen, and let my corpse be carried into the chapel.' Then, as if he had done with all below, he again begged they would pray and praise. Several friends that were in the house being called up, they all kneeled down again to prayer, at which time his fervor of spirit was manifest to every one present. But in particular parts of the prayer, his whole soul seemed to be engaged in a manner which evidently showed how ardently he longed for the full accomplishment of their united desires. And when one of the preachers was praying in a very expressive manner, that if God were about to take away their father to his eternal rest, He would be pleased to continue and increase his blessing upon the doctrine and discipline which He had long made his servant the means of propagating and establishing in the world; such a degree of fervor accompanied his loud *amen*, as was every way expressive of his soul's being engaged in the answer of the petitions. On rising from their knees, he took hold of all their hands, and, with the utmost placidness, saluted them, and said, 'Farewell, farewell.'

"A little after, a person coming in, he strove to speak, but could not. Finding they could not understand him, he paused a little, and then, with all the remaining strength he had, cried out, *The best of all is, God is with us;* and, soon after lifting up his dying arm in token of victory and raising his feeble voice with a holy triumph no to be expressed, he again repeated the heart-reviving words, *The best of all is, God is with us.* Being told that his brother's widow was come, he said, 'He giveth his servants rest.' He thanked her, as she pressed his hand, and affectionately endeavored to kiss her. On his lips being wetted, he said, 'We thank thee, O Lord, for these and all thy mercies: bless the church and king; and grant us truth and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, for ever and ever!' At another time he said, 'He causeth his servants to lie down in peace.' Then pausing a little, he cried, 'The clouds drop fatness!' and soon after, 'The Lord is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge!' He then called those present to prayer: and though he was greatly exhausted, he appeared still more fervent in spirit. These exertions were, however, too much for his feeble frame; and most of the night following, though he often attempted to repeat the psalm before mentioned, he could only utter,

'I'll praise—I'll praise!'

"On Wednesday morning, the closing scene drew near. Mr. Bradford, his faithful friend, prayed with him, and the last words he was heard to articulate were, 'Farewell!' A few minutes before ten, while several of his friends were kneeling around his bed, without a lingering groan, this man of God, this beloved pastor of thousands, entered into the joy of his Lord.

"He was in the eighty-eighth year of his age, had been sixty-five years in the ministry; and the preceding pages will be a lasting memorial of his uncommon zeal, diligence, and usefulness, in his Master's work, for more than half a century. His death was an admirable close to so laborious and useful a life.

"At the desire of many of his friends his corpse was placed in the new chapel, and remained there the day before his interment. His face during that time had a heavenly smile upon it, and a beauty which was admired by all that saw it.

"March the 9th was the day appointed for his interment. The preachers then in London requested that Dr. Whitehead should deliver the funeral discourse; and the executors afterwards approved of the appointment. The intention was to carry the corpse into the chapel, and place it in a raised situation before the pulpit during the service. But the crowds which came to see the body while it lay in the coffin, both in the private house, and especially in the chapel, the day before his funeral, were so great, that his friends were apprehensive of a tumult, if they should adopt the plan first intended. It was therefore resolved the evening before, to bury him between five and six in the morning. Though the time of notice to his friends was short, and the design itself was spoken of with great caution, yet a considerable number of persons attended at that early hour. The late Rev. Mr. Richardson, who now lies with him in the same vault, read the funeral service in a manner that made it peculiarly affecting. When he came to that part of it, 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear *brother*,' &c., he substituted, with the most tender emphasis, the epithet *father*, instead of *brother*, which had so powerful an effect on the congregation, that from silent tears they seemed universally to burst out into loud weeping.

INSCRIPTION ON HIS COFFIN.

JOHANNES WESLEY, A. M.
Olim Soc. Coll. Lin. Oxon.
Ob. 2do. die Martii, 1791.
An. Æt. 88.*

"The discourse, by Dr. Whitehead, was delivered in the chapel at the hour appointed in the forenoon, to an astonishing multitude of people; among whom were many ministers of the gospel, both of the establishment and dissenters. The audience was still and solemn as night; and all seemed to carry away with them enlarged views of Mr. Wesley's character, and serious impressions of the importance of religion.

The following is the inscription on the marble tablet erected to his memory in the chapel, City-road:—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, M. A.
SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD;

A Man in Learning and sincere Piety
Scarcely inferior to any;
In Zeal, Ministerial Labors, and
Extensive Usefulness,
Superior, perhaps, to all Men,
Since the Days of ST. PAUL.
Regardless of Fatigue, personal Danger,
And Disgrace,
He went out into the highways and hedges,
Calling Sinners to Repentance,
And Publishing the GOSPEL of Peace.

* "John Wesley, Master of Arts, formerly Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, died on the second day of March, 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age."

He was the Founder of the Methodist Societies,
And the chief promoter and Patron
Of the Plan of Itinerant preaching,
Which he extended through GREAT BRITAIN
And IRELAND,
The WEST INDIES and AMERICA,
With unexampled success.

He was born the 17th of June, 1703;
And died the 2d of March, 1791,
In sure and certain hope of Eternal Life,
Through the Atonement and Mediation of a
Crucified Saviour.

He was Sixty-five Years in the Ministry,
And Fifty-two an Itinerant Preacher.
He lived to see, in these KINGDOMS only,
About three hundred Itinerant,
And one thousand Local Preachers,
Raised up from the midst of his own People;
And eighty thousand Persons
In the Societies under his care.

His Name will be ever had in grateful remembrance
By all who rejoice in the universal Spread
Of the GOSPEL OF CHRIST.

Soli Deo Gloria.

It would be superfluous in closing this account of a man at once so extraordinary and so truly great, for me to attempt a delineation of his character, since this has been done so ably that nothing can easily be added, with good effect. I shall therefore insert Dr. Whitehead's own summary, with notices by others who were personally acquainted with him. Taken together they transmit an interesting and instructive picture of the founder of Methodism, to future ages.

Dr. Whitehead observes:—

"Some persons have affected to insinuate that Mr. Wesley was a man of slender capacity; but certainly with great injustice. His apprehension was clear, his penetration quick, and his judgment discriminative and sound; of which his controversial writings, and his celebrity in the stations he held at Oxford, when young, are sufficient proofs. In governing a large body of preachers and people, of various habits, interests, and principles, with astonishing calmness and regularity for many years, he showed a strong and capacious mind, that could comprehend and combine together a vast variety of circumstances, and direct their influence through the great body he governed. As a scholar, he certainly held a conspicuous rank. He was a critic in the Latin and Greek classics; and was well acquainted with the Hebrew, and with several modern tongues. But the Greek was his favorite language, in which his knowledge was extensive and accurate. At college, he had studied Euclid, Keil, Sir Isaac Newton's Optics, &c.; but he never entered far into the more abstruse parts, or the higher branches, of the mathematics; finding they would fascinate his mind, absorb his attention, and divert him from the pursuit of the more important objects of his own profession.

"Natural history was a field in which he walked at every opportunity, and contemplated with infinite pleasure the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God, in the structure of natural bodies, and in the various instincts and habits of the animal creation. But he was obliged to view these wonderful works of God, in the labors and records of others; his various and continual employments of a higher nature, not permitting him to make experiments and observations for himself.*

"As a writer, Mr. Wesley certainly possessed talents, sufficient to procure him considerable reputation. But he did not write for fame; his object was chiefly to instruct and benefit that numerous class of people who have little learning, little money, and but little time to spare for reading. In all his writings he constantly kept these circumstances in view. Content with doing good, he used no trappings merely to please, or to gain applause. The distinguishing character of his style is brevity and perspicuity. He never lost sight of the rule which Horace gives,

'*Est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia, neu se*
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures.'

'Concise your diction, let your sense be clear,
Nor with a weight of words fatigue the ear.'

In all his writings his words are well chosen, *pure*, *proper* to his subject, and *precise* in their meaning. His sentences commonly have the attributes of clearness, unity, and strength: and whenever he took time, and gave the necessary attention to his subject, both his manner of treating it, and his style, show the hand of a master.*

"The following is a just character to Mr. Wesley as a preacher: 'His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy: his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive: his voice not loud, but clear and manly: his style neat, simple, and perspicuous; and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers. His discourses, in point of composition, were extremely different on different occasions. When he gave himself sufficient time for preparation, he succeeded; but when he did not, he frequently failed.' It was indeed manifest to his friends for many years before he died, that his employments were too many, and that he preached too often, to appear with the same advantage at all times in the pulpit. His sermons were always short: he was seldom more than half an hour in delivering a discourse, sometimes not so long. His subjects were judiciously chosen: instructive and interesting to the audience, and well adapted to gain attention and warm the heart.

"The labors of Mr. Wesley in the work of the ministry, for fifty years together, were without precedent. During this period, he travelled about four thousand five hundred miles every year, one year with another, chiefly on horseback. It had been impossible for him to accomplish this almost incredible degree of exertion, without great punctuality and care in the management of his time. He had stated hours for every purpose: and his only relaxation was a change of employment. His rules were like the laws of the Medes and Persians, absolute and irrevocable. He had a peculiar pleasure in reading and study, and every literary man knows how apt this passion is to make him encroach on the time which ought to be employed in other duties: he had a high relish for conversation, especially with pious, learned, and sensible men: but whenever the hour came when he was to set out on a journey, he instantly quitted the company with which he might be engaged, without any apparent reluctance. For fifty-two years, or upwards, he generally delivered two, frequently three or four, sermons in a day. But calculating only two sermons a-day, and allowing, as a writer of his life has done, fifty annually for extraordinary occasions, the whole number of sermons he preached during this period will be forty thousand five hundred and sixty. To these must be added, an infinite number of exhortations to the societies after preaching, and in other occasional meetings at which he assisted.

* He, however, employed much leisure time whilst at college in the study of anatomy and medicine.

* His treatise on Original Sin; his appeals, and some of his sermons, are instances of finished and careful composition; and are equally to be admired for clearness of method, and the force of many passages which are truly eloquent.

"In social life, Mr. Wesley was lively and conversational. He had the talent of making himself exceedingly agreeable in company: and having been much accustomed to society, the rules of good breeding were habitual to him. The abstraction of a scholar did not appear in his behavior; but he was attentive and polite. He spoke a good deal where he saw it was expected, which was almost always the case wherever he visited. Having seen much of the world in his travels, and read more, his mind was stored with an infinite number of anecdotes and observations; and the manner in which he related them was no inconsiderable addition to the entertainment and instruction they afforded. It was impossible to be long in his company, either in public or private, without partaking of his placid cheerfulness, which was not abated by the infirmities of age, or the approach of death; but was as conspicuous at fourscore and seven, as at one and twenty.

"A remarkable feature in Mr. Wesley's character, was his placability. Having an active, penetrating mind, his temper was naturally quick, and even tending to sharpness. The influence of religion, and the constant habit of patient thinking, had in a great measure, corrected this disposition. In general he preserved an air of sedateness and tranquillity, which formed a striking contrast to the liveliness conspicuous in all his actions. Persecution, abuse, and injury, he bore from strangers, not only without anger, but without any apparent emotion; and what he said of himself was strictly true, that he had a great facility in forgiving injuries. Submission, on the part of the offender, presently disarmed his resentment, and he would treat him with great kindness and cordiality. No man was ever more free from jealousy or suspicion than Mr. Wesley, or laid himself more open to the impositions of others. Though his confidence was often abused, and circumstances sometimes took place which would have made almost any other man suspicious, yet he suspected no one; nor was it easy to convince him that any one had intentionally deceived him; and when facts had demonstrated that this was actually the case, he would allow no more than that it was so in that single instance. If the person acknowledged his fault, he believed him sincere, and would trust him again. If we view this temper of his mind in connection with the circumstance that his most private papers lay open to the inspection of those constantly about him, it will afford as strong a proof as can well be given, of the integrity of his own mind; and that he was at the farthest distance from any intention to deceive, or impose upon others.

"The temperance of Mr. Wesley was extraordinary. When at college he carried this so far, that his friends thought him blameable. But he never imposed upon others the same degree of rigor he exercised upon himself. He only said, I must be the best judge of what is hurtful or beneficial to me. Among other things, he was remarkable for moderation in sleep; and his notion of it cannot be better explained, than in his own words. 'Healthy men,' says he, 'require above six hours' sleep; healthy women, a little above seven, in four and twenty. If any one desires to know exactly what quantity of sleep his own constitution requires, he may very easily make the experiment, which I made about sixty years ago. I then waked every night about twelve or one, and lay awake for some time. I readily concluded, that this arose from my being in bed longer than nature required. To be satisfied, I procured an alarum, which waked me the next morning at seven (nearly an hour earlier than I rose the day before,) yet I lay awake again at night. The second morning I rose at six; but notwithstanding this, I lay awake the second night. The third morning I rose at five; but nevertheless, I lay awake the third night. The fourth morning I rose at four, as by the grace of God, I have done ever since: and I lay awake no more. And I do not now lie awake, taking the year round, a quarter of an hour together in a month. By the same experiment, rising earlier and earlier every morning, may any one find how much sleep he wants.'

"It must, however, be observed, that, for many years before his death, Mr. Wesley slept more or less during the day; and his great readiness to fall asleep at any time when fatigued, was a considerable means of keeping up his strength, and enabling him to go through so much labor. He never could endure to sleep on a soft bed. Even in the latter part of life, when the infirmities of age pressed upon him, his whole conduct was at the greatest distance from softness or effeminacy.

"A writer of Mr. Wesley's life, from whom some observations respecting his general character have already been taken, has farther observed, perhaps the most charitable man in England, was Mr. Wesley. His liberality to the poor, knew no bounds but an empty pocket. He gave away, not merely a certain part of his income, but all that he had: his own wants provided for, he devoted all the rest to the necessities of others. He entered upon this good work at a very early period. We are told, that, 'when he had thirty pounds a year, he lived on twenty-eight, and gave away forty shillings. The next year, receiving sixty pounds, he still lived on twenty-eight, and gave away two and thirty. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two. The fourth year he received one hundred and twenty pounds. Still he lived on twenty-eight, and gave to the poor ninety-two.' In this ratio he proceeded during the rest of his life; and, in the course of fifty years, it has been supposed, he gave away between twenty and thirty thousand pounds;* a great part of which, most other men would have put out at interest, upon good security.

"In the distribution of his money, Mr. Wesley was as disinterested as he was charitable. He had no regard to family connections, nor even to the wants of the preachers who labored with him, in preference to strangers. He knew that these had some friends; and he thought that the poor destitute stranger might have none, and therefore had the first claim on his liberality. When a trifling legacy has been paid him, he has been known to dispose of it in some charitable way before he slept, that it might not remain his own property for one night. He often declared that his own hands should be his executors; and though he gained all he could by his publications, and saved all he could, not wasting so much as a sheet of paper; yet, by giving all he could, he was preserved from *laying up treasures upon earth.* He had said in print, that, if he died worth more than ten pounds, independent of his books, and the arrears of his fellowship, which he then held, he would give the world leave to call him 'a thief and a robber.' This declaration, made in the integrity of his heart, and the height of his zeal, laid him under some inconveniences afterwards, from circumstances which he could not at that time foresee. Yet in this, as all his friends expected, he literally kept his word, as far as human foresight could reach. His chaise and horses, his clothes, and a few trifles of that kind, were all, his books excepted, that he left at his death. Whatever might be the value of his books, this altered not the case, as they were placed in the hands of trustees, and

* Money chiefly arising from the constant and large sale of his writings, and the works he abridged.

the profits arising from the sale of them were to be applied to the use and benefit of the conference for public purposes; reserving only a few legacies and a rent-charge of eighty-five pounds a year to be paid to his brother's widow, which was in fact a debt, in consideration for the copy-right of his brother's hymns.

"Among the other excellencies of Mr. Wesley, his moderation in controversy deserves to be noticed. Writers of controversy too often forget, that their own character is intimately connected with the manner in which they treat others; and if they have no regard for their opponents, they ought to have some respect for themselves. When a writer becomes personal and abusive, it affords a fair presumption against his arguments, and tends to put his readers on their guard. Most of Mr. Wesley's opponents were of this description; their *railing* was much more violent than their *reasons* were cogent. Mr. Wesley kept his temper, and wrote like a Christian, a gentleman, and a scholar. He might have taken the words of the excellent Hooker, as a motto to his polemical tracts, 'To your *railing* I say *nothing*; for your *reasons* take what follows.' He admired the temper in which Mr. Law wrote controversy; only in some instances Mr. Law shows a contempt for his opponent, which Mr. Wesley thought highly improper."

To these remarks of Dr. Whitehead may be added two or three sketches of Mr. Wesley's character drawn up by different persons, and printed soon after his death. The first is anonymous:—

"Now that Mr. John Wesley has finished his course upon earth, I may be allowed to estimate his character, and the loss the world has sustained by his death. Upon a fair account, it appears to be such, as not only annihilates all the reproaches that have been cast upon him; but such as does honor to mankind, at the same time that it reproaches them. His natural and acquired abilities were both of the highest rank. His apprehension was lively and distinct; his learning extensive. His judgment, though not infallible, was, in most cases, excellent. His mind was steadfast and resolved. His elocution was ready and clear, graceful and easy, accurate and unaffected. As a writer, his style, though unstudied, and flowing with natural ease, yet for accuracy and perspicuity was such as may vie with the best writers in the English language. Though his temper was naturally warm, his manners were gentle, simple, and uniform. Never were such happy talents better seconded by an unrelenting perseverance in those courses which his singular endowments, and his zealous love to the interests of mankind, marked out for him. His constitution was excellent: and never was a constitution less abused, less spared, or more excellently applied, in an exact subservience to the faculties of his mind. His labors and studies were wonderful. The latter were not confined to theology only, but extended to every subject that tended either to the improvement or the rational entertainment of the mind. If we consider his reading by itself, his writings and his other labors by themselves, any one of them will appear sufficient to have kept a person of ordinary application busy during his whole life. In short, the transactions of his life could never have been performed, without the utmost exertion of two qualities, which depended, not upon his capacity, but on the uniform steadfastness of his resolution. These were inflexible temperance, and unexampled economy of time. In these he was a pattern to the age he lived in; and an example, to what a surprising extent a man may render himself useful in his generation, by temperance and punctuality. His friends and followers have no reason to be ashamed of the name of Methodist, which he has entailed upon them: as, for an uninterrupted course of years, he has given the world an instance of the possibility of living without wasting a single hour; and of the advantage of a regular distribution of time, in discharging the important duties and purposes of life. Few ages have more needed such a public testimony to the value of time; and perhaps none have had a more conspicuous example of the perfection to which the improvement of it may be carried.

"As a minister, his labors were unparalleled, and such as nothing could have supported him under but the warmest zeal for the doctrine he taught, and for the eternal interests of mankind. He studied to be gentle, yet vigilant and faithful towards all. He possessed himself in patience, and preserved himself unprovoked, nay, even unruffled, in the midst of persecution, reproach, and all manner of abuse both of his person and name. But let his own works praise him. He now enjoys the fruits of his labors, and that praise which he sought, not of men, but of God.

"To finish the portrait. Examine the general tenor of his life, and it will be found self-evidently inconsistent with his being a slave to any one passion or pursuit, that can fix a blemish on his character. Of what use were the accumulation of wealth to him, who, through his whole course, never allowed himself to taste the repose of indolence, or even of the common indulgence in the use of the necessaries of life? Free from the partiality of any party, the sketcher of this excellent character, with a friendly tear, pays it as a just tribute to the memory of so great and good a man, who, when alive was his friend."

Of Mr. Wesley, Mr. Alexander Knox says:—

"Very lately, I had an opportunity, for some days together, of observing Mr. Wesley with attention. I endeavored to consider him, not so much with the eye of a friend, as with the impartiality of a philosopher; and I must declare, every hour I spent in his company afforded me fresh reasons for esteem and veneration. So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance. Every look showed how fully he enjoyed 'the gay remembrance of a life well spent;' and wherever he went, he diffused a portion of his own felicity. Easy and affable in his demeanor, he accommodated himself to every sort of company, and showed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most perfect piety. In his conversation, we might be at a loss whether to admire most, his fine classical taste, his extensive knowledge of men and things, or his overflowing goodness of heart. While the grave and serious were charmed with his wisdom, his sportive sallies of innocent mirth delighted even the young and thoughtless; and both saw, in his uninterrupted cheerfulness, the excellency of true religion. No cynical remarks on the levity of youth embittered his discourse; no applausive retrospect to past times marked his present discontent. In him, even old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud; and it was impossible to observe him, without wishing fervently, 'May my latter end be like his!'

"But I find myself unequal to the task of delineating such a character. What I have said may to some appear as panegyric; but there are numbers, and those of taste and discernment too, who can bear witness to the truth, though by no means to the perfectness, of the sketch I have attempted. With such I have been frequently in his company; and every one of them, I am persuaded, would subscribe to all I have said. For my own part, I never was so happy as while with him, and scarcely ever felt more poignant regret than at parting from him;

for, well I knew, 'I ne'er should look upon his like again.'"

The following account of Mr. Wesley appeared soon after his death in a very respectable publication; and was afterwards inserted in Woodfall's Diary, London, June 17, 1791:—

"His indefatigable zeal in the discharge of his duty has been long witnessed by the world; but, as mankind are not always inclined to put a generous construction on the exertions of singular talents, his motives were imputed to the love of popularity, ambition, and lucre. It now appears that he was actuated by a disinterested regard to the immortal interests of mankind. He labored, and studied, and preached, and wrote, to propagate what he believed to be the gospel of Christ. The intervals of these engagements were employed in governing and regulating the concerns of his numerous societies; assisting the necessities, solving the difficulties, and soothing the afflictions of his hearers. He observed so rigid a temperance, and allowed himself so little repose, that he seemed to be above the infirmities of nature, and to act independent of the earthly tenement he occupied. The recital of the occurrences of every day of his life would be the greatest encomium.

"Had he loved wealth, he might have accumulated it without bounds. Had he been fond of power, his influence would have been worth courting by any party. I do not say he was without ambition; he had that which Christianity need not blush at, and which virtue is proud to confess. I do not mean that which is gratified by splendor and large possessions; but that which commands the hearts and affections, the homage and gratitude, of thousands. For him they felt sentiments of veneration, only inferior to those which they paid to Heaven: to him they looked as their father, their benefactor, their guide to glory and immortality: for him they fell prostrate before God, with prayers and tears, to spare his doom, and prolong his stay. Such a recompense as this is sufficient to repay the toils of the longest life. Short of this, greatness is contemptible impotence. Before this, lofty prelates bow, and princes hide their diminished heads.

"His zeal was not a transient blaze, but a steady and constant flame. The ardor of his spirit was neither damped by difficulty, nor subdued by age. This was ascribed by himself to the power of divine grace; by the world, to *enthusiasm*. Be it what it will, it is what philosophers must envy, and infidels respect; it is that which gives energy to the soul, and without which there can be no greatness or heroism.

"Why should we condemn that in religion, which we applaud in every other profession and pursuit? He had a vigor and elevation of mind, which nothing but the belief of the divine favor and presence could inspire. This threw a lustre round his infirmities, changed his bed of sickness into a triumphal car, and made his exit resemble an apotheosis rather than a dissolution.

"He was qualified to excel in every branch of literature: he was well versed in the learned tongues, in metaphysics, in oratory, in logic, in criticism, and every requisite of a Christian minister. His style was nervous, clear, and manly; his preaching was pathetic and persuasive; his Journals are artless and interesting; and his compositions and compilations to promote knowledge and piety, were almost innumerable.

"I do not say he was without faults, or above mistakes; but they were lost in the multitude of his excellencies and virtues.

"To gain the admiration of an ignorant and superstitious age, requires only a little artifice and address; to stand the test of these times, when all pretensions to sanctity are stigmatized as hypocrisy, is a proof of genuine piety and real usefulness. His great object was, to revive the obsolete doctrines and extinguished spirit of the church of England; and they, who are its friends, cannot be his enemies. Yet for this he was treated as a fanatic and impostor, and exposed to every species of slander and persecution. Even bishops and dignitaries entered the lists against him; but he never declined the combat, and generally proved victorious. He appealed to the homilies, the articles, and the Scriptures, as vouchers for his doctrine; and they who could not decide upon the merits of the controversy, were witnesses of the effects of his labors; and they judged of the tree by its fruit. It is true, he did not succeed much in the higher walks of life; but that impeached his cause no more than it did that of the first planters of the gospel. However, if he had been capable of assuming vanity on that score, he might have ranked among his friends some persons of the first distinction, who would have done honor to any party. After surviving almost all his adversaries, and acquiring respect among those who were the most distant from his principles, he lived to see the plant he had reared, spreading its branches far and wide, and inviting not only these kingdoms, but the Western world, to repose under its shade. No sect, since the first ages of Christianity, could boast a founder of such extensive talents and endowments. If he had been a candidate for literary fame, he might have succeeded to his utmost wishes; but he sought not the praise of man; he regarded learning only as the instrument of usefulness. The great purpose of his life was doing good. For this he relinquished all honor and preferment; to this he dedicated all his powers of body and mind; at all times and in all places, in season and out of season, by gentleness, by terror, by argument, by persuasion, by reason, by interest, by every motive and every inducement, he strove, with unwearied assiduity, to turn men from the error of their ways, and awaken them to virtue and religion. To the bed of sickness, or the couch of prosperity; in the prison, the hospital, the house of mourning, or the house of feasting, wherever there was a friend to serve, or a soul to save, he readily repaired; to administer assistance or advice, reproof or consolation. He thought no office too humiliating, no condescension too low, no undertaking too arduous, to reclaim the meanest of God's offspring. The souls of all men were equally precious in his sight, and the value of an immortal creature beyond all estimation. He penetrated the abodes of wretchedness and ignorance, to rescue the profligate from perdition; and he communicated the light of life to those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death. He changed the outcasts of society into useful members; civilized even savages, and filled those lips with prayer and praise that had been accustomed only to oaths and imprecations. But as the strongest religious impressions are apt to become languid, without discipline and practice, he divided his people into classes and bands, according to their attainments. He appointed frequent meetings for prayer and conversation, where they gave an account of their experience, their hopes and fears, their joys and troubles; by which means they were united to each other, and to their common profession. They became sentinels upon each other's conduct, and securities for each other's character. Thus the seeds he sowed sprang up and flourished, bearing the rich fruits of every grace and virtue. Thus he governed and preserved his numerous societies, watching their improvement with a paternal care, and encouraging them to be faithful to the end.

"But I will not attempt to draw his full character, nor to estimate the extent of his labors and ser-

vices. They will be best known when he shall deliver up his commission into the hands of his great Master."

The following is a description of Mr. Wesley's person:—

"The figure of Mr. Wesley was remarkable. His stature was low; his habit of body, in every period of life, the reverse of corpulent, and expressive of strict temperance and continual exercise; and, notwithstanding his small size, his step was firm, his appearance, till within a few years of his death, vigorous and muscular. His face, for an old man, was one of the finest we have seen. A clear, smooth forehead; an aquiline nose; an eye, the brightest and most piercing that can be conceived; and a freshness of complexion, scarcely ever to be found at his years; and, impressive of the most perfect health, conspired to render him a venerable and interesting figure. Few have seen him without being struck with his appearance: and many, who had been greatly prejudiced against him, have been known to change their opinion the moment they were introduced into his presence. In his countenance and demeanor, there was a cheerfulness mingled with gravity; a sprightliness, which was the natural result of an unusual flow of spirits, and yet was accompanied with every mark of the most serene tranquillity. His aspect, particularly in profile, had a strong character of acuteness and penetration.

"In dress, he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity; a narrow plaited stock; a coat, with a small upright collar; no buckles at his knees; no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel; and a head as white as snow, gave an idea of something primitive and apostolic; while an air of neatness and cleanliness was diffused over his whole person."

CHAPTER XV.

A few miscellaneous topics remain to be noticed. One of the chief reasons why full and willing justice has not been always done to the labors of Mr. Wesley, has doubtless arisen from the facts, that whatever his views might be, he raised up a people, who in his life-time formed a religious body independent of the church, whilst yet not nominally separated from it; and that since his death, although that separation does not affect all the members, yet the great mass of the societies, with all the preachers, are as completely separated from the establishment, as any body of professed Dissenters. That a strict churchman should consider this as a great counterbalance to the good effected by Methodism is very natural—and he has a right to his opinions, provided he holds them in charity. Still, however, this subject is so frequently dwelt upon under mistaken and imperfect views, that it demands a few additional remarks.

As far as Mr. Wesley's character is concerned, enough has been said to show the sincerity with which he disavowed all intention of separating from the church, and of making his people separatists. This, certainly, notwithstanding the freedom of his opinions on church government, cannot be charged upon him in the early period of his career; and although, in what we may call the second period, he saw so strong a tendency to separation that his fears were often excited, yet he may surely be allowed still to have proceeded straight forward, with perfect honesty of mind, in the same course, with more of hope on this subject, than of fear. Several eminent writers of the church party have thought, that even modern Methodism, though existing now in a form apparently less friendly to union, might still with advantage be attached to the church, and have seen but little difficulty in the project. Why then might not Mr. Wesley, even after his societies had acquired considerable maturity, still hope that those simple institutions for promoting piety, which he had commenced, might have been recognized by the church, and hoped that the spirit of religion, revived already to so great an extent, might still further so influence the members of the church and its clergy, as to dispose them to view his societies with more cordiality? He took care, therefore, and all his principles and feelings favored the caution, that no obstacles should be placed in the way of the closest connection of his societies with the establishment. Their services were very seldom held in the hours of her public service; the Methodists formed in many parishes the great body of her communicants; thousands of them died in her communion; and the preachers were not ordinarily permitted to administer either of the sacraments to the people among whom they labored. There can be no charge, therefore, against his sincerity at this period, any more than in the first. We may think his hopes to have been without any foundation; and so they proved; and the idea of uniting the modern Methodists to the church is a very visionary one, but has doubtless been maintained by several churchmen with great sincerity. Separation from the church, at a later period of Mr. Wesley's life, was certainly anticipated. That must be allowed; but an enlightened churchman ought to think that Mr. Wesley's conduct was still worthy of praise, not of censure; for when a partial separation was in reality foreseen as probable, it had no sanction from him, and he appeared determined so to employ his influence to his last breath, that if separation did ensue, it should assume the mildest form possible, and be deprived of all feelings of hostility. His example, the spirit of his writings, and his advices, all tended to this; and the fact is, that, though Methodism now stands in a different relation to the establishment than in the days of Mr. Wesley, dissent has never been formally professed by the body, and for obvious reasons. The first is, that the separation of the greater part of the society from the church, did not in any great degree result from the principles assumed by the professed dissenters, and which are usually made prominent in their discussions on the subject of establishments; the second, that a considerable number of the Methodists actually continue in the communion of the church of England to this day; and the third, that to leave that communion is not, in any sense, a condition of membership with us. All the services of the church and her sacraments may be observed by any person in the Wesleyan societies who chooses it, and they are actually observed by many.

It was owing to these circumstances that Methodism did not rush down, but gently glided, into a state of partial division from the church; and this, by neither arousing party passions, nor exciting discussions on abstract points of church polity, has left the general feeling of affection to all that is excellent in the establishment unimpaired. No intemperate attacks upon it have been ever sanctioned; the attendance of the Methodists upon its services was never discouraged; and it is surely of some account that a vast mass of people throughout the country have been held in a state of friendly feeling towards a clergy who have nevertheless generally treated them with disdain and contumely, and many of whom have zealously employed themselves in nursing feelings of bigoted dislike to them among their friends and neighbors. Yet after all, the prevalent sentiment of the Methodists, as a body, towards the establishment has been that of friendship. It was so, when the church was in a lower religious state than it is at present; and its more recent religious improvement has not diminished the feeling.

I may venture to say, that there is a warmer regard towards the church among the body of the Methodists now, than there was in the days of Mr. Wesley; although there were then more Methodists than at present who professed to be of her communion. We have no respect at all to her exclusive claims of divine right, or her three orders of ministers; and yet have no objection to her episcopacy, when scripturally understood, or her services. We smile at the claims she sometimes assumes to be the exclusive instructress of the people, in a country where the statute law has given them the right to be taught by whom they please, and as explicitly protects dissent as conformity; but we rejoice that she has great influence with the mass of the population, whenever that influence is used for the promotion of true religion and good morals. We wish her prosperity and perpetuity, as we wish all other Christian churches; and the more so, as we recognize in her "the mother of us all," and can never contemplate without the deepest admiration her noble army of confessors and martyrs, and the illustrious train of her divines, whose writings have been, and continue to be, the light of christendom. If churchmen think this feeling of any importance, let them reciprocate it; and though the formal union of which some of them have spoken is visionary, a still stronger bond of friendship might be established; and each might thus become more formidable against the errors and evils of the times;—for a people who have nearly half as many places of worship in the kingdom as there are parish churches, cannot be without influence.

Nor have the true causes which led to the separation of the Methodists from the church, been in general rightly stated. Some of the violent adherents of "the old plan," as it was called, among ourselves, have ignorantly or in a party spirit attributed this to the ambition and intrigues of the preachers; but the true causes were—that the clergy, *generally*, did not preach the doctrines of their own church and of the reformation; and that *many* of them did not adorn their profession by their lives. It may be added, that in no small number of cases, the clergy were the persecutors and calumniators of the Wesleyan societies; that the sermons in the churches were often intemperate attacks upon their characters and opinions; and that the Methodists were frequently regarded as intruders at the table of the Lord, rather than as welcome communicants. These were the reasons why long before Mr. Wesley's death, a great number of his societies were anxious to have the sacraments from the hands of their own preachers, under whose ministry they were instructed and edified, in whose characters they had confidence, and with respect to whom they knew, that if any one disgraced his profession, he would not be suffered long to exercise it.

Such were the true causes which led to the partial separation of the Methodist societies from the communion of the church, after the death of Mr. Wesley; and this is an answer to the objection, repeated a thousand times, that we have departed from Mr. Wesley's principles. The fact is, that though full relief to the consciences of the societies in general was refused by Mr. Wesley's authority, yet he himself was obliged to allow a relaxation from his own rule in London, and some other principal towns, by giving the Lord's supper himself, or obtaining pious clergymen to administer it in his chapels. After his death it was out of the power of the conference, had they not felt the force of the reasons urged upon them, to prevent the administration of the sacraments to the people by their own preachers. Yet in the controversy which this subject excited, speculative principles had little part. The question stood on plain practical grounds:—Shall the societies be obliged, from their conscientious scruples, to neglect an ordinance of God? Or shall we drive them to the Dissenters, whose peculiar doctrines they do not believe? Or shall we under certain regulations accede to their wishes? So far from Mr. Wesley's principles and views having lost their influence with the conference, the sacraments were forced upon none, and recommended to none. The old principles were held as fast as higher duties would allow. Many indeed of the people, and some of the preachers, opposed even these concessions; but the plan which was adopted to meet cases of conscientious scruple, and yet to avoid encouraging a departure from the primitive system, leaving every individual to act in this respect as he was persuaded in his own mind, and receive the Lord's supper at church or at chapel, was at length by both parties in England cordially acquiesced in, as warranted equally by principle and by prudence. Assuredly the church would have gained nothing by a different measure, for the dissidents would have been compelled to join other communions. Had the church been provided early with an evangelical and a holy ministry, that separation would not have taken place; for the controversy between the church and the Dissenters was little known, and still less regarded by the majority of the Methodist societies at that time; and the case is not greatly altered at the present day. The clergy had lost their hold upon the people generally, through neglect; and that revival of the spirit of truth and holiness, which we are now so happy to witness among them, came too late to prevent the results just stated.

And what should we do now, if we were disposed to revert to the state of things in Mr. Wesley's time? It is true we should more rarely meet with immoral clergymen; and so that part of the case would be relieved as a matter of conscience. But would the Methodist societies meet with friendly clergymen; with men who would bear with so many communicants, in addition to those who now attend their churches? And if they were brought to attend the services of their parish churches, would they be disposed long to hear those of the clergy who never preach the doctrines of the articles of their own church?—or those who follow some great names of the present day, and *neologise* as far as decency permits?—or those of the evangelical party, whose discourses are strongly impregnated with Calvinism?—or those who place their speculations on the prophecies among the means of grace and salvation? Our people would neither hear such clergymen themselves, nor could they conscientiously train up their families to listen to what they believe great error; and so if we were to go back, as we have been exhorted, to Mr. Wesley's first plan, the majority of our people would, as then, neither attend church nor sacrament, and the same process would have to be repeated again, with probably less peaceful results.

"But 'great evil' has resulted to the church from Methodism." This has been often said, certainly never substantiated; and this defence of the hostile feeling of many churchmen towards Mr. Wesley and his societies stands upon no solid ground. On the contrary, it seems not at all difficult to make it plainly appear that great good has resulted to the church, as well as to the nation. When this question is under consideration by churchmen, they look at the mere fact that a great body of people have been raised up, as they say, out of the church, within a century past, excelling in number almost, if not entirely, the whole of the old bodies of Dissenters; and they assume that if the Wesleys and Mr. Whitefield had never appeared, the church would have been in as improved a state as now, with none but the old dissenters to contend with. There is great fallacy in both these views, which merits to be pointed out.

When the Messrs. Wesley, Mr. Whitefield, and their early coadjutors entered upon their itinerant career, it is a matter of fact and history, that no general plans for the illumination of the nation were either in operation, or in the contemplation of any one. Nothing had this bearing. There were no persons associated in such institutions of any kind, making this a common object. The pious labors of a few zealous clergymen, (and few they were,) and of the ministers of other denominations, were confined to their own parishes and congregations. There were no means of general application in existence, to remove the ignorance and correct the vices which were almost universal. The measures taken by the founders of Methodism to correct existing evils were on a large scale. They acted in concert; they conceived noble designs. They visited the large towns; they labored in the populous mining, manufacturing, and commercial districts; they preached in places of public resort; they formed religious societies, and inspired them with zeal, for the instruction and salvation of their neighbors; they employed men of zeal, character, and competent acquaintance with practical and experimental religion, to assist them in this work as it widened before them; and they gave it their vigilant superintendence. The benefits they were the means of producing were not confined to individuals; they influenced whole neighborhoods. Religious knowledge was spread, and religious influence exerted. The manners of the rude were civilized; barbarous sports and pastimes fell greatly into disuse; and a higher standard of morals was erected, of itself of no small importance to the reformation of manners.

It is a matter of history, that, beside those means which were afforded by their personal labors, and by the auxiliaries they brought forward to their assistance, in order to revive and extend the spirit of religion in the nation, for a great number of years no other means of extensive application were employed to promote this end. The effects which were thus produced began, however, after a considerable time had elapsed, to operate collaterally as well as directly. Many of the clergy were aroused, and the doctrines of the articles and the homilies began to be heard more distinctly and more frequently in their pulpits. Holy and zealous men in different denominations began to labor for the public instruction and reformation. The institution of Sunday-schools, though devised by a churchman, was, at first, but slowly encouraged. The Methodists and Dissenters were carrying those schools to a great extent when the members of the church followed: some from a fear, laudable enough, lest the body of the poor should be alienated from the establishment; others, as perceiving in the institution the means of conveying instruction and religious influence to those who most needed them. The circulation of the Scriptures by Bible societies followed; but still that was an effect of the new order of principles and feelings which had been introduced into the nation. These principles of zeal for the moral improvement of society farther led, at a later period, to general measures for the education of the poor by the two great national education societies, which promise so much benefit to the country. All these efforts for enlightening and moralizing the people may be traced to several intermediate causes: but it is only justice to the memory of such men as the Wesleys and Whitefield, men so often flippantly branded as enthusiasts, to state, that they all primarily sprang from that spirit which, under God, they were the means of exciting in a slumbering church, and in a dark and neglected land. This is a point not to be denied; for long before any of those efforts for public instruction and reformation which could be considered national were called forth, those aspersed men were pursuing their gigantic labors among the profligate population of London, and of the principal towns of the kingdom; among the miners of Cornwall, the colliers of Kingswood and Newcastle, and the manufacturers of Yorkshire and Lancashire; whilst the preachers they employed were every year spreading themselves into dark semi-barbarous villages in the most secluded parts of the kingdom; enduring bitter privations, and encountering, almost daily, the insults of rude mobs, that they might convey to them the knowledge of religion.

Now, in order to judge of these efforts, and to ascertain what "evil" has resulted to the church of England from Mr. Wesley's measures, it is but fair to consider what the state of the country and of the church must in all human probability have been, had he and his associates never appeared, or confined themselves to the obscurity of Epworth and similar parishes. It is not denied that other means and agents might have been raised up by God to effect the purposes of his mercy; but it is denied that any such were raised up—for this is matter of fact. No agency has appeared in the church, or out of it, tending to the general instruction and evangelizing of the nation, and operating on a large scale, which is not much subsequent in its origin to the exertions of the Messrs. Wesley and Whitefield; and which may not be traced to the spirit which they excited, and often into the very bosoms of those who derived their first light and influence, either directly or indirectly, from them. What *was*, and not what *might have been*, can only be made the ground of argument.

But for their labors, therefore, and the labors of those persons in the church, among the Dissenters, and their own people, whom they imbued with the same spirit, that state of things in the church of England, and in the country at large, which has been already described, must have continued, at least for many years, for any thing which appears to the contrary;—for no substitute for their exertions was supplied by any party. They took the place of none who were exerting themselves: they opposed no obstacle to the operation of any plan of usefulness, had it been in preparation. If they therefore had not appeared, and kindled that flame of religious feeling which ultimately spread into many denominations of Christians, and thus gave birth to that variety of effort which now diffuses itself through the land, it is a very erroneous conclusion to suppose, that a later period would have found the nation and the church at all improved. The probability, almost amounting to certainty, is, that both would have been found still more deteriorated, and in a state which would have presented obstacles much more formidable to their recovery. For all who have given attention to such subjects must know, that a number of those demoralizing causes were then coming into operation, which, with all the counteractions since supplied by the church, and the different religious sects, by schools, and by Bibles, have produced very injurious effects upon the morals and principles of the nation; that the tide of an unprecedented commercial prosperity began then to flow into the country, and continued, for a long succession of years, to render the means of sensual indulgence more ample, and to corrupt more deeply all ranks of society; that in consequence of the independence thus given to the lower orders in many of the most populous districts, the moral control and influence of the higher became gradually weaker;—that the agitation of political subjects, during the American quarrel and the French revolution, with the part which even the operative classes were able to take in such discussions by means of an extended education, produced, as will always be the case among the half-informed, a strong tendency to republicanism,

restless desire of political change on every pinching of the times, and its constant concomitant, an aversion to the national establishment, partly as the result of ill-digested theories, and partly because this feeling was encouraged by the negligent habits of many of the clergy, and the absence of that influence which they might have acquired in their parishes by careful pastoral attentions. To all this is to be added the diffusion of infidel principles, both of foreign and home growth, which, from the studies of the learned, descended into the shop of the mechanic, and, embodied in cheap and popular works, found their way into every part of the empire. To counteract agencies and principles so active and so pernicious, it is granted that no means have yet been applied of complete adequacy. This is the reason why their effects are so rife in the present day, and that we are now in the midst of a state of things which no considerate man can contemplate without some anxiety. These circumstances, so devastating to morals and good principles, could only have been fully neutralized by the ardent exertions of every clergyman in his parish, of every dissenting minister in his congregation, of every Methodist preacher in his circuit, of every private Christian in his own circle, or in the place which useful and pious institutions of various kinds would have assigned him; and even then the special blessing of God would have been nesessary to give effect to the whole. But had no correctives been applied what had been the present state of the nation and of the church? The labors of the founders of Methodism were, from the beginning, directly counteractive of the evils just mentioned; and those have little reason to stigmatize them who deplore such evils most, and yet have done least for their correction and restraint. Wherever these men went, they planted the principles of religion in the minds of the multitudes who heard them; they acted on the *offensive* against immorality, infidelity, and error; the societies they raised were employed in doing good to all; the persons they associated with them in the work of national reformation were always engaged in diffusing piety; and though great multitudes were beyond their reach, they spread themselves into every part of the land, turning the attention of men to religious concerns, calming their passions, guarding them against the strifes of the world, enjoining the scriptural principles of "obedience to magistrates," and a sober, temperate, peaceable, and benevolent conduct. The direct effect of their exertions was great; and it increased in energy and extent as the demoralizing causes before-mentioned acquired also greater activity; and when their indirect influence began to appear more fully in the national church, and in other religious bodies, remedies more commensurate with the evils existing in the country began to be applied. I shall not affect to say what would have been the state of the church of England under the uncontrolled operation of all the causes of moral deterioration, and civil strife, to which I have adverted; or what hold that church would have had upon the people at this day, if the spirit of religion had not been revived in the country, and if, when ancient prejudices were destroyed or weakened by the general spread of information among men, no new bond between it and the nation at large had been created. But if, as I am happy to believe, the national church has much more influence and much more respect now than formerly; and if its influence and the respect due to it are increasing with the increase of its evangelical clergy, all this is owing to the existence of a stronger spirit of piety: and in producing that, the first great instruments were the men whose labors have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Not only has the spirit which they excited improved the religious state of the church, but it has disposed the great body of religious people, not of the church, to admire and respect those numerous members of the establishment, both clergymen and laics, whose eminent piety, talents, and usefulness, have done more to abate the prejudices arising from different views of church-government, than a thousand treatises could have effected, however eloquently written, or ably argued.

It may also be asked, Who are the persons whom the Methodists have alienated from the church? In this too, the church writers have labored under great mistakes. They have "alienated" those, for the most part, who never were, in any substantial sense, and never would have been of the church. Very few of her pious members have at any time been separated from her communion by a connection with us; and many who became serious through the Methodist ministry, continued attendants on her services, and observers of her sacraments. This was the case during the life of Mr. Wesley, and in many instances is so still; and when an actual separation of a few persons has occurred, it has been much more than compensated by a return of others from us to the church, especially of opulent persons, or their children, in consequence of that superior influence which an established church must always exert upon people of that class. For the rest, they have been brought chiefly from the ranks of the ignorant and the careless; persons who had little knowledge, and no experience of the power of religion; negligent of religious worship of every kind, and many of whom, but for the agency of Methodism, would have swelled the ranks of those who are equally disaffected to church and state. If such persons are not now churchmen, they are influenced by no feelings hostile to the institutions of their country.

Such considerations may tend to convey more sober views on a subject often taken up in heat:—that they will quite disarm the feeling against which they are levelled is more than can be hoped for, considering the effects of party spirit, and the many forms of virtue which it simulates. However, it is nothing new for the Methodists to endure reproach, and to be subject to misrepresentations. Perhaps something of an exclusive spirit may have grown up amongst us in consequence; but, if so, it has this palliation, that we are quite as expansive as the circumstances in which we have ever been placed could lead any reasonable man to anticipate. It might almost be said of us, "Lo, the people shall dwell alone." The high churchman has persecuted us because we are separatists; the high Dissenter has often looked upon us with hostility, because we would not see that an establishment necessarily, and *in se*, involved a sin against the supremacy of Christ; the rigid Calvinist has disliked us, because we hold the redemption of all men; the Pelagianized Arminian, because we contend for salvation by grace; the Antinomian, because we insist upon the perpetual obligation of the moral law; the moralist, because we exalt faith; the disaffected, because we hold that loyalty and religion are inseparable; the political tory, because he cannot think that separatists from the church can be loyal to the throne; the philosopher, because he deems us fanatics; whilst semi-infidel liberals generally exclude us from all share in their liberality, except it be in their liberality of abuse. In the mean time, we have occasionally been favored with a smile, though somewhat of a *condescending* one, from the lofty churchman; and often with a fraternal embrace from pious and liberal Dissenters: and if we act upon the principles left us by our great founder, we shall make a meek and lowly temper an essential part of our religion: and, after his example,

move onward in the path of doing good, through "honor and dishonor, through evil report and good report," remembering that one fundamental principle of Wesleyan Methodism is ANTI-SECTARIANISM AND A CATHOLIC SPIRIT.

To return, however, to Mr. Wesley: Among the censures which have been frequently directed against him, are his alleged love of power, and his credulity. The first is a vice; the second but a weakness; and they stand therefore upon different grounds.

As to the love of power, it may be granted that, like many minds who seem born to direct, he desired to acquire influence; and, when he attained it, he employed his one talent so as to make it gain more talents. If he had loved power for its own sake, or to minister to selfish purposes, or to injure others, this would have been a great blemish; but he sacrificed no principle of his own, and no interest or right of others, for its gratification. He gained power as all great and good men gain it, by the very greatness and goodness with which they are endowed, and of which others are always more sensible than themselves. It devolved upon him without any contrivance; and when he knew he possessed it, no instance is on record of his having abused it. This is surely virtue, not vice, and virtue of the highest order. The only proof attempted to be given that he loved power, is, that he never devolved his authority over the societies upon others: but this is capable of an easy explanation. He could not have shared his power among *many*, without drawing up a formal constitution of church-government for his societies, which would have amounted to a formal separation from the church; and it would have been an insane action had he devolved it upon *one*, and placed himself, and the work he had effected, under the management of any individual to whom his societies could not stand in the same filial relation as to himself. He, however, exercised his influence by aid of the counsel of others; and allowed the free discussion of all prudential matters in the conference. Had he been armed with legal power to inflict pains and penalties, he ought to have distrusted himself, as every wise and good man would do, and to have voluntarily put himself beyond the reach of temptation to abuse what mere man, without check, can seldom use aright. This I grant; but the control to which he was subject was, that the union of his societies with him was perfectly voluntary, so that over them he could have no influence at all but what was founded upon character, and public spirit, and fatherly affection. The power which he exercised has descended to the conference of preachers; and, as in this case, his has been often very absurdly complained of, as though it were parallel to the power of civil government, or to that of an established church, supported by statutes and the civil arm. But this power, like his, is moral influence only, founded upon the pastoral character, and can exist only upon the basis of the confidence inspired by the fact of its generally just and salutary exercise among a people who neither are nor can be under any compulsion.

On the charge of credulity, it may be observed, that Mr. Wesley lived in an age in which he thought men in danger of believing too little, rather than too much, and his belief in apparitions is at least no proof of credulousness peculiar to himself. With respect to the "strange accounts" which he inserted in his magazine, and strange indeed some of them were, it has been falsely assumed that he himself believed them entire. This is not true. He frequently remarks, that he gives no opinion, or that "he knows not what to make of the account," or that "he leaves every one to form his own judgment concerning it." He met with those relations in reading, or received them from persons deemed by him credible, and he put them on record as facts reported to have happened. Now, as to an unbeliever, one sees not what sound objection he can make to that being recorded which has commanded the faith of others; for as a part of the history of human opinions, such accounts are curious, and have their use. It neither followed, that the editor of the work believed every account, nor that his readers should consider it true because it was printed. It was for them to judge of the evidence on which the relation stood. Many of these accounts, however, Mr. Wesley did credit, because he thought that they stood on credible testimony; and he published them for that very purpose, for which he believed they were permitted to occur—to confirm the faith of men in an invisible state, and in the immortality of the soul. These were his motives for inserting such articles in his magazine; and to the censure which has been passed upon him on this account, may be opposed the words of the learned Dr. Henry More, in his letter to Glanville, the author of *Sadducismus Triumphatus*: "Wherefore let the small philosophic Sir Toplings of this present age deride as much as they will, those that lay out their pains in committing to writing certain well-attested stories of apparitions, do real service to true religion and sound philosophy; and they most effectually contribute to the confounding of infidelity and Atheism, even in the judgment of the Atheists themselves, who are as much afraid of the truth of these stories as an ape is of a whip, and therefore force themselves with might and main to disbelieve them, by reason of the dreadful consequence of them, as to themselves." It is sensibly observed by Jortin, in his remarks on the diabolical possessions in the age of our Lord, that "one reason for which Divine Providence should suffer evil spirits to exert their malignant powers at that time, might be to save a check to Sadducism among the Jews, and Atheism among the Gentiles, and to remove in some measure these two great impediments to the reception of the gospel." For moral uses, supernatural visitations may have been allowed in subsequent ages; and he who believes in them, only spreads their moral the farther by giving them publicity. Before such a person can be fairly censured, the ground of his faith ought to be disproved, for he only acts consistently with that faith. This task would, however, prove somewhat difficult.

Mr. Wesley was a voluminous writer; and as he was one of the great instruments in reviving the spirit of religion in these lands, so he led the way in those praiseworthy attempts which have been made to diffuse useful information of every kind, and to smooth the path of knowledge to the middle and lower ranks of society. Besides books on religious subjects, he published many small and cheap treatises on various branches of science; plain and excellent grammars of the dead languages; expurgated editions of the classic authors; histories, civil and ecclesiastical; and numerous abridgments of important works.*

* Mr. Wesley's principal writings are, his translations of the New Testament, with Explanatory Notes, quarto; his Journals, 6 vols. duodecimo; his Sermons, 9 volumes duodecimo; his Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion; his Defence of the Doctrine of Original Sin, in Answer to Dr. Taylor; his answers to Mr. Church, and Bishops Lavington and Warburton; and his Predestination calmly considered, besides many smaller tracts on various important subjects. His works were published by himself in thirty-two volumes, duodecimo, in the year 1771. An edition of them in fourteen large octavo volumes has just been completed; with his work on the New Testament in two volumes of the same size. In addition to his original compositions, Mr.

It is his especial praise, that he took an early part in denouncing the iniquities of the African slave trade, and in arousing the conscience of the nation on the subject. In Bristol, at that time a dark den of slave-traders, he courageously preached openly against it, defying the rage of the slave-merchants and the mob; and his spirited and ably reasoned tract on slavery continues to be admired and quoted to the present time. It may be added, that one of the last letters he ever wrote was to Mr. Wilberforce, exhorting him to perseverance in a work, of which he was one of the leading instruments—the effecting the abolition of the traffic in the nerves and blood of man.

At the time of Mr. Wesley's death, the number of members in connection with him in Europe, America, and the West India Islands, was 80,000. At the last conference, 1830, the numbers returned were, in Great Britain, 249,278; in Ireland, 22,897; in foreign missions 41,186; total 313,360, exclusive of near half a million of persons in the societies in the states of America. As to the field of labor at home, the number of circuits in the United Kingdom, was, at the time of his death, 115. At present they are 399. The number of mission stations was 8 in the West Indies, and 8 in British America: at present there are 150. The number of preachers left by him was 312. It is now 993, in the United Kingdom; and 193 in the foreign missions. In the United States of America the number of preachers is about 2,000.

Such have been the results of the labors of this great and good man. Whether they are still to diffuse a hallowing influence through the country, and convey the blessings of Christianity to heathen lands with the same rapidity and with the same vigor, will, under the Divine blessing, depend upon those who have received from him *the trust* of a system of religious agency, to be employed with the same singleness of heart, the same benevolent zeal for the spiritual benefit of mankind, and the same dependance upon the Holy Spirit. I know not that it bears upon it any marks of decay, although it may require to be accommodated in a few particulars to the new circumstances with which it is surrounded. The doctrinal views which Mr. Wesley held were probably never better understood or more accurately stated in the discourses of the preachers; and the moral discipline of the body, in all its essential parts, was never more cordially approved by the people generally, or enforced with greater faithfulness by their pastors. Very numerous are the converts who are every year won from the world, brought under religious influence, and placed in the enjoyment of means and ordinances favorable to their growth in religious knowledge, and holy habits; and many are constantly passing into eternity, of whose "good hope through grace," the testimony is in the highest degree satisfactory. If Methodism continue in vigor and purity to future ages, it will still be associated with the name of its founder, and encircle his memory with increasing lustre; and if it should fall into the formality and decays which have proved the lot of many other religious bodies, he will not lose his reward. Still a glorious harvest of saved souls is laid up in the heavenly garner, which will be his "rejoicing in the day of the Lord;" whilst the indirect influence of his labors upon the other religious bodies and institutions of the country will justly entitle him to be considered as one of the most honored instruments of reviving and extending the influence of religion, that, since the time of the apostles have been raised up by the providence of God.

Wesley published upwards of a hundred and twenty different works, mostly abridged from other authors; among which are Grammars in five different languages; the Christian Library, in fifty duodecimo volumes; thirteen volumes of the Arminian Magazine; a History of England, and a general Ecclesiastical History, in four volumes each; a Compendium of Natural Philosophy, in five volumes; and an Exposition of the Old Testament, in three quarto volumes.

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THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM COWPER, ESQ.

COMPILED

FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE,

AND OTHER

AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION:

CONTAINING

REMARKS ON HIS WRITINGS, AND ON THE PECULIARITIES OF HIS INTERESTING CHARACTER,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY THOMAS TAYLOR.

"Untainted with the blandishments of vice,
Which mark the manners of the present age,
He sought and found the pearl of precious price
Which stands recorded in the sacred page.
Yet, spite of all that wisdom could impart,
And all the fervor of religious flame,
Grief poured a tide of anguish through his heart,
And shook the fabric of his mental frame."

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1835.

TO

R. D. ALEXANDER, ESQ. F. L. S.

THE STEADY, DETERMINED, AND PERSEVERING FRIEND OF HUMANITY,

THIS LIFE

OF THE AMIABLE, PIOUS, AND HIGHLY-GIFTED, BUT DEEPLY-AFFLICTED POET,

COWPER,

WHICH OWES ITS EXISTENCE ENTIRELY TO HIS SUGGESTION,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

AS A SLIGHT, BUT SINCERE AND GRATEFUL TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM,

FOR THE NUMEROUS UNMERITED FAVORS RECEIVED FROM HIM,

BY HIS OBEDIENT SERVANT, THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

MANY lives of Cowper have already been published. Why, then, it may be asked, add to their number? Simply because, in the opinion of competent judges, no memoir of him has yet appeared that gives a full, fair, and unbiassed view of his character.

It is remarked by Dr. Johnson, the poet's kinsman, in his preface to the two volumes of Cowper's Private Correspondence, "that Mr. Hayley omitted the insertion of several interesting letters in his excellent Life of the poet, out of kindness to his readers." In doing this, however, amiable and considerate as his caution must appear, the gloominess which he has taken from the mind of Cowper, has the effect of involving his character in obscurity. People read "The Letters" with "The Task" in their recollection, (and vice versa,) and are perplexed. They look for the Cowper of each in the other, and find him not. Hence the character of Cowper is undetermined; mystery hangs over it; and the opinions formed of him are as various as the minds of the inquirers.

In alluding to these suppressed letters, the late highly-esteemed Rev. Leigh Richmond, once emphatically remarked—"Cowper's character will never be clearly and satisfactorily understood without them, and they should be permitted to exist for the demonstration of the case. I know the importance of it from various conversations I have had both in Scotland and in England, on this most interesting subject. Persons of truly religious principles, as well as those of little or no religion at all, have greatly erred in their estimate of this great and good man."

Dr. Johnson's two volumes of Private Correspondence satisfactorily supplied this deficiency to all those who have the means of consulting them, and the four volumes by Mr. Hayley. The author of this memoir has attempted not only to bring the substance of these six volumes into one, but to communicate information respecting the poet which cannot be found in either of those works. He is fully aware of the peculiarities of Cowper's case, and has endeavored to exhibit them as prominently as was compatible with his design, without giving to the memoir too much of that melancholy tinge by which the life of its subject was so painfully distinguished.

In every instance where he could well accomplish it, he has made Cowper his own biographer, convinced that it is utterly impossible to narrate any circumstance in a manner more striking, or in a style more chaste and elegant, than Cowper has employed in his inimitable letters.

To impart ease and perspicuity to the memoir, and to compress it into as small a compass as was consistent with a full development and faithful record of the most interesting particulars of Cowper's life, the author has, in a few cases, inserted in one paragraph, remarks extracted from different letters, addressed more frequently, though not invariably, to the same individual. He has, however, taken care to avoid doing this where it could lead to any obscurity.

He has made a free use of all the published records of Cowper within his reach, besides availing himself of the valuable advice of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, Cowper's kinsman, to whom he hereby respectfully tenders his grateful acknowledgments for his condescension and kindness, in undertaking to examine the manuscript, and for the useful and judicious hints respecting it he was pleased to suggest.

Without concealing a single fact of real importance, the author has carefully avoided giving that degree of prominence to any painful circumstance in the poet's life, which would be likely to excite regret in the minds of any of his surviving relatives, and which for reasons the most amiable and perfectly excusable, they might have wished had been suppressed; and he hopes it will be found that he has admitted nothing that can justly offend the most fastidious.

It is particularly the wish of the author to state, that he makes no pretensions to originality in this memoir. He wishes it be regarded only as a compilation; and all the merit he claims for it, if indeed it has any, is for the arrangement of those materials which were already furnished for his use.

He has attempted to make the work interesting to all classes, especially to the lovers of literature and genuine piety, and to place within the reach of general readers, many of whom have neither the means nor the leisure to consult larger works, all that is really interesting respecting that singularly afflicted individual, whose productions, both poetic and prose, can never be read but with delight.

OCTOBER 27, 1832.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM COWPER.

CHAPTER I.

His parentage. Loss of his mother. Poetic description of her character. First school. Cruelty he experienced there. First serious impressions. Is placed under the care of an eminent oculist. Entrance upon Westminster School. Character while there. Removal thence. Entrance upon an attorney's office. Want of employment there. Unfitness for his profession. Early melancholy impressions.

William Cowper was born at Great Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, November 15, 1731. His father, Dr. John Cowper, chaplain to King George the Second, was the second son of Spencer Cowper, who was Chief Justice of Cheshire, and afterwards a Judge in the Court of Common Pleas, and whose brother William, first Earl Cowper, was, at the same time, Lord High Chancellor of England. His mother was Anne, daughter of Roger Donne, Esq. of Ludham Hall, Norfolk, who had a common ancestry with the celebrated Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.

In reference to this lady, it has been justly observed by one of the poet's best biographers, "That the highest blood in the realm flowed in the veins of the modest and unassuming Cowper; his mother having descended through the families of Hippesley of Throughley, in Sussex, and Pellet, of Bolney, in the same county, from the several noble houses of West, Knollys, Carey, Bullen, Howard, and Mowbray, and so, by four different lines, from Henry the Third, King of England." Though, as the same writer properly remarks, "distinctions of this nature can shed no additional lustre on the memory of Cowper, yet genius, however exalted, disdains not, while it boasts not, the splendor of ancestry; and royalty itself may be pleased, and perhaps benefited, by discovering its kindred in such piety, such purity, and such talents as his."

Very little is known of the habits and disposition of Cowper's mother. From the following epitaph, however, inscribed on a monument, erected by her husband in the chancel of St. Peter's church, Great Berkhamstead, and composed by her niece, who afterwards became Lady Walsingham, she appears to have been a lady of the most amiable temper and agreeable manners:—

Here lies, in early years bereft of life,
The best of mothers, and the kindest wife,
Who neither knew nor practised any art,
Secure in all she wished—her husband's heart.
Her love to him still prevalent in death,
Pray'd Heaven to bless him, with her latest breath.
Still was she studious never to offend,
And glad of an occasion to commend:
With ease would pardon injuries received,
Nor e'er was cheerful when another grieved.
Despising state, with her own lot content,
Enjoyed the comforts of a life well spent;
Resigned when heaven demanded back her breath,
Her mind heroic 'midst the pangs of death.
Whoe'er thou art that dost this tomb draw near,
O, stay awhile, and shed a friendly tear;
These lines, though weak, are as herself sincere.

After giving birth to several children, this lady died in child-bed, in her thirty-seventh year; leaving only two sons, John the younger, and William the elder, who is the subject of this memoir. Cowper was only six years old when he lost his mother; and how deeply he was affected by her early death, may be inferred from the following exquisitely tender lines, composed more than fifty years afterwards, on the receipt of her portrait from a relation in Norfolk:—

"My mother! when I learned that thou wast dead,
Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed?
Hovered thy spirit o'er thy sorrowing son,
Wretch even then, life's journey just begun?
Perhaps thou gav'st me, though unseen, a kiss:
Perhaps a tear, if souls can weep in bliss!
I heard the bell tolled on thy burial day,
I saw the hearse that bore thee far away,
And, turning from my nursery-window, drew
A long, long sigh, and wept a last adieu!
But was it such? It was—Where thou art gone
Adieus and farewells are a sound unknown.
May I but meet thee on that peaceful shore,
The parting sound shall pass my lips no more!
Thy maidens grieved themselves at my concern,
Oft gave me promise of a quick return.
What ardently I wished, I long believed,
And disappointed still, was still deceived.
By disappointment every day beguiled,
Dupe of to-morrow, even from a child.
Thus many a sad to-morrow came and went,
Till, all my stock of infant sorrow spent,
I learned at last submission to my lot,
But though I less deplored thee, ne'er forgot.
Could Time, his flight reversed, restore the hours
When playing with thy vesture's tissued flowers,
The violet, the pink, and jessamine,
I pricked them into paper with a pin,
(And thou wast happier than myself the while,
Would softly speak, and stroke my head, and smile,)
Could these few pleasant hours again appear,
Might one wish bring them, would I wish them here,
I would not trust my heart, the dear delight
Seems so to be desired, perhaps I might;
But no—what here we call our life is such,
So little to be loved, and thou so much,
That I should ill requite thee to constrain
Thy unbound spirit into bonds again.
Thou, as a gallant bark from Albion's coast
(The storm all weathered and the ocean crossed,
Shoots into port at some well-havened isle,
Where spices breathe, and brighter seasons smile,
There sits quiescent on the floods, that show
Her beauteous form reflected clear below,
While airs impregnated with incense play
Around her, fanning light her streamers gay:
So thou, with sails how swift! hast reached the shore
Where tempests never beat, nor billows roar.
And thy loved consort on the dangerous tide
Of life, long since, has anchored at thy side.
But me, scarce hoping to attain that rest,
Always from port withheld, always distressed—
Me, howling winds drive devious, tempest tost;
Sails ript, seams opening wide, and compass lost,
And day by day some current's thwarting force
Sets me more distant from a prosperous course.
But, oh! the thought that thou art safe, and he!
That thought is joy, arrive what may to me:
My boast is not that I deduce my birth
From loins enthroned, and rulers of the earth,
But higher far my proud pretensions rise—
The son of parents passed into the skies!"

Deprived thus early of his excellent and most affectionate parent, he was sent, at this tender age, to a large school at Market-street, Hertfordshire, under the care of Dr. Pitman. Here he had hardships of different kinds to conflict with, which he felt more sensibly, in consequence of the tender manner in which he had been treated at home. His chief sorrow, however, arose from the cruel treatment he met with from a boy in the same school, about fifteen years of age, who on all occasions persecuted him with the most unrelenting barbarity; and who never seemed pleased except when he was tormenting him. This savage treatment impressed such a dread upon Cowper's tender mind, of this boy, that he was afraid to lift up his eyes upon him higher than his knees; and he knew him better by his shoe-buckles than by any other part of his dress.

It was at this school, and on one of these painful

occasions, that the mind of Cowper, which was afterwards to become imbued with religious feelings of the highest order, received its first serious impressions—a circumstance which cannot fail to be interesting to every Christian reader, and the more so as detailed in his own words.

"One day, as I was sitting alone on a bench in the school, melancholy, and almost ready to weep at the recollection of what I had already suffered, and expecting at the same time my tormentor every moment, these words of the Psalmist came into my mind—'I will not be afraid of what man can do unto me.' I applied this to my own case, with a degree of trust and confidence in God, that would have been no disgrace to a much more experienced Christian. Instantly I perceived in myself a briskness and cheerfulness of spirit which I had never before experienced, and took several paces up and down the room with joyful alacrity. Happy had it been for me, if this early effort towards a dependence on the blessed God, had been frequently repeated. But, alas! it was the first and the last, between infancy and manhood."

From this school he was removed in his eighth year; and having at that time specks on both his eyes, which threatened to cover them, his father, alarmed for the consequences, placed him under the care of an eminent female oculist in London; in whose house he abode nearly two years. In this lady's family, religion was neither known nor practised; the slightest appearance of it, in any shape, was carefully concealed; even its outward forms were entirely unobserved. In a situation like this, it was not to be expected that young Cowper would long retain those serious impressions he had experienced; nor is it surprising, that before his removal thence he should have lost them entirely.

In his ninth year, he was sent to Westminster School, then under the care of Dr. Nicholls; who, though an ingenious and learned man, was nevertheless a negligent tutor; and one that encouraged his pupils in habits of indolence, not a little injurious to their future welfare. Here he remained seven years, and had frequent reason to complain of the same unkind treatment from some of his school-fellows, which he had before experienced. His timid, meek, and inoffensive spirit totally unfitted him for the hardships of a public school; and in all probability, the treatment he there received, produced in him an insuperable aversion to this method of instruction. We know but little of the actual progress he made while under the care of Dr. Nicholls; his subsequent eminence, however, as a scholar, proves that he must have been an attentive pupil, and must have made, at this period, a highly creditable proficiency in his studies.

While at this school, he was roused a second time to serious consideration. Crossing a churchyard late one evening, he saw a glimmering light in rather a remote part of it, which so excited his curiosity, as to induce him to approach it. Just as he arrived at the spot, a grave-digger, who was at work by the light of his lanthorn, threw up a skull-bone, which struck him on the leg. This little incident alarmed his conscience, and drew from him many painful reflections. The impression, however, was only temporary, and in a short time the event was entirely forgotten.

On another occasion, not long afterwards, he again at this early age, became the subject of religious impressions. It was the laudable practice of Dr. Nicholls to take great pains to prepare his pupils for confirmation. The Doctor acquitted himself of this duty like one who had a deep sense of its importance, and young Cowper was struck by his manner, and much affected by his exhortations. He now, for the first time in his life, attempted prayer in secret, but being little accustomed to that exercise of the heart, and having very childish notions of religion, he found it a difficult and painful task, and was even then alarmed at his own insensibility. These impressions, however, like those made upon his mind before, soon wore off, and he relapsed into a total forgetfulness of God, with the usual disadvantage of being more hardened, for having been softened to no purpose. This was evidently the case with him, for on being afterwards seized with the small pox, though he was in the most imminent danger, yet neither in the course of the disease, nor during his recovery from it, had he any sentiments of contrition, or any thoughts of God or eternity. He, however, derived one advantage from it—it removed, to a great degree, if it did not entirely cure, the disease in his eyes, proving, as he afterwards observed in a letter to Mr. Hayley, "a better oculist than the lady who had him under her care."

Such was the character of young Cowper, in his eighteenth year, when he left Westminster school. He had made a respectable proficiency in all his studies; but notwithstanding his previous serious impressions, he seems not to have had any more knowledge of the nature of religion, nor even to have discovered any more concern about it, than many other individuals have been known to feel, at an early age, who have never afterwards given it any attention. After spending six months at home, he was articled to a solicitor, with whom he was engaged to remain three years. In this gentleman's family, he neither saw nor heard any thing that could remind him of a single Christian duty; and here he might have lived utterly ignorant of the God that made him, had he not been providentially situated near his uncle's, in Southampton-row. At this favorite retreat, he was permitted to spend all his leisure time, and so seldom was he employed, that this was by far the greater part of it. With his uncle's family he passed nearly all his Sundays, and with some part of it he regularly attended public worship, but for which, probably, he would otherwise, owing to the force of evil example, have entirely neglected.

The choice of a profession for a youth, is ever of paramount importance; if injudiciously made, it not unfrequently lays the foundation for much future disappointment and sorrow. It would certainly have been difficult, and perhaps impossible, to have selected one more unsuitable to the mind of Cowper than that of the law. As Mr. Hayley justly observes, "the law is a kind of soldiership, and, like the profession of arms, it may be said to require for the constitution of its heroes,

"A frame of adamant, a soul of fire."

"The soul of Cowper had, indeed, its fire, but fire so refined and ethereal, that it could not be expected to shine in the gross atmosphere of worldly contention." Reserved, to an unusual and extraordinary degree, he was ill qualified to contend with the activity unavoidably connected with this profession. Though he possessed the strongest powers of mind, and a richly cultivated understanding, yet were they combined with such extreme sensibility, as totally disqualified him for the bustle of a court. An excessive tenderness, associated with a degree of shyness, not easily to be accounted for, utterly unfitted him for a profession that would often have placed him before the public, and brought him into contact with individuals not remarkable for such qualities. His extreme modesty, however, while it precluded the possibility of his being successful in this profession, endeared him inexpressibly to all who had the felicity to enjoy his society. Never was there a mind more admirably formed for communicating

to others, in private life, the richest sources of enjoyment; and yet, such were the peculiarities of his nature, that often, while he delighted and interested all around him, he was himself extremely unhappy. The following lines, composed by him about this time, are not less valuable, for the development they give of the state of his mind at that period, than they are remarkable for their exquisite tenderness and poetic beauty:—

"Doomed as I am in solitude to waste
The present moments, and regret the past;
Deprived of every joy I valued most,
My friend torn from me, and my mistress lost;
Call not this gloom I wear, this anxious mien,
The dull effect of humor or of spleen.
Still, still I mourn, with each returning day,
Him* snatched by fate in early youth away;
And her through tedious years of doubt and pain,
Fix'd in her choice, and faithful—but in vain!
O, prone to pity, generous and sincere,
Whose eye ne'er yet refused the wretch a tear;
Whose heart the real claim of friendship knows
Nor thinks a lover's are but fancied woes;
See me—ere yet my destined course half done,
Cast forth a wanderer on the world unknown!
See me neglected on the world's rude coast,
Each dear companion of my voyage lost!
Nor ask why clouds of sorrow shade my brow,
And ready tears wait only leave to flow!
Why all that soothes a heart from anguish free,
All that delights the happy, palls with me!"

CHAPTER II.

Entrance into the Temple. Employment there. Depression of his mind. Religious impressions. Visit to Southampton. Sudden removal of sorrow. Death of his father. Appointment to the office of reading clerk in the House of Lords. Dread of appearing in public. Consequent abandonment of the situation. Is proposed as clerk of the Journals. Feelings on the occasion. Visit to Margate. Return to London. Preparation for entering upon his office. Distressing sensations on the occasion. Is compelled to relinquish it for ever. Serious attack of depression. Visit of his brother.

At the age of 21, in 1752, Cowper left the solicitor's house, and took possession of a complete set of chambers in the Inner Temple. Here he remained nearly twelve years. And as this may justly be considered the most valuable part of life, it must ever be regretted that he suffered it to pass away so unprofitably. During this important and lengthened period he scarcely did any thing more than compose a few essays and poems, either to gratify, or to assist some literary friend. Prompted by benevolent motives, he furnished several pieces for a work, entitled "The Connoisseur," edited by Robert Lloyd, Esq., to whom he was sincerely and warmly attached.

The following extract from a most playful poetic epistle, addressed to that gentleman, will be read with interest, as it shows that he began at that time to feel symptoms of the depressive malady, which afterwards became to him a source of so much misery.

"'Tis not that I design to rob
Thee of thy birthright, gentle Bob,
For thou art born sole heir, and single,
Of dear Mat Prior's easy jingle;
Nor that I mean, while thus I knit
My thread-bare sentiments together,
To show my genius, or my wit,
When God and you know I have neither;
Or such as might be better shown,
By letting poetry alone.
'Tis not with either of these views
That I presume to address the muse;
But to divert a fierce banditti
(Sworn foes to every thing that's witty;)
That with a black infernal train,
Make cruel inroads on my brain,
And daily threaten to drive thence
My little garrison of sense;
The fierce banditti which I mean,
Are gloomy thoughts, led on by spleen."

While he remained in the Temple, he cultivated the friendship of the most distinguished writers of the day; and took a lively interest in their publications, as they appeared. Instead, however, of applying his richly furnished mind to the composition of some original work, for which, the pieces he incidentally wrote, proved him fully competent, his timid spirit contented itself with occasional displays of its rich and varied capabilities. Translation from ancient and modern poets was one of his most favorite amusements. So far, however, was he from deriving any benefit from these compositions, most of which were masterly productions, that he invariably distributed them gratuitously among his friends, as they might happen to request them. In this way he assisted his amiable friend and scholar, Mr. Duncombe; for we find in Duncombe's Horace, published by him in 1759, that two of the satires were translated by Cowper.

When Cowper entered the Temple, he paid little or no attention to religion; all those serious impressions which he had once experienced were gone; and he was left, at that dangerous and critical season of life, surrounded by innumerable most powerful temptations, without any other principles for his guide, than the corrupt affections of our common nature. It pleased God, however, at the very outset, to prevent him from pursuing that rash and ruinous career of wickedness, into which many plunge with heedless and awful insensibility. The feelings of his peculiarly sensitive mind on this occasion he thus describes.

"Not long after my settlement in the Temple, I was struck with such a dejection of spirits, as none but those who have felt the same can have the least conception of. Day and night I was upon the rack, lying down in horror, and rising up in despair. I presently lost all relish for those studies to which I had before been closely attached; the classics had no longer any charms for me; I had need of something more salutary than amusement, but I had no one to direct me where to find it.

"At length I met with Herbert's poems; and, gothic and uncouth as they are, I yet found in them a strain of piety which I could not but admire. This was the only author I had any delight in reading. I pored over him all day long; and though I found not in his work what I might have found—a cure for my malady, yet my mind never seemed so much alleviated as while I was reading it. At length I was advised, by a very near and dear relative, to lay it aside, for he thought such an author more likely to nourish my disorder than to remove it.

"In this state of mind I continued near a twelvemonth; when, having experienced the inefficacy of all human means, I at length betook myself to God in prayer. Such is the rank our Redeemer holds in our esteem, that we never resort to him but in the last instance, when all creatures have failed to succor us! My hard heart was at length softened, and my stubborn knees brought to bow. I composed a set of prayers, and made frequent use of them. Weak as my faith was, the Almighty, who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, was graciously pleased to listen to my cry, instead of frowning me away in anger.

"A change of scene was recommended to me; and I embraced an opportunity of going with some friends to Southampton, where I spent several months. Soon after our arrival, we walked to a place called Freemantle, about a mile from the town; the morning was clear and calm; the sun shone brightly upon the sea, and the country on the

* Sir William Russell, Bart. a favorite friend of the young poet.

border of it was the most beautiful I had ever seen. We sat down upon an eminence, at the end of that arm of the sea which runs between Southampton and the New Forest. Here it was, that on a sudden, as if another sun had been created that instant in the heavens on purpose to dispel sorrow and vexation of spirit, I felt the weight of all my misery taken off; my heart became light and joyful in a moment; I could have wept with transport had I been alone. I must needs believe that nothing less than the Almighty fiat could have filled me with such inexpressible delight; not by a gradual dawning of peace, but, as it were, with a flash of his life-giving countenance. I felt a glow of gratitude to the Father of mercies for this unexpected blessing, and ascribed it, at first, to his gracious acceptance of my prayers; but Satan and my own wicked heart quickly persuaded me that I was indebted for my deliverance to nothing but a change of scene and the amusing varieties of the place. By this means, he turned the blessing into a poison; teaching me to conclude, that nothing but a continued circle of diversion, and indulgence of appetite, could secure me from a relapse. Acting upon this false and pernicious principle, as soon as I returned to London, I burnt my prayers, and away went all my thoughts of devotion, and of dependence upon God my Saviour. Surely, it was of his mercy that I was not consumed. Glory be to his grace.

"I obtained, at length, so complete a victory over my conscience, that all remonstrances from that quarter were in vain, and in a manner silenced, though sometimes, indeed, a question would arise in my mind, whether it were safe to proceed any farther in a course so plainly and utterly condemned in the Scriptures. I saw clearly, that if the gospel were true, such a conduct must inevitably end in my destruction; but I saw not by what means I could change my Ethiopian complexion, or overcome such an inveterate habit of rebelling against God.

"The next thing that occurred to me at such a time, was a doubt whether the gospel were true or false. To this, succeeded many an anxious wish for the decision of this important question; for I foolishly thought that obedience would follow, were I but convinced that it was worth while to attend to it. Having no reason to expect a miracle, and not hoping to be satisfied with any thing less, I acquiesced, at length, in favor of that impious conclusion, that the only course I could take to secure my present peace, was to wink hard against the prospects of future misery, and to resolve to banish all thoughts of a subject upon which I thought to so little purpose. Nevertheless, when I was in the company of deists, and heard the gospel blasphemed, I never failed to assert the truth of it with much vehemence of disputation, for which I was the better qualified, having been always an industrious and diligent inquirer into the evidences by which it is externally supported. I think I once went so far into a controversy of this kind as to assert, that I would gladly submit to have my right hand cut off, so that I might but be enabled to live according to the gospel. Thus have I been employed in vindicating the truth of Scripture, while in the very act of rebelling against its dictates. Lamentable inconsistency of a convinced judgment with an unsanctified heart!—an inconsistency, indeed, evident to others as well as to myself; inasmuch as a deistical companion of mine, with whom I was disputing upon the subject, cut short the matter by alleging, that if what I said were true, I was certainly condemned, by my own showing."

In 1756, Cowper sustained a heavy domestic loss, in the death of his excellent father, towards whom he had always felt the strongest parental regard. Such, however was the depressed state of his mind at this season, that he was much less affected by the solemn event, than he would probably have been had it occurred at any earlier or later period of his life. Perceiving that he should inherit but little fortune from his father, he now found it necessary to adopt some plan to augment his income. It became every day more apparent to his friends, as well as to himself, that his extreme diffidence precluded the possibility of his being successful in his profession. After much anxiety of mind on this subject, he at length mentioned it to a friend, who had two situations at his disposal, the Reading Clerk, and Clerk of the Journals in the House of Lords—situations, either of which Cowper then thought would suit him, and one of which he expressed a desire to obtain, should a vacancy occur. Quite unexpectedly to him, as well as to his friend, both these places, in a short time afterwards, became vacant; and as the Reading Clerk's was much the more valuable of the two, his friend generously offered it to him, which offer he gladly and gratefully accepted, and he was accordingly appointed to it in his thirty-first year.

All his friends were delighted with this providential opening: he himself, at first, looked forward to it with pleasure, intending, as soon as he was settled, to unite himself with an amiable and accomplished young lady, one of his cousins, for whom he had long cherished a tender attachment. These fond hopes, however, were never realized. The situation required him to appear at the bar of the House of Peers; and the apprehension of this public exhibition quite overwhelmed his meek and gentle spirit. So acute were his distressing apprehensions, that, notwithstanding the previous efforts he made to qualify himself for the office, long before the day arrived that he was to enter upon it, such was the embarrassed and melancholy state of his mind, that he was compelled to relinquish it entirely. His harassed and dejected feelings on this occasion he thus affectingly describes:—

"All the considerations by which I endeavored to compose my mind to its former tranquillity, did but torment me the more, proving miserable comforters, and counsellors of no value. I returned to my chambers, thoughtful and unhappy; my countenance fell; and my friend was astonished, instead of that additional cheerfulness which he might have so reasonably expected, to find an air of deep melancholy in all I said or did. Having been harassed in this manner, by day and night, for the space of a week, perplexed between the apparent folly of casting away the only visible chance I had of being well provided for, and the impossibility of retaining it, I determined at length to write a letter to my friend, though he lodged, in a manner, at the next door, and we generally spent the day together. I did so, and begged him to accept my resignation of the Reading Clerk's place, and to appoint me to the other situation. I was well aware of the disproportion between the value of the appointments, but my peace was gone: pecuniary advantages were not equivalent to what I had lost; and I flattered myself that the Clerkship of the Journals would fall, fairly and easily, within the scope of my abilities. Like a man in a fever, I thought a change of posture would relieve my pain, and, as the event will show, was equally disappointed. My friend, at length, after considerable reluctance, accepted of my resignation, and appointed me to the least profitable office. The matter being thus settled, something like a calm took place in my mind: I was, indeed, not a little concerned about my character, being aware that it must needs suffer by the strange appearance of my proceeding. This, however, being but a small part of the anxiety I had labored under, was hardly felt when the rest was taken off.

I thought my path towards an easy maintenance was now plain and open, and, for a day or two, was tolerably cheerful: but behold, the storm was gathering all the while, and the fury of it was not the less violent from this gleam of sunshine.

"A strong opposition to my friend's right of nomination began to show itself. A powerful party was formed among the lords to thwart it, and it appeared plain, that if we succeeded at last, it could only be by fighting our ground by inches. Every advantage, I was told, would be sought for, and eagerly seized, to disconcert us. I was led to expect an examination at the bar of the house, touching my sufficiency for the post I had taken. Being necessarily ignorant of the nature of that business, it became expedient that I should visit the office daily, in order to qualify myself for the strictest scrutiny. All the horror of my fears and perplexities now returned; a thunderbolt would have been as welcome to me as this intelligence. I knew that, upon such terms, the Clerkship of the Journals was no place for me. To require my attendance at the bar of the House, that I might there publicly entitle myself to the office, was, in effect, to exclude me from it. In the mean time, the interest of my friend, the causes of his choice, and my own reputation and circumstances, all urged me forward, and pressed me to undertake that which I saw to be impracticable. They whose spirits are formed like mine, to whom a public exhibition of themselves, on any occasion, is mortal poison, may have some idea of the horror of my situation—others can have none. My continual misery at length brought on a nervous fever: quiet forsook me by day, and peace by night; even a finger raised against me seemed more than I could bear.

"In this posture of mind, I attended regularly at the office, where, instead of a soul upon the rack, the most active spirits were essential to my purpose. I expected no assistance from any one there, all the inferior clerks being under the influence of my opponents; accordingly, I received none. The Journal books were, indeed thrown open to me; a thing which could not be refused, and from which, perhaps, a man in health, with a head turned to business, might have gained all the information wanted, But it was not so with me. I read without perception, and was so distressed, that had every clerk in the office been my friend, it would have availed me little, for I was not in a condition to receive instruction, much less to elicit it from manuscripts, without direction."

The following extract from a letter to his amiable cousin, Lady Hesketh, written 9th August, 1763, through which runs that happy mixture of what may not perhaps improperly be termed, playful seriousness, which distinguishes almost the whole of his epistolary productions, and imparts to them a charm superior to that of almost any other writer, will illustrate the state of his mind at that period. "Having promised to write to you, I make haste to be as good as my word. I have a pleasure in writing to you at any time, but especially at the present, when my days are spent in reading the Journals, and my nights in dreaming of them, an employment not very agreeable to a head that has long been habituated to the luxury of choosing its subject, and has been as little employed upon business, as if it had grown upon the shoulders of a much wealthier gentleman. But the numscull pays for it now, and will not presently forget the discipline it has undergone lately. If I succeed in this doubtful piece of promotion, I shall have at least the satisfaction to reflect upon, that the volumes I write will be treasured up with the utmost care for ages, and will last as long as the English constitution, a duration which ought to satisfy the vanity of any author. Oh, my good cousin! if I was to open my heart to you, I could show you strange sights; nothing, I flatter myself, that would shock you, but a good deal that would make you wonder. I am of a very singular temper, and very unlike all the men that I have ever conversed with. Certainly I am not an absolute fool; but I have more weakness than the greatest of all fools I can recollect at present. In short, if I was as fit for the next world as I am unfit for this—and God forbid that I should speak it in vanity—I would not change conditions with any saint in Christendom. Ever since I was born, I have been good at disappointing the most natural expectations. Many years ago, cousin, there was a possibility that I might prove a very different thing from what I am at present. My character is now fixed, and riveted fast upon me; and, between friends, is not a very splendid one, or likely to be guilty of much fascination."

Many months was Cowper thus employed, constant in the use of means to qualify himself for the office, yet despairing as to the issue. At length he says,

"The vacation being pretty far advanced, I repaired to Margate. There, by the help of cheerful company, a new scene, and the intermission of my painful employment, I presently began to recover my spirits; though even here, for some time after my arrival, (notwithstanding, perhaps, the preceding day had been spent agreeably, and without any disturbing recollection of my circumstances,) my first reflections, when I awoke in the morning, were horrible and full of wretchedness. I looked forward to the approaching winter, and regretted the flight of every moment which brought it nearer, like a man borne away, by a rapid torrent, into a stormy sea, whence he sees no possibility of returning, and where he knows he cannot subsist. By degrees, I acquired such a facility in turning away my thoughts from the ensuing crisis, that, for weeks together, I hardly adverted to it at all: but the stress of the tempest was yet to come, and was not to be avoided by any resolution of mine to look another way.

"How wonderful are the works of the Lord, and his ways past finding out! Thus was he preparing me for an event which I least of all expected, even the reception of his blessed gospel, working by means which, in all human contemplation, must needs seem directly opposite to that purpose, but which, in his wise and gracious disposal, have, I trust, effectually accomplished it."

In October, 1763, Cowper was again required to attend the office, and prepare for the final push. This recalled all his fears, and produced a renewal of all his former misery. On revisiting the scene of his previous ineffectual labors, he felt himself pressed by difficulties on either side, with nothing before him but prospects of gloom and despair. He saw that he must either keep possession of the situation to the last extremity, and thus expose himself to the risk of public rejection for his insufficiency, or relinquish it at once, and thus run the hazard of ruining his benefactor's right of appointment, and losing the only chance he seemed to have of procuring for himself a comfortable competence for life, and of being united to the individual to whom he was most tenderly and affectionately attached.

His terrors on this occasion had become so overwhelming, as to induce that lamented aberration of mind under which he is generally known to have suffered. The dreadful apprehensions which for so long a time had haunted him day and night, leaving him not a moment's interval of peace, had, at length, wound him up to the highest pitch of mental agony. The anguish of his lacerated spirit was inconceivable. The idea of appearing in public was, to his gentle but amiable mind, even more bit-

ter than death. To his disordered perception there appeared no possibility for him to escape from the horrors of his situation, but by an escape from life itself. Death, which he had always shuddered at before, he began ardently to wish for now. He could see nothing before him but difficulties perfectly insurmountable. The supposed ruined state of his pecuniary circumstances—the imagined contempt of his relations and acquaintance—and the apprehended prejudice he should do his patron, urged the fatal expedient upon his shattered, intellect, which he now meditated with inexpressible energy.

At this important crisis, when it pleased God, who giveth not to man an account of his proceedings, to permit a cloud, darker than midnight, to gather round the mind of the poet, so that he saw no possible way of escape but the one above alluded to, and when he peculiarly needed the counsel of some judicious and kind friend, it so happened that he fell successively into the company of two most unhappy sophists, who both advanced claims to the right of self-destruction, and whose fallacious arguments won him over to their pernicious views. This was, unhappily, rendered more easy than it otherwise would have been, by his recollection of an impious book which he had read when very young, the arguments of which, though they then appeared to him, in their true light, as utterly inconclusive and perfectly contemptible, now came afresh to his disordered mind, and seemed irrefutable; the situation in which he was now placed, inducing him to catch eagerly at any thing that would justify the means of relief to which he wished to resort. How careful ought all to be, who are intrusted with the education of youth, that no pernicious books may fall into their hands! No evil consequences may, perhaps, arise from it at the time, but who can calculate what may be the future result?

The disordered state of Cowper's mind, at this period, will be seen by the following anecdote. Taking up a newspaper for the day, his eye caught a satirical letter which it happened to contain, and though it had no relation whatever to his case, he doubted not but the writer was fully acquainted with his purpose, and in fact, intended to hasten its execution. Wrought up to a degree of anguish almost unbearable, he now experienced a convulsive agitation that in a manner deprived him of all his powers. Hurried on by the deplorable inducements above related, and perceiving no possibility of escaping from his misery by any other means, all around him wearing only an aspect of gloom and despair, it will be no wonder to the reader, that before the tremendous day approached, the day on which his tender spirit was to have encountered an examination before the House of Lords, he had made several attempts at the escape above alluded to. Most happily, indeed, and most mercifully, for himself and for others, they were only attempts; for it was the will of a gracious Providence, not only to preserve his life for the exercise of a sound and vigorous mind, but to make that mind an instrument of incalculable benefit to his country, and, we may almost say, to the world, by advancing and promoting the best interests of mankind, morality and religion.

The depths of affliction and sorrow which the amiable sufferer now endured, were such that he might truly say with the Psalmist, "All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me. I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, my heart is pained within me, my sorrow is continually before me; fearfulness and trembling are come upon me. I sink in deep mire where is no standing, I am come into deep waters where the floods overflow me." When at length the long-dreaded day arrived, the approach of which he had feared more than he feared death itself, such were the melancholy results of his distress, that all his friends immediately acquiesced in the propriety of his relinquishing the situation for ever. Thus ended his connection with the House of Lords; unhappily, however, his sufferings did not end here. Despair still inflicted on him its deadliest sting, and he saw not how it could be extracted; Grief poured its full tide of anguish into his heart, and he could perceive nothing before him but one interminable prospect of misery.

"O Providence! mysterious are thy ways!
Inflexible thine everlasting plans!
The finite power of man can ne'er resist
The unseen hand which guides, protects, preserves;
Nor penetrates the inscrutable design
Of Him, whose council is his sovereign will.
Prosperity's bright sun withdraws his beams,
Thick clouds and tempests gather round the sky,
The winds of fierce temptations, and the waves
Of trials fell, assault the feeble bark,
And drive it headlong 'midst the cragged rocks.
We look with wonder on, but seek in vain
The deep designs of Heaven herein to scan;
The sacred page itself reveals not this.
Yet who that knows there is a Power above,
Would not 'assert eternal Providence,
And justify the works of God to man?'"

At this period of the poet's history, it appears desirable to remark, in confutation of those who attribute, or at least endeavor to attribute his malady to his religion, that, viewed either as an originating cause, or in any other light, it can never be proved to have had any connection with it. It will not be denied, that those sacred truths, which, in all cases where they are properly received, prove an unfailing source of the most salutary contemplation to the underanged mind, were in his case, through the distorting medium of his malady, converted into a vehicle of intellectual poison. It is, however, as Dr. Johnson well observes, "a most erroneous and unhappy idea to suppose that those views of Christianity which Cowper adopted, and of which, when enjoying the intervals of reason, after he was brought to the knowledge of them, he was so bright an ornament, had in any degree contributed to excite the malady with which he was afflicted. It is capable of the clearest demonstration that nothing was further from the truth. On the contrary, all those alleviations of sorrow, those delightful anticipations of heavenly rest, those healing consolations to a wounded spirit, of which he was permitted to taste, at the period when interrupted reason resumed its sway, were unequivocally to be ascribed to the operation of those very principles and views of religion, which, in the instance before us, have been charged with producing so opposite an effect. The primary aberration of his mental faculties was wholly to be attributed to other causes," as indeed will satisfactorily appear, by the following affecting description he has given of himself at this period.

"To this moment, I had felt no concern of a spiritual kind: ignorant of original sin; insensible of the guilt of actual transgression, I understood neither the law nor the gospel—the condemning nature of the one, nor the restoring mercies of the other. I was as much unacquainted with Christ in all his saving offices, as if his name had never reached me. Now, therefore, a new scene opened upon me.

"My sins were set in array against me, and I began to see and feel that I had lived without God in the world. One moment I thought myself shut out from mercy by one chapter, and the next by another. The sword of the Spirit seemed to guard the tree of life against my touch, and to flame against me in every avenue by which I attempted to approach it. I particularly remember, that the parable of the bar-

ren fig-tree was to me an inconceivable source of anguish. I applied it to my case, with a strong persuasion that it was a curse pronounced on me by the Saviour.

"In every volume I opened, I found something that struck me to the heart. I remember taking up one; and the first sentence I saw condemned me. Every thing seemed to preach to me, not the gospel of mercy, but the curse of the law. In a word, I saw myself a sinner altogether; but I saw not yet a glimpse of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus the Lord."

Cowper now wrote to his brother to inform him of the afflicting circumstances in which he was placed. His brother immediately paid him a visit, and employed every means in his power to alleviate his distress. All his efforts, however, proved unavailing; he found him almost overwhelmed with despair, pertinaciously maintaining, in spite of all remonstrances to the contrary, that he had been guilty of the unpardonable sin, in not properly improving the mercy of God towards him at Southampton. No favorable construction put upon his conduct in that instance, by his brother, nor any argument he employed, afforded him a moment's alleviation of his distress. He rashly concluded that he had no longer any interest in the atonement, or in the gifts of the Spirit, and that nothing was left for him but the dismal prospect of eternally enduring the wrath of God. His brother, pierced to the heart at the sight of his misery, used every means to comfort him, but all to no purpose; so deeply seated was his depression, that it rendered utterly useless all the soothing reflections that were suggested.

At this trying period Cowper remembered his friend and relative, the Rev. Martin Madan; and, though he had always considered him as an enthusiast, he was now convinced that, if there was any balm in Gilead for him, Mr. Madan was the only person who could administer it. His friend lost no time in paying him a visit; and perceiving the state of his mind, he began immediately to declare unto him the gospel of Christ. He spoke of original sin, of the corruption of every man born into the world, of the efficacy of the atonement made by Jesus Christ; of the Redeemer's compassion for lost sinners, and of the full salvation provided for them in the gospel. He then adverted to the Saviour's intercession; described him as a compassionate Redeemer, who felt deeply interested in the welfare of every true penitent, who could sympathize with those who were in distress, and who was able to save unto the uttermost all that come unto God by him. To this important information Cowper listened with the greatest attention; hope seemed to dawn upon his disconsolate mind; his heart burned within him whilst he listened to the word of life; his soul was pierced with a sense of his great ingratitude to so merciful a Saviour; tears of contrition burst from his eyes; he saw clearly that this was the remedy his case required; and felt fully persuaded that this was indeed the gospel of salvation. He, however, wanted that faith without which he could not recover its blessings. He saw the suitability of this gospel to his circumstances, but saw not yet how one, so vile as he conceived himself to be, could hope to partake of its benefits.

Mr. Madan urged the necessity of a lively faith in the Redeemer, not as an assent of the understanding only, but as the cordial belief of the heart unto righteousness; assured him, that though faith was the gift of God, yet was it a gift that our heavenly Father was most willing to bestow, not on one only, but on all that sought it by earnest and persevering prayer. Cowper deeply deplored the want of this faith, and could only reply to his friend's remarks, in a brief but very sincere petition, "Most earnestly do I wish it would please God to bestow it on *me*."

His brother, perceiving he had received some benefit from this interview, in his desire to relieve the poet's depressed mind, wisely overlooked the difference of sentiments on the great subjects of religion, which then existed between himself and Mr. Madan, and discovered the greatest anxiety that he should embrace the earliest opportunity to converse with him again. He now urged Cowper to visit Mr. Madan at his own house, and offered to accompany him thither. After much entreaty, Cowper consented; and though the conversation was not then the means of affording him any permanent relief, it was not without its use. He was easier, but not easy; the wounded spirit within him was less in pain, but by no means healed. A long train of still greater terrors than any he had yet endured was at hand; and when he awoke the next morning, after a few hours' sleep, he seemed to feel a stronger alienation from God than ever. He was now again the subject of the deepest mental anguish; the sorrows of death seemed to encompass, and the pains of hell to get hold of him; his ears rang with the sound of the torments that seemed to await him; his terrified imagination presented to him many horrible visions, and led him to conceive that he heard many horrible sounds; his heart seemed at every pulse to beat its last; his conscience scared him; the avenger of blood seemed to pursue him; and he saw no city of refuge into which he could flee; every moment he expected the earth would open, and swallow him up.

He was now suddenly attacked with that nervous affection, of which the peculiar form of his mind seemed to have made him susceptible, which on several subsequent occasions darkened his brightest prospects, and which ultimately overwhelmed his meek and gentle spirit, and caused him to end his days in circumstances the most gloomy and sorrowful. So violent was the attack on this occasion, that his friends instantly perceived the change, and consulted on the best manner to dispose of him. Dr. Cotton then kept an establishment at St. Alban's for the reception of such patients. His skill as a physician, his well known humanity and sweetness of temper, and the acquaintance that had subsisted between him and the afflicted patient, slight as it was, determined them to place him under the doctor's care. No determination could have been more wisely taken; and subsequent events proved it to have been under His superintendence, who orders all things according to the councils of his own will, and who, with the tenderest solicitude, watches over his people; managing those events which to us appear contingent, on principles of unerring wisdom; and overruling them for the accomplishment of his gracious and benevolent intentions.

"An anxious world may sigh in vain for what
Kind Heaven decrees in goodness to withhold;
But the momentous volume of his mind,
When seen in yonder world, shall be approved,
And all its plans pronounced unerring love."

CHAPTER III.

His removal to St. Alban's. Painful state of his mind there. Receives a visit from his brother. Good effects of it. His recovery. How it was effected. His subsequent happiness. Pleasing conversation with Dr. Cotton. The delightful manner in which he now passed his time. Description of his experience. His gratitude to God. Employs his brother to look out for him a new residence. Leaves St. Alban's. Feelings on the occasion.

On the 7th December, 1763, he was removed to St. Alban's, and placed under the care of Dr. Cotton. And, notwithstanding the skilful and judicious treatment pursued to effect his restoration,

he remained in the same gloomy and desponding state for five months. Every means that ingenuity could devise, and that benevolence and tenderness could prompt, were resorted to for this protracted period in vain. To describe in lengthened detail the state of his mind during this long interval, would justly be deemed injudicious As Mr. Hayley very properly remarks, "Mental derangement is a topic of such awful delicacy, that it is the duty of a biographer, rather to sink in tender silence, than to proclaim with offensive temerity, the minute particulars of a calamity to which all human beings are exposed, and perhaps, in proportion as they have received from nature, those delightful but dangerous gifts—a heart of exquisite tenderness, and a mind of creative energy." This, as Cowper most beautifully sings:—

"This is a sight for pity to peruse,
Till she resembles faintly what she views;
This, of all maladies that man infest,
Claims most compassion and receives the least."

Without, however, entering minutely into particulars, on this painful subject, it will not be deemed improper to mention some of the leading facts respecting it, and here we shall allow the poet again to become his own biographer.

"The accuser of the brethren was ever busy with me night and day, bringing to my recollection, the commission of long forgotten sins, and charging upon my conscience, things of an indifferent nature as atrocious crimes. Conviction of sin, and despair of mercy, were the two prominent evils with which I was continually tormented. But, blessed be the God of my salvation for every sigh I drew, and for every tear I shed, since thus it pleased him to judge me here, that I might not be judged hereafter.

"After five months' continued expectation that the divine vengeance would plunge me into the bottomless pit, I became so familiar with despair, as to have contracted a sort of hardiness and indifference as to the event. I began to persuade myself, that while the execution of the sentence was suspended, it would be for my interest to indulge a less horrible train of ideas, than I had been accustomed to muse upon. I entered into conversation with the doctor, laughed at his stories, and told him some of my own to match them; still, however, carrying a sentence of irrevocable doom in my heart. He observed the seeming alteration with pleasure, and began to think my recovery well nigh completed; but the only thing that could promote and effectuate my cure, was yet wanting; an experimental knowledge of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.

"About this time my brother came from Cambridge to pay me a visit. Dr. C. having informed him, that he thought me better, he was disappointed at finding me almost as silent and reserved as ever. As soon as we were left alone, he asked me how I found myself; I answered, as much better as despair can make me. We went together into the garden. Here, on my expressing a settled assurance of sudden judgment, he protested to me that it was all a delusion; and protested so strongly, that I could not help giving some attention to him. I burst into tears, and cried out, If it be a delusion, then am I the happiest of beings. Something like a ray of hope was now shot into my heart, but still I was afraid to indulge it. We dined together, and I spent the afternoon in a more cheerful manner. Something seemed to whisper to me, every moment, still there is mercy. Even after he left me, this change of sentiment gathered round continually; yet, my mind was in such a fluctuating state, that I can only call it a vague presage of better things at hand, without being able to assign any reason for it.

"A few days after my arrival at St. Alban's, I had thrown aside the Bible as a book in which I had no longer any interest or portion. The only instance in which I can recollect reading a single chapter, was about two months before my recovery. Having found a Bible on the bench in the garden, I opened it upon the 11th of John, where the miracle of Lazarus being raised from the dead is described; and I saw so much benevolence, goodness, and mercy, in the Saviour's conduct, that I almost shed tears at the relation, little thinking that it was an exact type of the mercy, which Jesus was on the point of extending towards myself. I sighed, and said, Oh, that I had not rejected so good a Redeemer, that I had not forfeited all his favor! Thus was my hard heart softened; and though my mind was not yet enlightened, God was gradually preparing me for the light of his countenance, and the joys of his salvation.

"The cloud of horror which had so long hung over my mind began rapidly to pass away, every moment came fraught with hopes. I felt persuaded that I was not utterly doomed to destruction. The way of salvation was still, however, hid from my eyes; nor did I see it clearer than before my illness. I only thought, that if it pleased God to spare me, I would lead a better life; and that I would yet escape hell, if a religious observance of my duty would secure me from it. Thus, may the terror of the Lord make a pharisee; but only the sweet voice of mercy in the gospel can make a Christian.

"But the happy period, which was to shake off my fetters, and afford me a clear discovery of the free mercy of God in Christ Jesus was now arrived. I flung myself into a chair, near the window, and seeing a Bible there, ventured once more to apply to it for comfort and instruction. The first verse I saw, was the 25th of the 3d of Romans: '*Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.*' Immediately I received strength to believe, and the full beams of the sun of righteousness shone upon me. I saw the sufficiency of the atonement he had made for my pardon and complete justification. In a moment I believed, and received the peace of the gospel. Whatever my friend Madan had said to me, long before, revived in all its clearness, with the demonstration of the spirit, and with power.

"Unless the Almighty arm had been under me, I think I should have been overwhelmed with gratitude and joy. My eyes filled with tears, and my voice choked with transport. I could only look up to heaven in silent fear, overwhelmed with love and wonder. But the work of the Holy Spirit is best described in his own words:—it is '*Joy unspeakable and full of glory.*' Thus was my heavenly father in Christ Jesus, pleased to give me the full assurance of faith; and, out of a strong, unbelieving heart, to raise up a child unto Abraham. How glad should I now have been to have spent every moment in prayer and thanksgiving! I lost no opportunity of repairing to the throne of grace; but flew to it with an earnestness irresistible, and never to be satisfied. Could I help it? Could I do otherwise than love and rejoice in my reconciled Father in Christ Jesus? The Lord had enlarged my heart, and I could now cheerfully run in the way of his commandments.

"For many succeeding weeks tears would be ready to flow if I did but speak of the gospel, or mention the name of Jesus. To rejoice day and night was all my employment; too happy to sleep much, I thought it but lost time that was thus spent. Oh, that the ardor of my first love had continued! But I have known many a lifeless and unhallowed hour

since; long intervals of darkness, interrupted by short returns of peace and joy in believing!"

His excellent physician, ever watchful and apprehensive for his welfare, now became alarmed, lest the sudden transition, from despair to joy, should wholly overpower his mind; but the Lord was his strength and his song, and had become his salvation. Christ was now formed in his heart, the hope of glory; his fears were all dispelled; despair, with its horrid train of evils, was banished from his mind; a new and delightful scene was now opened before him; he became the subject of new affections, new desires, and new joys; in a word, old things were passed away, and all things were become new. God had brought him up out of the horrible pit, and out of the miry clay, and had put a new song into his mouth, even praise to his God. He felt the full force of that liberty, of which he afterwards so sweetly sung—

——— "A liberty unsung
By poets, and by senators unpraised,
. . . . . .
E'en liberty of heart, derived from heaven;
Bought with his blood who gave it to mankind,
And sealed with the same token!"

The apprehensions of Dr. C. soon subsided; he saw with delight undoubted proofs of his patient's perfect recovery, became satisfied with the soundness of his cure, and subsequently had much sweet communion with him in conversing about the great things of salvation. He now visited him every morning, as long as he remained under his care, which was near twelve months after his recovery, and the gospel was invariably the delightful theme of their conversation. The patient and the physician became thus every day more endeared to each other; and Cowper often afterwards looked back upon this period, as among the happiest days he had ever spent.

His time no longer hung heavily upon his hands; but every moment of it that he could command was employed in seeking to acquire more comprehensive views of the gospel. The Bible became his constant companion; from this pure fountain of truth he drank of that living water, which was in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life. Conversation on spiritual subjects afforded him a high degree of enjoyment. Many delightful seasons did he spend thus employed, while he remained with his beloved physician. His first transports of joy having subsided, a sweet serenity of spirit succeeded, uninterrupted by any of those distressing sensations which he had before experienced; prayer and praise were his daily employment; his heart overflowed with love to his Redeemer, and his meditation of him was sweet. In his own expressive and beautiful lines, he felt—

"Ere yet mortality's fine threads gave way,
A clear escape from tyrannizing sin,
And full immunity from penal woe."

His application to the study of the Scriptures must at this time have been intense; for in the short space of twelve months he acquired comprehensive and scriptural views of the great plan of redemption; and, in addition to this, his conceptions of real Christian experience, as distinguished from delusion and hypocrisy, were accurate and striking, and such as one would only have expected from an experienced Christian. He now composed two hymns, which exhibit an interesting proof of the scriptural character of those religious views he had then embraced. These hymns he himself styles specimens of his first Christian thoughts. Delightful specimens indeed they are; and the circumstances under which they were composed will greatly enhance their value in the minds of those to whom they have long been endeared by their own intrinsic excellence. The first is upon Revelation xxi. 5; the second is entitled Retirement. The following lines of it are so touchingly beautiful, so correctly descriptive of the overflowings of his heart in solitude, while he walked with God, and was a stranger in the earth, having left his own connections, and not yet found new ones in the church; and breathe throughout in strains so pure, tender, and unreserved, the language of the Christian's first love, that they cannot fail to be read with deep interest.

"The calm retreat, the silent shade,
With prayer and praise agree;
And seem by thy sweet bounty made
For those who follow thee.

There, if thy Spirit touch the soul,
And grace her mean abode,
Oh, with what peace, and joy, and love,
She communes with her God.

There like the nightingale she pours
Her solitary lays;
Nor asks a witness of her song,
Nor thirsts for human praise."

His letters, written about this period, as well as those of a subsequent date, abound with proofs of his deep acquaintance with Christian experience. The following remarks are taken from a letter to Mrs. Cowper. "The deceitfulness of the natural heart is inconceivable. I know well that I passed among my friends for a person at least religiously inclined, if not actually religious; and what is more wonderful, I thought myself a Christian when I had no faith in Christ, and when I saw no beauty in him that I should desire him; in short, when I had neither faith, nor love, nor any Christian grace whatever, but a thousand seeds of rebellion instead, evermore springing up in enmity against him; but, blessed be the God of my salvation, the hail of affliction and rebuke has swept away the refuge of lies. It pleased the Almighty, in great mercy, to set all my misdeeds before me. At length, the storm being past, a quick and peaceful serenity of soul succeeded, such as ever attends the gift of a lively faith in the all-sufficient atonement, and the sweet sense of mercy and pardon purchased by the blood of Christ. Thus did he break me and bind me up; thus did he wound me and make me whole. This, however, is but a summary account of my conversion; neither would a volume contain the astonishing particulars of it. If we meet again in this world, I will relate them to you; if not, they will serve for the subject of a conference in the next, where, I doubt not, we shall remember and record them with a gratitude better suited to the subject."

In another letter to his amiable and accomplished cousin, Lady Hesketh, he thus writes. "Since the visit you were so kind as to pay me in the Temple, (the only time I ever saw you without pleasure,) what have I not suffered? And since it has pleased God to restore me to the use of my reason, what have I not enjoyed? You know by experience how pleasant it is to feel the first approaches of health after a fever; but oh! the fever of the brain! to feel the quenching of that fire, is indeed a blessing which I think it impossible to receive without the most consummate gratitude. Terrible as this chastisement is, I acknowledge in it the hand of infinite justice; nor is it at all more difficult for me to perceive in it the hand of infinite mercy; when I consider the effect it has had upon me, I am exceedingly thankful for it, and esteem it the greatest blessing, next to life itself, I ever received from the divine bounty. I pray God I may ever retain the sense of it, and then I am sure I shall continue to be, as I am at present, really happy. My affliction has taught me a road to happiness, which, without

it, I should never have found; and I know, and have experience of it every day, that the mercy of God to the believer is more than sufficient to compensate for the loss of every other blessing. You will believe that my happiness is no dream, because I have told you the foundation on which it is built. What I have written would appear like enthusiasm to many, for we are apt to give that name to every warm affection of the mind in others, which we have not experienced ourselves; but to you, who have so much to be thankful for, and a temper inclined to gratitude, it will not appear so."

To the same lady, a day or two afterwards, he writes—"How naturally does affliction make us Christians! and how impossible is it, when all human help is vain, and the whole earth too poor and trifling to furnish us with one moment's peace, how impossible is it then to avoid looking at the gospel! It gives me some concern, though at the same time it increases my gratitude to reflect, that a convert made in Bedlam is more likely to be a stumbling-block to others than to advance their faith. But if it have that effect upon any, it is owing to their reasoning amiss, and drawing their conclusion from false premises. He who can ascribe an amendment of life and manners, and a reformation of the heart itself, to madness, is guilty of an absurdity, that in any other case would fasten the imputation of madness upon himself; for, by so doing, he ascribes a reasonable effect to an unreasonable cause, and a positive effect to a negative. But when Christianity only is to be sacrificed, he that stabs deepest is always the wisest man. You, my dear cousin, yourself, will be apt to think I carry the matter too far; and that in the present warmth of my heart, I make too ample a concession in saying that I am *only now* a convert. You think I always believed, and I thought so too; but you were deceived, and so was I. I called myself indeed a Christian, but he who knows my heart knows that I never did a right thing, nor abstained from a wrong one, because I was so; but if I did either, it was under the influence of some other motive. And it is such seeming Christians, such pretending believers, that do most mischief in the cause, and furnish the strongest arguments to support the infidelity of its enemies: unless profession and conduct go together, the man's life is a lie, and the validity of what he professes itself, is called in question. The difference between a Christian and an unbeliever, would be so striking, if the treacherous allies of the church would go over at once to the other side, that I am satisfied religion would be no loser by the bargain. You say, you hope it is not necessary for salvation to undergo the same affliction that I have undergone. No! my dear cousin, God deals with his children as a merciful father; he does not, as he himself tells, afflict us willingly. Doubtless there are many, who, having been placed by his good providence out of the reach of evil, and the influence of bad example, have, from their very infancy, been partakers of the grace of his Holy Spirit, in such a manner, as never to have allowed themselves in any grievous offence against him. May you love him more and more, day by day, as every day while you think of him you will find him more worthy of your love, and may you be finally accepted by him for his sake, whose intercession for all his faithful servants cannot but prevail."

In the same letter he thus expresses his gratitude to God for placing him under the care of Dr. Cotton:—"I reckon it one instance of the providence that has attended me through this whole event, that I was not delivered into the hands of some London physician, but was carried to Dr. Cotton. I was not only treated by him with the greatest tenderness while I was ill, and attended with the utmost diligence, but when my reason was restored to me, and I had so much need of a religious friend to converse with, to whom I could open my mind upon the subject without reserve, I could hardly have found a better person for the purpose. My eagerness and anxiety to settle my opinions upon that long neglected point, made it necessary, that while my mind was yet weak, and my spirits uncertain, I should have some assistance. The doctor was as ready to administer relief to me in this article likewise, and as well qualified to do it, as in that which was more immediately his province. How many physicians would have thought this an irregular appetite, and a symptom of remaining madness! But if it were so, my friend was as mad as myself, and it is well for me that he was so. My dear cousin, you know not half the deliverances I have received; my brother is the only one in the family who does. My recovery is indeed a signal one, and my future life must express my thankfulness, for by words I cannot do it."

He now employed his brother to seek out for him an abode somewhere in the neighborhood of Cambridge, as he had determined to leave London, the scene of his former misery; and that nothing might induce him to return thither, he resigned the office of commissioner of bankrupts, worth about 60*l.* per annum, which he still held. By this means, he reduced himself to an income barely sufficient for his maintenance; but he relied upon the gracious promise of God, that bread should be given him, and water should be sure.

On being informed that his brother had made many unsuccessful attempts to procure him a suitable dwelling, he, one day, poured out his soul in prayer to God, beseeching him, that wherever he should be pleased, in his fatherly mercy, to place him, it might be in the society of those who feared his name, and loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. This prayer, God was pleased graciously to answer. In the beginning of June, 1765, he received a letter from his brother to say, he had engaged such lodgings for him at Huntingdon, as he thought would suit him. Though this was farther from Cambridge, where his brother then resided, than he wished, yet, as he was now in perfect health, and as his circumstances required a less expensive way of life than his present, he resolved to take them, and arranged his affairs accordingly.

On the 17th of June, 1765, having spent more than eighteen months at St. Alban's, partly in the bondage of despair, and partly in the liberty of the gospel, he took leave of the place, at four in the morning, and set out for Cambridge, taking with him the servant who had attended him while he remained with Dr. Cotton, and who had maintained an affectionate watchfulness over him during the whole of his illness, waiting upon him, on all occasions, with the greatest patience, and invariably treating him with the greatest kindness. The mingled emotions of his mind on leaving the place were painful and pleasing; he regarded it as the place of second nativity; he had here passed from death unto life—had been favored with much leisure to study the word of God—had enjoyed much happiness in conversing upon its great truths with his esteemed physician; and he left it with considerable reluctance; offering up many prayers to God, that his richest blessings might rest upon its worthy manager, and upon all its inmates.

The state of his mind on this occasion he thus affectionately describes:—"I remembered the pollution which is in the world, and the sad share I had in it myself, and my heart ached at the thought of entering it again. The blessed God had endowed me with some concern for his glory, and I was fearful of hearing his name traduced by oaths and blasphe-

mies, the common language of this highly-favored but ungrateful country; but the promise of God, 'Fear not, I am with thee,' was my comfort. I passed the whole of my journey in fervent prayer to God, earnestly but silently entreating Him to be my guardian and counsellor in all my future journey through life, and to bring me in safety, when he had accomplished his purposes of grace and mercy towards me, to eternal glory."

CHAPTER IV.

Removal to Huntingdon. Sensations there. Engages in public worship for the first time after his recovery. Delight it afforded him. Commences a regular correspondence with some of his friends. Pleasure he experienced in writing on religious subjects. Anxiety of his mind for the spiritual welfare of his former associates. Attributes their continuance in sin chiefly to infidelity. Folly of this. Beauty of the Scriptures. Absurdity of attributing events to second causes, instead of to the overruling providence of God. Dependence upon Divine direction the best support in affliction. Forms some new connections. Becomes acquainted with the Unwin family. Happiness he experienced in their company.

After spending a few days with his brother at Cambridge, Cowper repaired to Huntingdon, and entered upon his new abode, on Saturday, the 22d of June, 1765; taking with him the servant he had brought from St. Alban's, to whom he had become strongly attached for the great kindness he had shown him in his affliction. His brother, who had accompanied him thither, had no sooner left him, than finding himself alone, surrounded by strangers, in a strange place, his spirits began to sink, and he felt like a traveller in the midst of an inhospitable desert; without a friend to comfort, or a guide to direct him. He walked forth, towards the close of the day, in this melancholy frame of mind, and having wandered about a mile from the town, he found his heart so powerfully drawn towards the Lord, that on gaining a secret and retired nook in the corner of a field, he kneeled down under a bank, and poured out his complaints unto God. It pleased his merciful Father to hear him; the load was removed from his mind, and he was enabled to trust in Him that careth for the stranger; to roll his burden upon Him, and to rest assured, that wherever God might cast his lot, he would still be his guardian and shield.

The following day he went to church, for the first time after his recovery. Throughout the whole of the service, his emotions were so powerfully affecting, that it was with much difficulty he could restrain them, so much did he see of the beauty and glory of the Lord while thus worshipping Him in his temple. His heart was full of love to all the congregation, especially to such as seemed serious and attentive. Such was the goodness of God to him, that he gave him the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; and, though he joined not with the congregation in singing the praises of his God, being prevented by the intenseness of his feelings, yet his soul sung within him, and leaped for joy. The parable of the prodigal son was the portion of Scripture read in the gospel appointed for the day. He saw himself in that glass so clearly, and the loving kindness of his slighted and forgotten Lord, that the whole scene was realized by him, and acted over in his heart. And he thus describes his feelings on hearing it:—"When the gospel for the day was read, it seemed more than I could well support. Oh, what a word is the word of God, when the Spirit quickens us to receive it, and gives the hearing ear, and the understanding heart! The harmony of heaven is in it, and discovers clearly and satisfactorily its author."

Immediately after church he repaired to the place where he had prayed the day before, and found the relief he had there received was but the earnest of a richer blessing. The Lord was pleased to visit him with his gracious presence, he seemed to speak to him face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend; He made all His goodness pass before him, and constrained him to say with Jacob, not "how dreadful," but "how lovely is this place! This is the house of God, and the gate of heaven."

He remained four months in the lodgings procured for him by his brother, secluded from the bustling and active scenes of life, and receiving only an occasional visit from some of his neighbors. Though he had little intercourse with men, yet he enjoyed much fellowship with God in Christ Jesus. Living by faith, and thus tasting the joys of the unseen world, his solitude was sweet, his meditations were delightful, and he wanted no other enjoyments. He now regularly corresponded with all his intimate friends, and his letters furnish the clearest proofs of the happy, and indeed almost enviable, state of his mind, during this period. To Lady Hesketh, in a letter dated July 5, 1765, he thus discloses his feelings:—"I should have written to you from St. Alban's long ago, but was willing to perform quarantine, as well for my own sake, as because I thought my letters would be more satisfactory to you from any other quarter. You will perceive I allowed myself sufficient time for the purpose, for I date my recovery from the latter end of last July, having been ill seven, and well twelve months. About that time my brother came to see me; I was far from well when he arrived, yet, though he only remained one day, his company served to put to flight a thousand deliriums and delusions which I still labored under.

"As far as I am acquainted with my new residence, I like it extremely. Mr. Hodgson, the minister of the parish, made me a visit yesterday. He is very sensible, a good preacher, and conscientious in the discharge of his duty; he is well known to Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol, the author of the Treatise on the Prophecies, the most demonstrable proof of the truth of Christianity, in my mind, that was ever published."

In another letter, a few days afterwards, to the same lady, he thus writes:—"Mentioning Newton's Treatise on the Prophecies brings to my mind an anecdote of Dr. Young, who you know died lately at Welwyn. Dr. Cotton, who was intimate with him, paid him a visit about a fortnight before he was seized with his last illness. The old man was then in perfect health; the antiquity of his person, the gravity of his utterance, and the earnestness with which he discoursed about religion, gave him, in the doctor's eye, the appearance of a prophet. They had been delivering their sentiments on Newton's Treatise, when Young closed the conference thus:—'My friend, there are two considerations upon which my faith in Christ is built as upon a rock—first, the fall of man, the redemption of man, and the resurrection of man; these three cardinal articles of our holy religion are such as human ingenuity could never have invented, therefore they *must* be divine: the other is the fulfilment of prophecy, of which there is abundant demonstration. This proves that the Scripture must be the word of God, and if so, Christianity must be true.'"

Cowper now lived in the full enjoyment of religion. Its truths supported his mind, and furnished him with an ample field for meditation; its promises consoled him, freed him from every distressing sensation, and filled him with joy unspeakable and full of glory; its duties regulated all his conduct, and his chief anxiety was to live entirely to the glory of God. The following beautiful lines of

the poet are strikingly descriptive of his feelings at this period:—

"I was a stricken deer, that left the herd
Long since; with many an arrow deep enfix'd
My panting sides were charged, when I withdrew
To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
There was I found by one who had himself
Been hurt by th' archers: in his sides he bore,
And in his hands and feet, the cruel scars.
With gentle force soliciting the darts,
He drew them forth, and heal'd, and bade me live.
Since then, with few associates, in remote
And silent woods I wander, far from those
My former partners of the peopled scene;
With few associates, and not wishing more,
Here much I ruminate, as much I may,
With other views of men and manners now
Than once; and others of a life to come."

On all affairs connected with religion, Cowper now delighted to think and to converse, and his best letters were those in which he could freely introduce them to his correspondents. In the close of the letter from which we made the above extract, he thus writes:—"My dear cousin, how happy am I in having a friend to whom I can open my heart upon these subjects! I have many intimates in the world, and have had many more than I shall have hereafter, to whom a long letter upon those most important articles would appear tiresome at least, if not impertinent. But I am not afraid of meeting with that reception from you, who have never yet made it your interest that there should be no truth in the word of God. May this everlasting truth be your comfort while you live, and attend you with peace and joy in your last moments. I love you too well not to make this a part of my prayers; and when I remember my friends on these occasions, there is no likelihood that you can be forgotten."

In another letter to Lady Hesketh, dated 1st of August, 1765, he thus adverts to the character of his former associates, and feelingly expresses his anxiety for their spiritual welfare:—"I have great reason to be thankful I have lost none of my acquaintance but those whom I determined not to keep: I am sorry this class is so numerous. What would I not give, that every friend I have in the world were not almost, but altogether Christians? My dear cousin, I am half afraid to talk to you in this style, lest I should seem to indulge a censorious humor, instead of hoping, as I ought, the best of all men. But what can be said against ocular proof, and what is hope when built upon presumption? To use the most holy name in the universe for no purpose, or a bad one, contrary to his own express commandment, to pass the day, and the succeeding days, weeks, and months, and years, without one act of private devotion, one confession of our sins, or one thanksgiving for the numberless blessings we enjoy; to hear the word of God in public with a distracted attention, or with none at all; to absent ourselves voluntarily from the blessed communion, and to live in the total neglect of it; are the common and ordinary liberties which the generality of professors allow themselves: and what is this, but to live without God in the world? Many causes might be assigned for this anti-christian spirit so prevalent among professors, but one of the principal I take to be their utter forgetfulness that the Bible which they have in their possession is, in reality, the Word of God. My friend, Sir William Russell, was distantly related to a very accomplished man, who, though he never believed the gospel, admired the Scriptures as the sublimest compositions in the world, and read them often. I have myself been intimate with a man of fine taste, who has confessed to me, that though he could not subscribe to the truth of Christianity itself, yet he never could read St. Luke's account of our Saviour's appearance to his two disciples going to Emmaus, without being wonderfully affected by it; and he thought, that if the stamp of divinity was any where to be found in Scripture, it was strongly marked and visibly impressed upon that passage. If these men, whose hearts were chilled with the darkness of infidelity, could find such charms in the mere style of Scripture, what must those find whose eyes could penetrate deeper than the letter, and who firmly believed themselves interested in all the invaluable privileges of the gospel? Had this mere man of taste searched a little further, he might have found other parts of the sacred history as strongly marked with the characters of Divinity as that he mentioned. The parable of the prodigal son, the most beautiful fiction that ever was invented; our Saviour's speech to his disciples, with which he closes his earthly ministration, full of the sublimest dignity and tenderest affection, surpass every thing that I ever read, and, like the spirit with which they were dictated, fly directly to the heart. If the Scripture did not disdain all affectation of ornament, one should call such as these its ornamental parts; but the matter of it is that upon which it principally stakes its credit with us, and the style, however excellent, is only one of the many external evidences by which it recommends itself to our belief."

The warmest expressions of his gratitude to God for his distinguishing goodness to him, during his affliction, were frequently employed in his letters. In one, dated 4th September, 1765, he thus writes to his cousin:—"Two of my friends have been cut off during my illness, in the midst of such a life as it is frightful to reflect upon, and here am I, in better health and spirits than I can ever remember to have enjoyed, after having spent months in the apprehension of instant death. How mysterious are the ways of Providence! Why did I receive grace and mercy? Why was I preserved, afflicted for my good, received, as I trust, into favor, and blessed with the greatest happiness I can ever know, or hope for in this life, while these were overtaken by the great arrest, unawakened, unrepenting, and every way unprepared for it? His infinite wisdom, to whose infinite mercy I owe it all, can solve these questions, and none else. A free-thinker, as many a man miscalls himself, would, without doubt, say, 'Sir, you were in great danger, and had, indeed, a most fortunate escape.' How excessively foolish, as well as shocking, is such language! As if life depended upon luck, and all that we are, or can be, all that we have now, or can hope for hereafter, could possibly be referred to accident. To this freedom of thought it is owing, that he, who is thoroughly apprized of the death of the meanest of his creatures, is supposed to leave those whom he has made in his own image, to the mercy of chance; and to this it is likewise owing, that the correction which our heavenly Father bestows upon us, that we may be fitted to receive his blessing, is so often disappointed of its benevolent intention. Fevers, and all diseases, are regarded as accidents; and long life, health, recovery from sickness, as the gift of the physician. No man can be a greater friend to the use of means upon these occasions than myself; for it were presumption and enthusiasm to neglect them. God has endued them with salutary properties on purpose that we might avail ourselves of them. But to impute our recovery to the medicine, and to carry our views no further, is to rob God of his honor. He that thinks thus, may as well fall upon his knees at once, and return thanks to the medicine that cured him, for it was certainly more immediately instrumental in his recovery than either the apothecary or the doctor."

No one ever watched more carefully the providence of God than Cowper. His views of it were just and scriptural, as is abundantly evident by the above remarks, and, if possible, more clearly evinced by the following extracts from the same excellent letter:—"My dear cousin, a firm persuasion of the superintendence of Providence over all our concerns, is absolutely necessary to our happiness.—Without it we cannot be said to believe in the Scripture, or practise any thing like resignation to his will. If I am convinced that no affliction can befall me without the permission of God, I am convinced likewise that he sees, and knows, that I am afflicted; believing this, I must, in the same degree, believe that if I pray to him for deliverance he hears me; I must needs know likewise, with equal assurance, that if he hears, he will deliver me: I may rest well assured that he has none but the most benevolent intention in declining it. He made us, not because we could add to his happiness, which was always perfect, but that we might be happy ourselves; and will he not in all his dispensations towards us, even in the minutest, consult that end for which he made us? To suppose the contrary, is to affront every one of his attributes, and to renounce utterly our dependence upon him. In this view it will appear plainly, that the line of duty is not stretched too tight, when we are told that we ought to accept every thing at his hands as a blessing, and to be thankful even when we smart under the rod of iron with which he sometimes rules us. Without this persuasion, every blessing, however we may think ourselves happy in the possession of it, loses its greatest recommendation, and every affliction is intolerable. Death itself must be welcome to him who has this faith; and he who has it not must aim at it, if he is not a madman." The excellence of these extracts from Cowper's correspondence will, it is hoped, be admitted by every reader as a sufficient apology for the interruption they may occasion to our narrative. They might be greatly enlarged; but it is not intended to admit any, except such as will, in some degree at least, serve to describe his character.

It was not to be expected that a person like Cowper could remain long unnoticed, how reserved soever was his conduct. Accordingly, he had been at Huntingdon only a short time before he was visited by several persons, and introduced into several families, all eminently distinguished for their respectability, and general consistency of conduct. This soon endeared him to the place, and he thus communicated his sentiments respecting it to his correspondents:—"The longer I live here the better I like the place, and the people who belong to it. I am upon very good terms with five families, all of whom receive me with the utmost cordiality. You may recollect that I had but very uncomfortable expectations of the accommodations I should meet with in Huntingdon. How much better is it to take our lot, where it shall please Providence to cast it, without anxiety! Had I chosen for myself, it is impossible I could have fixed upon a place so agreeable to me in all respects. I so much dreaded the thought of having a new acquaintance to make with no other recommendation than that of being a perfect stranger, that I heartily wished no creature here might take the least notice of me. Instead of which, in about two months after my arrival, I became known to all the visitable people here, and do verily think it the most agreeable neighborhood I ever saw. My brother and I meet every week by an alternate reciprocation of intercourse, as Sam Johnson would express it. As to my own personal condition, I am much happier than the day is long; and sunshine and candle-light alike, see me perfectly contented. I get books in abundance, as much company as I choose, a deal of comfortable leisure, and enjoy better health, I think, than for many years past. What is there wanting to make me happy? Nothing, if I can but be as thankful as I ought; and I trust that He, who has bestowed so many blessings on me, will give me gratitude to crown them all. I thank God for all the pleasing circumstances here, for my health of body, and perfect serenity of mind. To recollect the past, and compare it with the present, is all that I need to fill me with gratitude; and to be grateful is to be happy. I am far from thinking myself sufficiently grateful, or from indulging the hope that I shall ever be so in the present life. The warmest heart, perhaps, only feels by fits, and is often as insensible as the coldest. This, at least, is frequently the case with mine, and much oftener than it should be."

Among the families with whom Cowper was on terms of intimacy, there were none so entirely congenial to his taste as that of the Rev. Mr. Unwin. This worthy divine, who was now far advanced in years, had formerly been master of a free school in Huntingdon. On obtaining, however, from his college at Cambridge, the living of Grimston, he married Miss Cawthorne, the daughter of a very respectable draper in Ely, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter. Disliking their residence at Grimston, they removed to Huntingdon, where they had now resided for many years.

Cowper became acquainted with this interesting family, which was afterwards, almost to the close of his life, a source of comfort to him, in the following rather singular manner. The Unwins frequently noticed Mr. C. and remarked the degree of piety and intelligence he seemed to possess; this induced them to wish for farther acquaintance with the interesting stranger: his manners, however, were so reserved, that an introduction to him seemed wholly out of their reach. After waiting some time, with no apparent prospect of success, their eldest son, Mr. W. Unwin, though dissuaded from it by his mother, lest it should be thought too intrusive, ventured to speak to Mr. Cowper one day, when they were coming out of church, after morning prayers, and to engage himself to take tea with Mr. C. that afternoon. This was perfectly agreeable to Cowper, who, in one of his letters some time afterwards, thus describes his new-made acquaintance:—"To my inexpressible joy, I found him one, whose notions of religion were spiritual and lively; one, whom the Lord had been training up from his infancy for the temple. We opened our hearts to each other at the first interview; and when we parted, I immediately retired to my chamber, and prayed the Lord, who had been the author, to be the guardian of our friendship, and to grant to it fervency and perpetuity, even unto death; and I doubt not that my gracious Father heard this prayer." A friendship thus formed was not likely to be soon interrupted; accordingly it continued with unabated affection through life, and became to both parties a source of much real enjoyment. Well would it be for Christians, were they, in making choice of their friends, to follow the example of Cowper! Entering upon it by earnest prayer to God for his blessing, they might then hope to derive all those invaluable benefits from it, which it is adapted and designed to convey.

The following Sabbath Cowper dined with the Unwins, and was treated with so much cordiality and real affection, that he ever after felt the warmest attachment to this interesting family. In his letters on the subject he thus writes: "The last acquaintance I have made here is of the race of the Unwins, consisting of father and mother, son and daughter; they are the most agreeable people imaginable; quite sociable, and as free from the cere-

monious civility of country gentlefolks as I ever met with. They treat me more like a near relation than a stranger, and their house is always open to me. The old gentleman carries me to Cambridge in his chaise; he is a man of learning and good sense, and as simple as parson Adams. His wife has a very uncommon understanding, has read much to excellent purpose, and is more polite than a dutchess; she treats me with an affection so truly Christian, that I could almost fancy my own mother restored to life again, to compensate me for all my lost friends and broken connections. She has a son, in all respects, worthy of such a mother, the most amiable young man I ever knew; he is not yet arrived at that time of life when suspicion recommends itself to us in the form of wisdom, and sets every thing but our own dear selves at an immeasurable distance from our esteem and confidence. Consequently he is known almost as soon as seen, and having nothing in his heart that makes it necessary for him to keep it barred and bolted, opens it to the perusal even of a stranger. His natural and acquired endowments are very considerable, and as to his virtues, I need only say that he is a Christian. Miss Unwin resembles her mother in her great piety, who is one of the most remarkable instances of it I ever knew. They are altogether the most cheerful and engaging family it is possible to conceive. They see but little company, which suits me exactly; go when I will, I find a house full of peace and cordiality in all its parts, and am sure to hear no scandal, but such discourse instead of it as we are all the better for. Now I know them, I wonder that I liked Huntingdon so well before, and am apt to think I should find every place disagreeable that had not an Unwin belonging to it."

CHAPTER V.

Cowper becomes an inmate of Mr. Unwin's family. Is much delighted with their society. Describes the manner in which they spent their time. His opinion respecting the knowledge which Christians will have of each other in Heaven. What will engage their thoughts there. Just views of Christian friendship. Strength of his religious affections. Humbling views of himself. Melancholy Death of Mr. Unwin. Cowper's reflections upon it. Mr. Newton's unexpected but providential visit to Mrs. Unwin. Cowper's determination to remain with the family. Their removal from Huntingdon to Olney.

Towards the end of October, 1765, Cowper began to fear that his solitary and lonely situation would not be agreeable to him during the winter; and finding his present method of living, though he was strictly economical, rather too expensive for his limited income, he judged it expedient to look out for a family, with which he might become an inmate, where he might enjoy the advantage of social and familiar intercourse, and be subject to a less expensive establishment. It providentially occurred to him, that he might probably be admitted, on such terms, into Mr. Unwin's family. He knew that a young gentleman, who had lived with them as a pupil, had just left them for Cambridge, and it appeared not improbable, that he might be allowed to succeed him, not as a pupil, but as an inmate. This subject occasioned him a tumult of anxious solicitude, and for some days he could not possibly divert his attention from it. He at length made it the subject of earnest prayer to his Heavenly Father, that he would be pleased to bring this affair to such an issue, as would be most calculated to promote His own glory; and he had the satisfaction, in a short time, to receive a gracious answer to his petitions. A few days afterwards he mentioned the subject to Mrs. Unwin, a satisfactory arrangement was very speedily made with the family, and he entered upon his new abode the eleventh of November, 1765.

The manner in which he spent his time while associated with this exemplary family, and the high degree of enjoyment he there experienced, will be seen by the following extracts from his correspondence with his two amiable cousins, Lady Hesketh and Mrs. Cowper. To the former he thus writes:

"My dear Cousin—The frequency of your letters to me, while I lived alone, was occasioned, I am sure, by your regard for my welfare, and was an act of particular charity. I bless God, however, that I was happy, even then; solitude has nothing gloomy in it, if the soul points upwards. St. Paul tells his Hebrew converts, 'Ye are come,' (already come) 'to Mount Sion, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant.' When this is the case, as surely as it was with them, or the Spirit of truth would never have spoken it, there is an end to the melancholy and dulness of life at once. You will not suspect me, my dear cousin, of a design to understand this passage literally; but this, however, it certainly means, that a lively faith is able to anticipate, in some measure, the joys of that heavenly society which the soul shall actually possess hereafter.

"Since I have changed my situation, I have found still greater cause of thanksgiving to the Father of all mercies. The family with whom I live are Christians, and it has pleased the Almighty to bring me to the knowledge of them, that I may want no means of improvement in that temper and conduct which he requires of all his servants. My dear cousin! one half of the Christian world would call this madness, fanaticism, and folly; but are not these things warranted by the word of God. If we have no communion with God here, surely we can expect none hereafter. A faith that does not place our conversation in heaven; that does not warm the heart and purify it too; that does not in short, govern our thoughts, words and deeds, is not Christian faith, nor can we procure by it any spiritual blessing, here or hereafter. Let us therefore see that we do not deceive ourselves in a matter of such infinite moment. The world will be ever telling us that we are good enough, and the world will vilify us behind our backs: but it is not the world which tries the heart—that is the prerogative of God alone. My dear cousin! I have often prayed for you behind your back, and now I pray for you to your face. There are many who would not forgive me this wrong, but I have known you so long, and so well, that I am not afraid of telling you how sincerely I wish for your growth in every Christian grace, in every thing that may promote and secure your everlasting welfare."

To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he thus writes:—"I am obliged to you for the interest you take in my welfare, and for your inquiring so particularly after the manner in which my time passes here. As to amusements—I mean what the world calls such—we have none; the place, indeed, swarms with them, and cards and dancing are the professed business of almost all the *gentle* inhabitants of Huntingdon. We refuse to take part in them, or to be accessories to this way of murdering our time, and by so doing have acquired the name of Methodists. Having told you how we do not spend our time, I will next say how we do. We breakfast commonly between eight and nine; till eleven, we read either the Scripture or the sermons of some faithful preacher; at eleven, we attend divine service, which is performed here every day; and from twelve to three, we separate and amuse ourselves as we please. During that interval, I read in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We seldom sit an hour after dinner, but, if the weather permits, adjourn into the garden, where, with Mrs. U. and her

son, I have generally the pleasure of religious conversation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converse within doors, or sing some hymns of Martin's collection, and by the help of Mrs. Unwin's harpsichord, make up a tolerable concert, in which our hearts are the best and the most musical performers. After tea, we sally forth to take a walk in good earnest, and we have generally travelled four miles before we see home again. At night we read and converse till supper, and commonly finish the evening either with hymns, or with a sermon; and last of all, the family are called to prayers. I need not tell you that such a life as this is consistent with the utmost cheerfulness; accordingly, we are all happy, and dwell together in unity as brethren. Mrs. Unwin has almost a maternal affection for me, and I have something very like a filial one for her, and her son and I are brothers. Blessed be the God of our salvation for such companions, and for such a life; above all, for a heart to relish it."

It was during his residence with this family, while they resided at Huntingdon, that he wrote some of those excellent letters to Mrs. Cowper, with extracts from which it is our intention to enrich this part of his memoirs. Speaking of the knowledge which Christians will have of each other hereafter, he remarks:—"Reason is able to form many plausible conjectures concerning the possibility of our knowing each other in a future state; and the Scripture has, here and there, favored us with an expression that looks at least like a slight intimation of it; but because a conjecture can never amount to a proof, and a slight intimation cannot be construed into a positive assertion, therefore I think we can never come to any absolute conclusion upon the subject. We may, indeed, reason about the plausibility of our conjectures, and we may discuss, with great industry and shrewdness of argument, those passages in the Scripture which seem to favor this opinion; but still no certain means having been afforded us, no certain end can be attained; and after all that can be said, it will still be doubtful whether we shall know each other or not. Both reason and Scripture, however, furnish us with a great number of arguments on the affirmative side. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Dives is represented as knowing Lazarus, and Abraham as knowing them both, and the discourse between them is entirely concerning their respective characters and circumstances upon earth. Here, therefore, our Saviour seems to countenance the notion of a mutual knowledge and recollection; and if a soul that has perished shall know a soul that is saved, surely the heirs of salvation shall know and recollect each other.

"Paul, in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, encourages the faithful and laborious minister of Christ to expect that a knowledge of those who had been converted by their instrumentality would contribute greatly to augment their felicity in a future state, when each minister should appear before the throne of God, saying, 'Here am I, with the children thou hast given me.' This seems to imply, that the apostle should know the converts, and the converts the apostle, at least at the day of judgment, and if then, why not afterwards?"

In another letter, the following excellent remarks occur respecting what will engage our thoughts and form part of our communications in heaven:—"The common and ordinary occurrences of life, no doubt, and even the ties of kindred, and of all temporal interests, will be entirely discarded from that happy society, and possibly even the remembrance of them done away; but it does not therefore follow that our spiritual concerns, even in this life, will be forgotten, neither do I think that they can ever appear trifling to us, in any the most distant period of eternity. God will then be all in all; our whole nature, the soul, and all its faculties, will be employed in praising and adoring him; and if so, will it not furnish us with a theme of thanksgiving, to recollect 'The rock whence we were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence we were digged?'—To recollect the time when our faith, which, under the tuition and nurture of the Holy Spirit, has produced such a plentiful harvest of immortal bliss, was as a grain of mustard-seed, small in itself, promising but little fruit, and producing less?—to recollect the various attempts that were made upon it by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and its various triumphs over all, by the assistance of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ? At present, whatever our convictions may be of the sinfulness and corruptions of our nature, we can make but a very imperfect estimate either of our weakness or our guilt. Then, no doubt, we shall understand the full value of the wonderful salvation wrought out for us by our exalted Redeemer; and it seems reasonable to suppose, that in order to form a just idea of our redemption, we shall be able to form a just one of the danger we have escaped; when we know how weak and frail we were, we shall be more able to render due praise and honor to his strength who fought for us; when we know completely the hatefulness of sin in the sight of God, and how deeply we were tainted with it, we shall know how to value the blood by which we were cleansed, as we ought."

In the following letter to the same lady, he says: "I am not sorry that what I have said concerning our knowledge of each other, in a future state, has a little inclined you to the affirmative. For though the redeemed of the Lord will be sure of being happy in that state, as infinite power, employed by infinite goodness, can make them, and therefore, it may seem immaterial whether we shall or shall not recollect each other hereafter; yet, our present happiness, at least, is a little interested in the question. A parent, a friend, a wife, must needs, I think, feel a little heart-ache at the thought of an eternal separation from the objects of their regard: and not to know them when they meet them in another state, or never to meet them at all, amounts, though not altogether, yet nearly to the same thing. Remember and recognize them, I have no doubt we shall; and to believe that they are happy will, indeed, be no small addition to our own felicity; but to *see* them so, will surely be a greater. Thus, at least, it appears to our present human apprehension; consequently, therefore, to think that when we leave them we lose them for ever, and must remain eternally ignorant whether those, who were flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, partake with us of celestial glory, or are disinherited of their heavenly portion, must shed a dismal gloom over all our present connections. For my own part, this life is such a momentary thing, and all its interests have so shrunk in my estimation, since, by the grace of our Lord Jesus, I became attentive to the things of another, that, like a worm in the bud of all my friendships and affections, this very thought would eat out the heart of them all, had I a thousand; and were their date to terminate in this life, I think I should have no inclination to cultivate and improve such a fugitive business. Yet friendship is necessary to our happiness here, and built upon Christian principles, upon which only it can stand, is a thing even of religious sanction—for what is that love, which the Holy Spirit, speaking by St. John, so much inculcates, but friendship? The only love which deserves the name, is a love which can enable the Christian to toil, and watch, and deny himself, and risk even exposure to death, for his brother. Worldly friendships are a poor weed compared with this;

and even this union of the spirit in the bond of peace, would suffer, in my mind at least, could I think it were only coeval with our earthly mansions. It may possibly argue great weakness in me, in this instance, to stand so much in need of future hopes, to support me in the discharge of present duty: but so it is. I am far, I know, very far, from being perfect in Christian love, or any other divine attainment, and am, therefore, unwilling to forego whatever may help me on my progress."

The anxiety of his mind respecting religion, and the progress he had made, and was still making in it, will appear from the following extract:—"You are so kind as to inquire after my health, for which reason I must tell you what otherwise would not be worth mentioning, that I have lately been just enough indisposed to convince me, that not only human life in general, but mine in particular, hangs by a slender thread. I am stout enough in appearance, yet a little illness demolishes me. I have had a serious shake, and the building is not so firm as it was. But I bless God for it, with all my heart. If the inner man be but strengthened day by day, as I hope, under the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit, it will be, no matter how soon the outward is dissolved. He who has, in a manner, raised me from the dead, in a literal sense, has given me the grace, I trust, to be ready, at the shortest notice, to surrender up to him that life which I have twice received from him. Whether I live or die, I desire it may be to his glory, and then it must be to my happiness. I thank God, that I have those amongst my kindred, to whom I can write, without reserve, my sentiments on this subject. A letter upon any other subject is more insipid to me than ever my task was, when a school-boy. I say not this in vain-glory, God forbid! but to show what the Almighty, whose name I am unworthy to mention, has done for me, the chief of sinners. Once he was a terror to me; and his service, oh, what a weariness it was! Now I can say I love him and his holy name, and am never so happy as when I speak of his mercies to me."

To the same correspondent he again writes. "To find those whom I love, clearly and strongly persuaded of evangelical truth, gives me a pleasure superior to any this world can afford. Judge, then, whether your letter, in which the body and substance of saving faith is so evidently set forth, could meet with a lukewarm reception at my hands, or be entertained with indifference! Do not imagine that I shall ever hear from you upon this delightful theme, without real joy, or without prayer to God to prosper you in the way of his truth. The book you mention, lies now upon my table; Marshall is an old acquaintance of mine; I have both read him, and heard him read, with pleasure and edification. The doctrines he maintains are, under the influence of the spirit of Christ, the very life of my soul, and the soul of all my happiness. That Jesus is a *present* Saviour from the guilt of sin, by his most precious blood, and from the power of it by his Spirit; that, corrupt and wretched in ourselves, in Him, and in Him *only*, we are complete; that being united to Jesus by a lively faith, we have a solid and eternal interest in his obedience and sufferings, to justify us before the face of our Heavenly Father; and that all this inestimable treasure, the earnest of which is in grace, and its consummation in glory, is given, freely *given* to us by God; in short, that he hath freely opened the kingdom of heaven *to all believers;* are truths which cannot be disproved, though they have been disputed. These are the truths, which, by the grace of God, shall ever be dearer to me than life itself; shall ever be placed next my heart, as the throne, whereon the Saviour himself shall sit, to sway all its motions, and reduce that world of iniquity and rebellion to a state of filial and affectionate obedience to the will of the most Holy.

"These, my dear cousin, are the truths to which, by nature, we are enemies; they debase the sinner, and exalt the Saviour, to a degree, which the pride of our hearts, while unsubdued by grace, is determined never to allow. May the Almighty reveal his Son in our hearts, continually more and more, and teach us ever to increase in love towards him for having given us the unspeakable riches of Christ."

In the following letter to the same lady, he again writes:—"I think Marshall one of the best writers, and the most spiritual expositors of the Scripture, I ever read. I admire the strength of his argument, and the clearness of his reasonings, upon those points of our most holy religion which are generally least understood (even by real Christians) as master-pieces of the kind. His section upon the union of the soul with Christ is an instance of what I mean; in which he has spoken of a most mysterious truth, with admirable perspicuity, and with great good sense, making it all the while subservient to his main purport, of proving holiness to be the fruit and effect of faith. I never met with an author who understood the plan of salvation better, or was more happy in explaining it."

That Cowper inspected very closely, and watched very narrowly his own heart, will appear by the following extract from a letter to the same lady:—"Oh pride! pride! it deceives with the subtlety of a serpent, and seems to walk erect, though it crawls upon the earth. How will it twist and twine itself about to get from under the cross, which it is the glory of our Christian calling to be able to bear with patience and good will. Those who can guess at the heart of a stranger, and you especially, who are of a compassionate temper, will be more ready to excuse me than I can be to excuse myself. But, in good truth, I am too frequently guilty of the abominable vice. How should such a creature be admitted into those pure and sinless mansions where nothing shall enter that defileth; did not the blood of Christ, applied by faith, take away the guilt of sin, and leave no spot or stain behind it! O what continual need have I of an almighty, all-sufficient Saviour! I am glad you are acquainted so *particularly* with all the circumstances of my story, for I know that your secrecy and discretion may be trusted with any thing. A thread of mercy ran through all the intricate maze of those afflictive providences, so mysterious to myself at the time, and which must ever remain so to all who will not see what was the great design of them; at the judgment-seat of Christ the whole shall be laid open. How is the rod of iron changed into a sceptre of love!

"I have so much cause for humility, and so much need of it too, and every little sneaking resentment is such an enemy to it, that I hope I shall never give quarter to any thing that appears in the shape of sullenness or self-consequence hereafter. Alas! if my best friend, who laid down his life for me, were to remember all the instances in which I have neglected him, and to plead them against me in judgment, where should I hide my guilty head in the day of recompense? I will pray therefore for blessings upon my friends though they cease to be so, and upon my enemies, though they continue such."

Cowper had now been an inmate with the Unwin family a little more than eighteen months; and the above extracts, taken from his confidential letters, describe the happy frame of his mind, and the great progress he had made in divine knowledge, during this period. Living in the enjoyment of the divine presence himself, and associated with those who

experienced the same invaluable privilege, he tranquilly pursued the even tenor of his Christian course with undiverted attention, and with holy zeal; nor did there appear the slightest reason to suppose that any alteration was likely to take place in his circumstances, or in the circumstances of the family. He might fairly have calculated upon the uninterrupted continuance, for many years, of the same distinguished privileges; but the dispensations of Divine Providence are sometimes awfully mysterious. Events unforeseen, and unexpected, are often occurring, which give a bias to our affairs quite different to any that we had ever conceived. Such was the melancholy occurrence which happened in this family, about this time, and which, at no distant period, led to Cowper's removal from Huntingdon.

Mr. Unwin, proceeding to his church, one Sunday morning in July, 1767, was flung from his horse, and received a dreadful fracture on the back part of his skull, under which he languished till the following Thursday, and then died. Cowper, in relating this melancholy event to his cousin, remarks: —"This awful dispensation has left an impression upon our spirits which will not presently be worn off. May it be a lesson to us to watch, since we know not the day, nor the hour, when our Lord cometh! At nine o'clock last Sunday morning, Mr. Unwin was in perfect health, and as likely to live twenty years as either of us, and by the following Thursday he was a corpse. The few short intervals of sense that were indulged him, he spent in earnest prayer, and in expressions of a firm trust and confidence in the only Saviour. To that stronghold we must resort at last, if we would have hope in death; when every other refuge fails, we are glad to fly to the only shelter to which we can repair to any purpose; and happy is it for us, when the false ground we have chosen for ourselves, breaks under us, and we find ourselves obliged to have recourse to that Rock which can never be shaken: when this is our lot, we receive great and undeserved mercy.

"The effect of this very distressing event will only be a change of my abode; for I shall still, by God's leave, continue with Mrs. Unwin, whose behavior to me has always been that of a mother to a son. We know not yet where we shall settle, but we trust that the Lord, whom we seek, will go before us, and prepare a rest for us. We have employed our friends, Mr. Hawes, Dr. Conyers, and Mr. Newton, to look out a place for us, but at present are entirely ignorant under which of the three we shall settle, or whether under any one of them."

Just after this melancholy event had occurred, and while the family were in the midst of their distress, Mr. Newton, then curate of Olney, while on his way home from Cambridge, providentially called upon Mrs. Unwin. The late Dr. Conyers had learned from Mr. Unwin's son, the change that had taken place in her mind, on the subject of religion; and he accordingly requested Mr. Newton to embrace the earliest opportunity of having some conversation with her on the subject. His visits could not possibly have been made at a more seasonable juncture. Mrs. Unwin was now almost overwhelmed with sorrow; and though the strength of her Christian principles preserved her from losing that confidence in the Almighty, which can alone support the mind under such distressing circumstances, yet, both she and Mr. Cowper stood in need of some judicious Christian friend, to administer to them the consolations of the gospel. Their Heavenly Father could not have sent them one more capable of binding up their wounds, and soothing their sorrow, than Mr. Newton. He knew when instrumentally, to pour the oil of consolation into their wounded spirits; and his providential visit proved as useful as it was seasonable. He invited them to fix their future abode at Olney, whither they repaired, in the following October, to a house he had provided for them, so near the vicarage in which he lived, that by opening a door in the garden wall, they could exchange mutual visits, without entering the street. Mrs. Unwin kept the house, and Cowper continued to board with her, as he had done during her husband's life.

CHAPTER VI.

Commencement of Cowper's intimacy with Mr. Newton. Pleasure it afforded him. His charitable disposition. Means provided for its indulgence, by the munificence of the late J. Thornton, Esq. Mr. Thornton's death. Cowper's poetic tribute to his memory. Remarks on the insufficiency of earthly objects to afford peace to the mind. His great anxiety for the spiritual welfare of his correspondents. Consolatory remarks addressed to his cousin. Severe affliction of his brother. Cowper's great concern on his behalf. Happy change that takes place in his brother's sentiments on religious subjects. His death. Cowper's reflections on it. Deep impression it made upon his mind. Description of his brother's character. Engages with Mr. Newton to write the Olney Hymns. Cowper's severe indisposition.

GREAT as were the advantages enjoyed by Cowper, while inmated with the Unwin family at Huntingdon, they were not to be compared with those which he experienced in his new situation at Olney. He spent his time nearly in the same manner as at Huntingdon, having the additional advantage of frequent religious intercourse with his friend, Mr. Newton, with whom he was upon terms of the closest intimacy. The amiable manners, and exemplary piety of Cowper, greatly endeared him to all with whom he was acquainted. He gladly availed himself of the benefits of religious conversation with the pious persons in Mr. Newton's congregation, and was particularly attentive to those among them, who were in circumstances of poverty. He regularly visited the sick, and, to the utmost extent of his power, afforded them relief. He attended the social meetings for prayer established by Mr. Newton; and at such seasons, when he was occasionally required to conduct the service, agitated as were his feelings before he commenced, he no sooner began, than he poured forth his heart unto God in earnest intercession, with a devotion equally simple, sublime, and fervent, affording to all who were present on these occasions proofs of the unusual combination of elevated genius, exquisite sensibility, and profound piety, by which he was pre-eminently distinguished. His conduct in private was consistent with the solemnity and fervor of these social devotional engagements. Three times a day he prayed, and gave thanks unto God, in retirement, besides the regular practice of domestic worship. His familiar acquaintance with, and experimental knowledge of the gospel, relieved him from all terror and anxiety of mind; his soul was stayed upon God; the divine promise and faithfulness were his support; and he lived in the enjoyment of perfect peace.

His hymns, most of which were composed at this period, prove that he was no stranger to those corrupt dispositions, which the best of men have to bewail, and which have so strong a tendency to draw away the mind from God. Against these dispositions, however, he was constantly upon the watch, and by the cultivation of devotional habits, with the gracious aid of the Divine Spirit, he suppressed every irregular desire, restrained every corrupt inclination, and ultimately came off successful in his spiritual warfare.

The first few years of his residence at Olney, may, perhaps, be regarded as the happiest of his

life. Associated intimately with his beloved friend, Mr. Newton, and availing himself of his valuable assistance, in his efforts to acquire divine knowledge, his heart became established in the truth, and he experienced that degree of confidence in God, which alone can insure peace of mind, and real tranquillity. Aware of the pleasure which he took in visiting the poor in his neighborhood, and contributing to their relief, Mr. Newton procured for him, a liberal annual allowance of cash, for the purpose of distribution, from the late excellent John Thornton, Esq. It is almost needless to add, that becoming the almoner of this distinguished philanthropist, was to Cowper a source of the greatest enjoyment. No individual was ever more alive to the cry of distress; he seemed, indeed, to possess almost an excess of this amiable sensibility. Nothing gladdened his heart more than to be the means of drying up the widow's tears, and assuaging the orphan's grief; which the liberality of this great philanthropist allowed him often to accomplish. The decease of Mr. Thornton took place in 1790, and Cowper has immortalized his memory, by the following beautiful and sublime eulogy:—

"Thee, Thornton, worthy in some page to shine
As honest, and more eloquent than mine,
I mourn; or, since thrice happy thou must be,
The world, no longer thy abode, not thee:
Thee to deplore were grief misspent indeed;
It were to weep that goodness has its meed
That there is bliss prepared in yonder sky,
And glory for the virtuous when they die.
What pleasure can the miser's fondled hoard,
Or spendthrift's prodigal excess afford,
Sweet as the privilege of healing wo,
Suffered by virtue, combating below?
That privilege was thine; Heaven gave thee means,
To illumine with delight the saddest scenes,
Till thy appearance chased the gloom, forlorn
As midnight, and despairing of a morn.
Thou hadst an industry in doing good,
Restless as his who toils and sweats for food;
Avarice in thee was the desire of wealth,
By rust unperishable, or by stealth;
And if the genuine worth of gold depend
On application to its noblest end,
Thine had a value in the scales of Heaven,
Surpassing all that mine or mint has given;
And though God made thee of a nature prone
To distribution, boundless, of thy own,
And still, by motives of religious force,
Impelled thee more to that heroic course,
Yet was thy liberality discreet,
Nice in its choice, and of a temperate heat;
And, though an act unwearied, *secret* still
As, in some solitude, the summer rill
Refreshes, where it winds, the faded green,
And cheers the drooping flowers, unheard, unseen.
Such was thy charity; no sudden start,
After long sleep, of passion in the heart;
But steadfast principle, and in its kind
Of close alliance with the eternal mind,
Traced easily to its true source above,
To Him whose works bespeak his nature, love.
Thy bounties all were Christian, and I make
This record of thee for the gospel's sake,
That the incredulous themselves may see
Its use and power exemplified in thee."

Owing to some cause, for which we are unable to account, Cowper's correspondence with his friends became much less frequent after his settlement at Olney, than it had been formerly: probably it might be attributed, in some degree at least, to his close intimacy with Mr. Newton, for they were seldom seven waking hours apart from each other. The same vein of genuine and unaffected piety, however, runs through those letters which he did write, and they abound with remarks of uncommon excellence. To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he thus expresses his feelings:—"You live in the centre of a world, I know you do not delight in. Happy are you, my dear friend, in being able to discern the insufficiency of all it can afford, to fill and satisfy the desires of an immortal soul! That God, who created us for the enjoyment of himself, has determined in mercy that it shall fail us here, in order that the blessed result of all our inquiries after happiness in the creature, may be a warm pursuit, and a close attachment to our true interests, in fellowship with him, through the mediation of our dear Redeemer. I bless his goodness, and his grace, that I have any reason to hope I am a partaker with you in the desire after better things, than are to be found in a world polluted by sin, and, therefore, devoted to destruction. May he enable us both to consider our present life in its only true light, as an opportunity put into our hands to glorify him amongst men, by a conduct suited to his word and will! I am miserably defective in this holy and blessed art, but I hope there is, at the bottom of all my sinful infirmities, a desire to live just so long as I may be enabled to answer, in some measure, at least, the end of my existence, in this respect; and then to obey the summons, and attend him in a world, where they who are his servants here, shall pay him an unsinful obedience for ever."

The lively interest which Cowper took, in the spiritual welfare of his correspondents, will appear in the following letter to his esteemed friend, Joseph Hill, Esq., dated 21st January, 1769:—"Dear Joe: I rejoice with you in your recovery, and that you have escaped from the hands of one, from whose hands you will not always escape. Death is either the most formidable, or most comfortable thing, we have in prospect, on this side of eternity. To be brought near to him, and to discern neither of these features in his face, would argue a degree of insensibility, of which I will not suspect my friend, whom I know to be a thinking man. You have been brought down to the sides of the grave, and you have been raised up again, by him who has the keys of the invisible world; who opens, and none can shut, who shuts and none can open. I do not forget to return thanks to him on your behalf, and to pray that your life, which he has spared, may be devoted to his service. 'Behold! I stand at the door, and knock,' is the word of him, on whom both our mortal and immortal life depend, and blessed be his name! it is the word of one who wounds only that he may heal, and who waits to be gracious. The language of every such dispensation is, 'Prepare to meet thy God.' It speaks with the voice of mercy and goodness; for, without such notices, whatever preparation we might make for other events, we should make none for this. My dear friend, I desire and pray, that when this last enemy shall come to execute an *unlimited* commission on us, we may be found ready, being established and rooted in a well-grounded faith in his name who conquered death, and triumphed over him on the cross. If I am ever enabled to look forward to death with comfort, which I thank God is sometimes the case, I do not take my view of it from the top of my own works and deservings, though God is witness, that the labor of my life is to keep a conscience void of offence towards him. Death is always formidable to me, but when I see him disarmed of his sting by having it sheathed in the body of Christ Jesus."

To the same friend, on another occasion, he thus writes:—"I take a friend's share in all your concerns, so far as they come to my knowledge, and consequently did not receive the news of your

marriage with indifference. I wish you and your bride all the happiness that belongs to the state; and the still greater felicity of that state which marriage is only a type of. All those connections shall be dissolved; but there is an indissoluble bond between Christ and his church, the subject of derision to an unthinking world, but the glory and happiness of all his people."

No one knew better how to administer consolation to those who were in distress, and certainly no one ever took a greater delight in doing it than Cowper. To his amiable cousin, Mrs. Cowper, who had been called to sustain a severe domestic affliction, he writes as follows:—"A letter from your brother, brought me yesterday the most afflicting intelligence that has reached me these many years; I pray God to comfort you, and to enable you to sustain this heavy stroke with that resignation to his will, which none but himself can give, and which he gives to none but his own children. How blessed and happy is your lot, my dear friend, beyond the lot of the greater part of mankind: that you know what it is to draw near to God in prayer, and are acquainted with a throne of grace! You have resources in the infinite love of a dear Redeemer, which are withheld from millions: and the promises of God, which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus, are sufficient to answer all your necessities, and to sweeten the bitterest cup which our Heavenly Father will ever put into your hand. May he now give you liberty to drink at these wells of salvation till you are filled with consolation and peace, in the midst of trouble. He has said, When thou passeth through the fire, I will be with thee, and when through the floods, they shall not overflow thee. You have need of such a word as this, and he knows your need of it; and the time of necessity is the time when he will be sure to appear in behalf of those who trust in him. I bear you and yours upon my heart before him, night and day. For I never expect to hear of distress, which shall call upon me with a louder voice to pray for the sufferer. I know the Lord hears me for myself, vile and sinful as I am, and believe, and am sure, that he will hear me for you also. He is the friend of the widow, and the father of the fatherless, even God in his holy habitation; in all our afflictions, he is afflicted; and when he chastens us, it is in mercy. Surely he will sanctify this dispensation to you, do you great and everlasting good by it, make the world appear like dust and vanity in your sight, as it truly is, and open to your view the glories of a better country, where there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor pain, but God shall wipe away all tears from your eyes for ever. O that comfortable word! 'I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction;' so that our very sorrows are evidences of our calling, and he chastens us because we are his children. My dear cousin, I commit you to the word of his grace, and to the comforts of his Holy Spirit. Your life is needful for your family; may God, in mercy to them, prolong it, and may he preserve you from the dangerous effects which a stroke like this might have upon a frame so tender as yours. I grieve for you, I pray for you; could I do more I would, but God must comfort you."

Cowper had scarcely forwarded this consolatory and truly Christian letter, when he was himself visited with a trial so severe as to call into exercise all that confidence in the Almighty which he had endeavored to excite in the mind of his amiable relative. He received a letter from his brother, then residing as a Fellow in Bene't. College, Cambridge, between whom and himself there had always existed an affection truly fraternal, stating that he was seriously indisposed. No brothers were ever more warmly interested in each other's welfare. At the commencement of Cowper's affliction, which led to his removal to St. Alban's, his brother had watched over him with the tenderest solicitude; and it was doubtless owing, in a great degree, to this tenderness, that Cowper was placed under the care of Dr. Cotton. While he remained at St. Alban's, his brother visited him, and, as has been related above, became the means of contributing materially to his recovery. On Cowper's removal to Huntingdon, these affectionate brothers adopted a plan for a frequent and regular interchange of visits, so that they were seldom many days without seeing each other, though the distance between their places of abode was fifteen miles; and, even after Cowper's removal to Olney, his brother, during the first two years, paid him several visits; they seemed, indeed, mutually delighted with an opportunity of being in each other's company.

Cowper, on hearing of his brother's illness, immediately repaired to Cambridge. To his inexpressible grief he found him in a condition that left little or no hopes of his recovery. In a letter to Mrs. Cowper, he thus describes his case:—"My brother continues much as he was. His case is a very dangerous one—an imposthume of the liver, attended by an asthma and dropsy. The physician has little hopes of his recovery; indeed I might say none at all, only, being a friend, he does not formally give him over by ceasing to visit him, lest it should sink his spirits. For my own part, I have no expectation of it, except by a signal interposition of Providence in answer to prayer. His case is clearly out of the reach of medicine, but I have seen many a sickness healed, where the danger has been equally threatening, by the only Physician of value. I doubt not he will have an interest in your prayers, as he has in the prayers of many. May the Lord incline his ear, and give an answer of peace. I know it is good to be afflicted; I trust you have found it so, and that under the teaching of the Spirit of God, we shall both be purified. It is the desire of my soul to seek a better country, where God shall wipe away all tears from the eyes of his people, and where, looking back upon the ways by which he has led us, we shall be filled with everlasting wonder, love, and praise."

Finding his brother on the verge of the grave, Cowper discovered the greatest anxiety respecting his everlasting welfare. He knew that his sentiments on some of the most important truths of religion had been long unsettled; and fully aware that while such was the case, he could experience no solid enjoyment in the present life, whatever might be his condition in future, he labored diligently to give him those views of the gospel which he had himself found so singularly beneficial; nor did he labor in vain. He had the unspeakable gratification to witness the complete triumph of the truth, and its consolatory influence upon the mind of his beloved brother, in his dying moments. Writing to Mr. Hill, he says:—"It pleased God to cut short my brother's connections and expectations here, yet, not without giving him lively and glorious views of a better happiness, than any he could propose to himself in such a world as this. Notwithstanding his great learning, (for he was one of the chief men in the University in that respect,) he was candid and sincere in his inquiries after truth. Though he could not agree to my sentiments when I first acquainted him with them, nor in many conversations which I afterwards had with him upon the subject, could he be brought to acquiesce in them as scriptural and true, yet I had no sooner left St. Alban's, than he began to study with the deepest attention those points on which we differed, and to furnish himself with the best writers upon them. His mind was kept open to conviction for five years, during all which time he labored in this pursuit with un-

wearied diligence, whilst leisure and opportunity were afforded. Amongst his dying words were these:—'Brother, I thought you wrong, yet wanted to believe as you did. I found myself not able to believe, yet always thought I should be one day brought to do so.' From the study of books, he was brought, upon his death-bed, to the study of himself, and there learnt to renounce his righteousness, and his own most amiable character, and to submit himself to the righteousness which is of God by faith. With these views, he was desirous of death: satisfied of his interest in the blessing purchased by the blood of Christ, he prayed for death with earnestness, felt the approaches of it with joy, and died in peace."

It afforded Cowper inexpressible delight to witness, in his brother's case, the consoling and animating power of those principles, which he had himself found to be so highly beneficial. This had been the object of his most anxious solicitude, from the period that God was pleased to visit him with the consolations of his grace. From that time he took occasion to declare to his brother what God had done for his soul; and neglected no opportunity of attempting to engage him in conversation of a spiritual kind. On his first visit to him at Cambridge, after he left St. Alban's, his heart being then full of the subject, he poured it out to his brother without reserve, taking care to show him, that what he had received was not merely a new set of notions, but a real impression of the truths of the gospel. His brother listened to his statements at first with some attention, and often labored to convince him, that the difference in their sentiments was much less real than verbal. Subsequently, however, he became more reserved; and though he heard patiently, he never replied, nor ever discovered a desire to converse on the subject. At the commencement of his affliction, little as was the concern he then felt for his spiritual interests, the thoughts of God, and of eternity, would sometimes force themselves upon his mind; at every little prospect of recovery, however, he found it no difficult matter to thrust them out again. It was evident that his mind was very far from being set on things spiritual and heavenly, as on almost every subject but that of religion, he could converse fluently. At every suitable opportunity, Cowper endeavored to give a serious turn to the discourse, but without any apparent success. Having obtained his permission, he prayed with him frequently; still, however, he seemed as careless and unconcerned as ever.

On one occasion, after his brother had, with much difficulty, survived a severe paroxysm of his disorder, he observed to him as he sat by his bed-side, "that, though it had pleased God to visit him with great afflictions, yet mercy was mingled with the dispensation. You have many friends that love you, and are willing to do all they can to serve you, and so, perhaps have many others in the like circumstances; but it is not the lot of every sick man, how much soever he may be beloved, to have a friend that can pray for him." He replied, "That is true; and I hope God will have mercy upon me." His love to Cowper, from that time, became very remarkable; there was a tenderness in it more than was merely natural; and he generally expressed it by calling for blessings upon him in the most affectionate terms, and with a look and manner not to be described. One afternoon, a few days before he died, he suddenly burst into tears, and said, with a loud cry, "O forsake me not!" Cowper went to the bed-side, grasped his hand, and tenderly inquired why he wished him to remain. "O brother," said he, "I am full of what I could say to you; if I live, you and I shall be more like one another than we have been; but whether I live or not, all is well, and will be so; I know it will; I have felt that which I never felt before; and am sure that God has visited me with this sickness, to teach me what I was too proud to learn in health. I never had satisfaction till now, having no ground to rest my hopes upon; but now I have a foundation which nothing can shake. I have peace in myself; and if I live, I hope it will be that I might be a messenger of peace to others. I have learned that in a moment, which I could not have learned by reading many books for many years. The light I have received comes late, but not too late, and it is a comfort to me that I never made the gospel truths a subject of ridicule. This bed would be to me a bed of misery, and it is so; but it is likewise a bed of joy, and a bed of discipline. Was I to die this night, I know I should be happy. This assurance, I hope, is quite consistent with the word of God. It is built upon a sense of my own utter insufficiency, and all-sufficiency of Christ. There is but one key to the New-Testament; there is but one interpreter. I cannot describe to you, nor shall I ever be able to describe to you, what I felt when this was given to me. May I make good use of it! How I shudder when I think of the danger I have just escaped! How wonderful is it that God should look upon me! Yet he sees me, and takes notice of all that I suffer. I see him too, and can hear him say, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you peace." He survived this change only a few days, and died happily, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

An event like this could not fail to make a deep impression upon the tender spirit of Cowper, and his feelings on the occasion were such as are not experienced by ordinary minds. The following letter to his amiable cousin shows clearly the state of his mind:—"You judge rightly of the manner in which I have been affected by the Lord's late dispensation towards my brother. I found it a cause of sorrow that I lost so near a relation, and one so deservedly dear to me, and that he left me just when our sentiments upon the most interesting subject became the same. But it was also a cause of joy, that it pleased God to give me a clear and evident proof that he had changed his heart, and adopted him into the number of his children. For this I hold myself peculiarly bound to thank him, because he might have done all that he was pleased to do for him, and yet have afforded him neither strength nor opportunity to declare it. He told me, that from the time he was first ordained, he began to be dissatisfied with his religious opinions, and to suspect that there were greater things revealed in the Bible, than were generally believed or allowed to be there. From the time when I first visited him, after my release from St. Alban's, he began to read upon the subject. It was at that time I informed him of the views of divine truth, which I had received in that school of affliction. He laid what I said to heart, and began to furnish himself with the best writers on the controverted points, whose works he read with great diligence and attention, carefully comparing them with the Scriptures. None ever truly and ingenuously sought the truth, but they found it. A spirit of earnest inquiry is the gift of God, who never says to any, Seek ye my face in vain. Accordingly, about ten days before his death, it pleased the Lord to dispel all his doubts, to reveal in his heart the knowledge of the Saviour, and to give him that firm and unshaken confidence in the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners, which is invariably followed by a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory."

Of the character of his much beloved brother, whose death filled him with mingled emotions of joy and grief, Cowper has given the following inte-

resting description:—"He was a man of a most candid and ingenuous spirit; his temper remarkably sweet, and in his behavior to me he had always manifested an uncommon affection. His outward conduct, so far as it fell under my notice, or I could learn it by the report of others, was perfectly decent and unblameable. There was nothing vicious in any part of his practice, but being of a studious, thoughtful turn, he placed his chief delight in the acquisition of learning, and made such progress in it, that he had but few rivals. He was critically skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; was beginning to make himself master of the Syriac, and perfectly understood the French and Italian, the latter of which he could speak fluently. Learned, however, as he was, he was easy and cheerful in his conversation, and entirely free from the stiffness which is generally contracted by men devoted to such pursuits."

"I had a brother once;
Peace to the memory of a man of worth!
A man of letters and of manners too!
Of manners, sweet, as virtue always wears,
When gay good humor dresses her in smiles!
He grac'd a college, in which order yet
Was sacred, and was honor'd, lov'd, and wept
By more than one, themselves conspicuous there."

Notwithstanding the cheerfulness with which Cowper bore up under this painful bereavement, when it first occurred, owing to the happy circumstances related above, with which it was attended, yet there is reason to believe that it made an impression upon his peculiarly sensitive mind, more deep than visible; and it was not soon to be effaced. It unquestionably diminished his attachment to the world, and made him less unwilling to leave it. Writing to his friend, Mr. Hill, at this time, he says:—"I have not done conversing with terrestrial objects, though I should be happy were I able to hold more continual converse with a friend above the skies. He has my heart, but he allows a corner of it for all who show me kindness, and therefore one for you. The storm of 1763, made a wreck of the friendships I had contracted in the course of many years, yours only excepted, which has survived the tempest."

It appears not improbable that his friend, Mr. Newton, might have witnessed, in the morbid tendency of his mind to melancholy, of which he then discovered symptoms, some traces of the deep and extensive wound which his mind had received by this event, though his efforts to conceal it were incessant. Hence, he wisely engaged him in a literary undertaking, congenial to his taste, suited to his admirable talents, and, perhaps, more adapted to alleviate his distress than any other that could have been selected. Mr. Newton had felt the want of a volume of evangelical hymns, on experimental subjects, suited for public and private worship; he mentioned the subject to Cowper, and pressed him to undertake it, and the result was, a friendly compact to supply the volume between them, with an understanding that Cowper was to be the principal composer. He entered upon this work with great pleasure; and though he does not appear, previous to this, to have employed his poetical talents for a considerable time, yet the admirable hymns he composed, show with what ease he could write upon the doctrinal, experimental, or practical parts of Christianity. One of our best living poets, whose writings more frequently remind us of Cowper's than any we have ever read, in an essay on the poet's productions, remarks:—"Of these hymns, it must suffice to say, that, like all his best compositions, they are principally communings with his own heart, or avowals of personal Christian experience. As such they are frequently applicable to every believer's feelings, and touch, unexpectedly, the most secret springs of joy and sorrow, faith, fear, hope, love, trial, despondency and triumph. Some allude to infirmities, the most difficult to be described, but often the source of excruciating anguish to the tender conscience. The 72d hymn, Book I. is written with the confidence of inspiration, and the authority of a prophet. The 96th hymn of the same book, is a perfect allegory in miniature, without a failing point, or confusion of metaphor, from beginning to end. Hymn 51, Book III. presents a transformation, which, if found in Ovid, might have been extolled as the happiest of his fictions. Hymn 12, Book II. closes with one of the hardiest figures to be met with out of the Hebrew Scriptures. None but a poet of the highest order could have written it; verses cannot go beyond it, and painting cannot approach it. Hymn 38, Book II. is a strain of most noble simplicity, expressive of confidence the most remote from presumption, and such as a heart at peace with God alone could enjoy and utter. Who can read the 55th hymn, Book II. without feeling as if he could, at that moment, forsake all, take up his cross, and follow his Saviour? The 19th hymn, Book III. is a model of tender pleading, of believing, persevering prayer in trouble; and the following one is a brief parody of Bunyan's finest passage, and is admirable of its kind. The reader might almost imagine himself Christian on his pilgrimage, the triumph and the trance are brought so home to his bosom. Hymn 15, of the same book, is a lyric, of high tone and character, and rendered awfully interesting, by the circumstances under which it was written—in the twilight of departing reason."*

The benevolent heart of Cowper was delighted in a high degree to co-operate with a man of Mr. Newton's talents and piety, in promoting the advancement of religion in his neighborhood. It is deeply to be regretted, that when he had only composed sixty-eight hymns, all of which were uncommonly excellent, and were afterwards published by Mr. Newton, in the Olney collection, he was laid aside from the interesting employment by serious indisposition. It pleased God, for reasons inscrutable to us, and which it would be impious to arraign, to visit the afflicted poet with a renewed attack of his former hypochondriacal complaint, more protracted, and not less violent, than the one he had before experienced. Just on the eve of the attack he commenced the following sublime hymn:—

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform:
He plants his footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

Deep in unfathomable mines
Of never-failing skill,
He treasures up his bright designs,
And works his sovereign will.

Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take!
The clouds ye so much dread
Are big with mercy, and shall break
In blessings on your head.

Judge not the Lord by feeble sense,
But trust him for his grace;
Behind a frowning providence
He hides a smiling face.

His purposes all ripen fast,
Unfolding every hour;

* Essay on Cowper's Productions, by James Montgomery.

The bud may have a bitter taste,
But sweet will be the flower.

Blind unbelief is sure to err,
And scan His work in vain;
God is his own interpreter,
And he will make it plain."

CHAPTER. VII.

Great severity of Cowper's mental depression. His presentiment of it. Its consequences. Remarks upon its probable cause. Absurdity of attributing it, in any degree, to religion. Mrs. Unwin's great attention to him. His aversion to the company of strangers. Symptoms of his recovery. Domesticates three leverets. Amusement they afford him. Mr. Newton's removal from Olney Introduction of Mr. Bull, to Cowper. His translation of Madame de la Guyon's poems, at Mr. Bull's request. Commences his original productions, at the suggestion of Mrs. Unwin. Renews his correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Newton. Describes the state of his mind.

We are again arrived at another of those melancholy periods of Cowper's life, over which it must be alike the duty of the biographer, and the wish of the reader, to cast a veil. Mental aberration, whoever may be the subject of it, excites the tenderest commiseration of all; but if there be a time when it may be contemplated with emotions more truly distressing than another, it is when it attacks those who are endowed with talents the most brilliant, with dispositions the most amiable, and with piety the most ardent and unobtrusive. Such was eminently the case in the present instance. To see a mind like Cowper's enveloped in the thickest gloom of despondency, and for several years, in the prime of life, remaining in a state of complete inactivity and misery, must have been distressing in no ordinary degree.

A short time previous to the afflictive visitation, Cowper appears to have received some presentiment of its approach, and during a solitary walk in the fields, as was hinted above, he composed that beautiful hymn in the Olney collection with which we closed our last chapter. On this occasion, acute as may have been his feelings, he must have experienced an unshaken confidence in God; for it is scarcely possible to read this admirable production, however dark and distressing the dispensations of Divine Providence towards us may be, without enjoying the same delightful emotions. About the same time, he composed the hymn entitled "Temptation," the following lines from which will show how powerfully his mind was then exercised:

"The billows swell, the winds are high,
Clouds overcast my wintry sky;
Out of the depths to thee I call,
My fears are great, my strength is small.

O Lord, the pilot's part perform,
And guide and guard me through the storm;
Defend me from each threatening ill,
Control the waves, say 'Peace, be still.

Amidst the roaring of the sea,
My soul still hangs her hope on thee;
Thy constant love, thy faithful care,
Is all that saves me from despair."

He now relapsed into a state very much resembling that which had previously occasioned his removal to St. Alban's. This second attack occurred in 1773: he remained in the same painful and melancholy condition, without even a single alleviation of his sufferings, for the protracted period of five years; and it was five years more before he wholly recovered the use of his admirable powers. His mind, which covld formerly soar on the wings of faith and love, to the utmost limits of Christian knowledge and enjoyment, now sunk into the lowest depths of depression, and here seemed as if it would remain immovably fixed; rejecting, with deplorable firmness, every species of consolation that was attempted to be administered.

Various causes have been assigned, by different writers, for the melancholy aberration of mind of which Cowper was now, and at other seasons of his life, the subject; but none are so irreconcilable to every thing like just and legitimate reasoning, as the attempt to ascribe it to religion. That unjust views of the character of God, and of the nature of the gospel, may never have been the predisposing causes of great and severe mental depression, we are not disposed to deny, though we think this a case of very rare occurrence, and one in which the subject of it must be in a state of great ignorance respecting the fundamental truths of religion. Ought this, however, when it does happen, to be identified with religion, of which, at the best, it can only be regarded as a mere caricature? There was evidently, in the case of Cowper, nothing that bore the slightest resemblance to this. Making some allowances for expressions occasionally employed by him peculiar to the system which he had embraced, perhaps it will not be saying too much to affirm, that no individual ever entertained more scriptural views of the gospel dispensation in all its parts, and of the perfections and attributes of its great Author, than this excellent man. The letters he wrote to his correspondents, and the hymns he composed, prior to this second attack, prove unquestionably that his views of religion were at the remotest distance from what can be termed visionary or enthusiastic; on the contrary, they were perfectly scriptural and evangelical, and were, consequently, infinitely more adapted to support than to depress his mind.

The living poet whom we have before quoted, remarks:—"With regard to Cowper's malady, there scarcely needs any other proof that it was not occasioned by his religion than this, that the error on which he stumbled was in direct contradiction to his creed. He believed that he had been predestinated to life, yet under his delusion imagined that God, who cannot lie, repent, or change, had, in his sole instance, and in one moment, reversed his own decree, which had been in force from all eternity. At the same time, by a perversion of the purest principles of Christian obedience, he was so submissive to what he erroneously supposed was the will of God, that, to have saved himself from the very destruction which he dreaded, he would not avail himself of any of the means of grace, even presuming they might have been efficacious, because he believed they were forbidden to him. Yet, in spite of the self-evident impossibility of his faith affecting a sound mind with such a hallucination—though a mind previously diseased might as readily fall into that as the other; in spite of chronology, his first aberration having taken place before he had 'tasted the good word of God;' in spite of geography, that calamity having befallen him in London, where he had no acquaintance with persons holding the reprobated doctrines of election and sovereign grace; and in spite of fact, utterly undeniable, that the only effectual consolations which he experienced under his first or subsequent attacks of depression, arose from the truths of the gospel;—in spite of all these unanswerable confutations of the ignorant and malignant falsehood, the enemies of Christian truth persevere in repeating, 'that too much religion made poor Cowper mad.' If they be sincere, they are themselves under the strongest delusion; and it will be well if it prove not, on their part, a wilful one—it

will be well if they have not reached that last perversity of human reason, to believe a falsehood of their own invention."

The remarks of Mr. Hayley, in his admirable life of the poet, page 144, vol. 1, are, we think, liable to some objection. He says—"So fearfully and wonderfully are we made, that man in all conditions ought, perhaps, to pray that he never may be led to think of his Creator and of his Redeemer, either too little or too much, since human misery is often seen to arise equally, from an utter neglect of all spiritual concerns, and from a wild extravagance of devotion."

It is surely needless to observe, that the devotion of Cowper was as much unlike what could, with any degree of propriety, be termed wild or extravagant, as can well be imagined. To what description of devotion Mr. Hayley would apply these epithets we cannot tell, but surely not to that which is scripturally evangelical, which was eminently the character of Cowper's and which is of a nature so heavenly and spiritual, so perfectly adapted to the circumstances of mankind, and withal so soothing and consoling, that it can never be carried to excess. The more powerfully its influence is felt upon the mind, the more extensive must be the enjoyment it produces, unless when it pleases God, as in the case of Cowper, to disorganize the mental powers, and thereby unfit it for the reception of that comfort which it would otherwise experience.

Mental disorganization may undoubtedly arise from an almost infinite variety of causes, many of which, as in the poet's case, must for ever elude our search, though they are all under the control of that God, who is the giver of life and its preserver. Real religion, however, which consists in a cordial reception of the truth in the heart, can never produce it in the remotest degree; evangelical devotion cannot be too intense, nor can we know too much of our Creator and Redeemer. Contemplating the Divine Being apart from the gospel of Christ, or through the distorting medium of our own fancies, may possibly, in some cases, produce depression; viewing him as he is presented to our minds in the Scriptures, in all the plenitude of his goodness and benevolence, is sure to be productive of consequences directly opposite. Instead of there being any danger likely to arise from having our thoughts too much employed upon the character of God, we think a scripturally comprehensive view of his perfections the best possible preservative from despair. To represent an excess of devotion as the cause of Cowper's malady, in however slight a degree, is obviously opposed to every consistent view of religion, and is assigning that for its cause which was infinitely more likely to become its only effectual cure.

The melancholy condition to which Cowper was now reduced, afforded Mrs. Unwin an opportunity of proving the warmth of her affection for, and the sincerity of her attachment to, the dejected poet. He now required to be watched with the greatest care, vigilance, and perseverance; and it pleased God to endow her with all that tenderness, fortitude, and firmness of mind, which were requisite for the proper discharge of duties so important. Her incessant care over him, during the long fit of his depressive malady, could only be equalled by the pleasure she experienced on seeing his pure and powerful mind gradually emerge from that awful state of darkness in which it had been enveloped, into the clear sunshine of liberty and peace: she hailed his approach to convalescence, slowly as it advanced, with the mingled emotions of gratitude and praise.

Cowper, throughout the whole of this severe attack, was inaccessible to all, except his friend Mr. Newton who, during the whole of its continuance, watched over him with the greatest tenderness, and was indefatigable in his efforts to administer consolation to his depressed spirit. He once entertained him fourteen months at the vicarage, and, with untired perseverance, labored incessantly to dissipate the dark cloud that had gathered over his mind; but to every consolatory suggestion he was utterly deaf, concluding that God had rejected him, and that, consequently, it was sinful for him even to wish for mercy. How awful are the effects of mental disorganization! how easily does it convert that into poison which was designed for solid food! how highly ought we to prize, and how thankful ought we to be, for the uninterrupted enjoyment of our mental powers!

After enduring an accumulation of anguish, almost inconceivable, for the long space of five years, unalleviated by a single glimpse of comfort, the interesting sufferer began at length gradually to recover. He listened to the advice of Mrs. Unwin, and allowed her, occasionally at least, to divert his mind from those melancholy considerations by which he had so long been burdened. It now occurred to Mrs. Unwin that he might probably find it beneficial to be employed in some amusing occupation. She suggested this to some of her neighbors, who all deplored the poet's case, felt a lively interest in his welfare, and would gladly have done any thing in their power, that was the least likely to mitigate his distress.

The children of one of his neighbors had recently given them, for a plaything, a young leveret; it was at that time about three months old. Understanding better how to teaze the poor creature, than to feed it, and soon becoming weary of their charge, they readily consented that their father, who saw it pining, and growing leaner every day, should offer it to Cowper's acceptance. Beginning then to be glad of any thing that would engage his attention without fatiguing it, he was willing enough to take the prisoner under his protection, perceiving that, in the management of such an animal, and in the attempt to tame it, he should find just that sort of employment which his case required. It was soon known among his neighbors that he was pleased with the present; and the consequence was, that in a short time, he had as many leverets offered him, as would have stocked a paddock. He undertook the care of three, which he named Puss, Tiney, and Bess. The choice of their food, and the diversity of their dispositions, afforded him considerable amusement, and their occasional diseases excited his sympathy and tenderness. One remained with him during the whole of his abode at Olney, and was afterwards celebrated in his unrivalled poem, the Task; and, at its decease, honored with a beautiful epitaph from his pen; another lived with him nearly nine years; but the third did not long survive the restraints of its confined situation. An admirably written narrative of these animals, from his own pen, was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine of that day, which has since been published at the end of almost every edition of his works.

For a considerable period, Cowper's only companions were Mrs. Unwin, Mr. and Mrs. Newton, and his three hares. About this time, it pleased God to remove Mr. Newton to another scene of labor. Deeply interested in the welfare of his afflicted friend, and aware of his aversion to the visits of strangers, Mr. Newton thought it advisable, before he left Olney, to introduce to his interesting but most afflicted friend, the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Newport Pagnel. After some difficulty, Mr. Newton triumphed over Cowper's extreme reluctance to see strangers, and Mr. Bull visited him regularly once a fortnight, and gradually acquired his cordial and confidential esteem.

Of this gentleman, Cowper, in one of his letters, gives the following playful and amusing description:

"You are not acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Newport—perhaps it is as well for you that you are not. You would regret still more than you do, that there are so many miles interposed between us. He spends part of the day with us to-morrow. A dissenter, but a liberal one; a man of letters and of genius; master of a fine imagination, or rather not master of it; an imagination which, when he finds himself in the company he loves, and can confide in, runs away with him into such fields of speculation, as amuse and enliven every other imagination that has the happiness to be of the party. At other times, he has a tender and delicate sort of melancholy in his disposition, not less agreeable in its way. No men are better qualified for companions in such a world as this, than men of such a temperament. Every scene of life has two sides, a dark and a bright one; and the mind that has an equal mixture of melancholy and vivacity, is best of all qualified for the contemplation of either. He can be lively without levity, and pensive without dejection. Such a man is Mr. Bull: but—he smokes tobacco—nothing is perfect."

Mr. Bull, who probably regarded the want of some regular employment as one of the predisposing causes of Cowper's illness, prevailed upon him to translate several spiritual songs, from the poetry of Madame de la Mothe Guyon, the friend of the mild and amiable Fenelon. The devotion of these songs is not of that purely unexceptionable character which might be wished; and if devotional excitement had been the cause of Cowper's malady, no recommendation could have been more injudicious. The result, however, was beneficial to the poet, instead of being injurious, proving irresistibly that devotion had a soothing, rather than an irritating effect upon his mind.

Much as Cowper admired these songs, for that rich vein of pure and exalted devotion, which runs through the whole of them, he was not insensible to their defects, as will appear by the following remarks:—"The French poetess is certainly chargeable with the fault you mention, though I think it not so glaring in the piece I sent you. I have endeavored, indeed, in all the translations I have made, to cure her of the evil, either by the suppression of exceptionable passages, or by a more sober manner of expression. Still, however, she will be found to have conversed familiarly with God, but I hope not fulsomely, nor so as to give reasonable disgust to a religious reader. That God should deal familiarly with them, or, which is the same thing, that he should permit man to deal familiarly with him, seems not very difficult to conceive, or presumptuous to suppose, when some things are taken into consideration. Wo to the sinner, however, that shall dare to take a liberty with him that is not warranted by his word, or to which he himself has not encouraged him. When he assumed man's nature, he revealed himself as the friend of man. He conversed freely with him while he was upon earth, and as freely with him after his resurrection. I doubt not, therefore, that it is possible to enjoy an access to him even now, unencumbered with ceremonious awe, easy, delightful, and without restraint. This, however, can only be the lot of those who make it the business of their lives to please him, and to cultivate communion with him; and then I presume there can be no danger of offence, because such a habit of the soul is his own creation, and near as we come, we come no nearer to him than he is pleased to draw us; if we address him as children, it is because he tells us he is our Father: if we unbosom ourselves to him as our friend, it is because he calls us friends; if we speak to him in the language of love, it is because he first used it, thereby teaching us that it is the language he delights to hear from his people. But I confess, that through the weakness, the folly, and corruption of human nature, this privilege, like all other Christian privileges, is liable to abuse. There is a mixture of evil in every thing we do; indulgence encourages us to encroach, and while we exercise the rights of children, we become childish. Here, I think, is the point in which my authoress failed, and here it is that I have particularly guarded my translation, not afraid of representing her as dealing with God familiarly, but foolishly, irreverently, and without due attention to his majesty, of which she is somewhat guilty. A wonderful fault for such a woman to fall into, who spent her life in the contemplation of his glory, who seems to have been always impressed with a sense of it, and sometimes quite absorbed by the views she had of it."

Mrs. Unwin, who still watched over her patient with the tenderest anxiety, saw with inexpressible delight, the first efforts of his mind, after his long and painful depression; and perceiving that translation had a good effect, she wisely urged him to employ his mind in composing some original poem, which she thought more likely to become beneficial. Cowper now listened to her advice, and felt so powerfully the obligations under which he was laid to her, for her continued attention and kindness, that he cheerfully complied with her request. The result exceeded her most sanguine expectation. A beautiful poem was produced, entitled Table Talk; another, called the Progress of Error, was shortly composed; Truth, as a pleasing contrast, followed it; this was succeeded by others of equal excellence, proving that the poet's mind had now completely emerged from that darkness in which it had so long been confined by his depressive malady.

It is interesting to observe, that Cowper's poems were almost invariably composed at the suggestion of friends. He wrote hymns to oblige Mr. Newton; translated Madame Guyon's songs, to gratify his friend Mr. Bull, and composed the greater part of his poems, to please Mrs. Unwin. The influence of friendship on his tender mind, was powerfully affecting; and he ever regarded it as his happiest inspiration. It kindled the warmth of his heart into a flame, intense and ardent, stimulated into activity the rich, but dormant powers of his mind, and produced those bursts of poetic feeling and beauty, which abound in his unrivalled compositions.

Cowper regained his admirable talent for composition, both in poetry and in prose, and renewed his correspondence with some of his more intimate friends, long before his mind was wholly convalescent; and his letters, written at this period, afford the best clue to the painful peculiarities of his case. On every other subject but that of his own feelings, his remarks are in the highest degree pleasing; and there was often a sprightliness and vivacity about them, that seemed to indicate a state of mind at the remotest distance from painful; but whenever he adverted to his own case, it was in a tone the most plaintive and melancholy.

Immediately after the removal of his esteemed friends, Mr. and Mrs. Newton, he commenced a correspondence with them, which he regularly kept up during almost the whole of his life. To Mrs. Newton, soon after this event, he thus describes his feelings on the occasion. "The vicarage-house became a melancholy object as soon as Mr. Newton had left it; when you left it, it became more melancholy; now it is actually occupied by another family, I cannot even look at it without being shocked. As I walked in the garden last evening, I saw the smoke issue from the study chimney, and said to myself, that used to be a sign that Mr. Newton was there; but it is so no longer. The walls of the house know nothing of the change that has taken place, the bolt of the chamber door sounds

just as it used to do, and when Mr. P—— goes up stairs, for aught I know, or ever shall know, the fall of his foot can hardly, perhaps, be distinguished from that of Mr. Newton. But Mr. Newton's foot will never be heard upon that staircase again. These reflections, and such as these, occurred to me on this occasion. If I were in a condition to leave Olney, I certainly would not stay in it. It is no attachment to the place that binds me here, but an unfitness for every other. I lived in it once, but now I am buried in it, and have no business with the world on the outside of my sepulchre; my appearance would startle them, and theirs would be shocking to me."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, 3d May, 1780, he thus writes:—"You indulge me in such a variety of subjects, and allow me such a latitude of excursion, in this scribbling employment, that I have no excuse for silence. I am much obliged to you for swallowing such boluses as I send you, for the sake of my gilding, and verily believe, I am the only man alive, from whom they would be welcome, to a palate like yours. I wish I could make them more splendid than they are, more alluring to the eye, at least, if not more pleasing to the taste, but my leaf-gold is tarnished, and has received such a tinge from the vapors that are ever brooding over my mind, that I think it no small proof of your partiality to me, that you will read my letters. If every human being upon earth could think for one quarter of an hour, as I have thought for many years, there might perhaps be many miserable men among them, but not one unawakened one would be found, from the Arctic to the Antarctic circle. At present, the difference between them and me is greatly to their advantage. I delight in baubles, and know them to be so, for, rested in, and viewed without a reference to their author, what is the earth, what are the planets, what is the sun itself, but a bauble? Better for a man never to have seen them, or to see them with the eyes of a brute, stupid and unconscious of what he beholds, than not to be able to say, 'The maker of these wonders is my friend!' Their eyes have never been opened, to see that they are trifles; mine have been, and will be, till they are closed for ever."

"I live in a world abounding with incidents, upon which many grave, and perhaps some profitable observations, might be made; but these incidents never reaching my unfortunate ears, both the entertaining narrative, and the reflections it might suggest, are to be annihilated and lost. I look back on the past week, and say, what did it produce? I ask the same question of the week preceding, and duly receive the same answer from both—nothing! A situation like this, in which I am as unknown to the world, as I am ignorant of all that passes in it—in which I have nothing to do but to think, would exactly suit me, were my subjects of meditation as agreeable as my leisure is uninterrupted: my passion for retirement is not at all abated, after so many years spent in the most sequestered state, but rather increased; a circumstance I should esteem wonderful, to a degree not to be accounted for, considering the condition of my mind, did I not know that we think as we are made to think, and of course, approve and prefer, as Providence, who appoints the bounds of our habitation, chooses for us. Thus, I am both free, and a prisoner at the same time. The world is before me; I am not shut up in the Bastile; there are no moats about my castle, no locks upon my gates, of which I have not the keys; but an invisible, uncontrollable agency, a local attachment, an inclination, more forcible than I ever felt, even to the place of my birth, serves me for prison walls, and for bounds, which I cannot pass. In former years I have known sorrow, and before I had ever tasted of spiritual trouble. The effect was, an abhorrence of the scene in which I had suffered so much, and a weariness of those objects which I had so long looked at with an eye of despondency and dejection. But it is otherwise with me now. The same cause subsisting, and in a much more powerful degree, fails to produce its natural effect. The very stones in the garden walls, are my intimate acquaintance. I should miss almost the minutest object, and be disagreeably affected by its removal, and am persuaded, that were it possible I could leave this incommodious nook for a twelvemonth, I should return to it again with raptures, and be transported with the sight of objects, which, to all the world beside, would be at least indifferent; some of them, perhaps, such as the ragged thatch, and the tottering walls, disgusting. But so it is, and it is so, because here is to be my abode, and because such is the appointment of Him who placed me in it. It is the place of all the world I love the most, not for any happiness it affords me, but because here I can be miserable with most convenience to myself, and with least disturbance to others."

In a letter to Mrs. Unwin's son, with whom he had now commenced a correspondence, he thus describes his feelings:—"So long as I am pleased with an employment, I am capable of unwearied application, because my feelings are all of the intense kind: I never received a little pleasure from any thing in my life; if I am delighted, it is in the extreme. The unhappy consequence of this temperature is, that my attachment to my occupation seldom outlives the novelty of it. That nerve of my imagination that feels the touch of any particular amusement, twangs under the energy of the pressure with so much vehemence, that it soon becomes sensible of weariness and fatigue."

Writing to Mr. Newton, 12th July, 1780, he thus again adverts to his own case:—"Such nights as I frequently spend, are but a miserable prelude to the succeeding day, and indispose me, above all things, to the business of writing. Yet with a pen in my hand, if I am able to write at all, I find myself gradually relieved; and as I am glad of any employment that may serve to engage my attention, so especially I am pleased with an opportunity of conversing with you, though it be but upon paper. This occupation, above all others, assists me in that self-deception, to which I am indebted for all the little comfort I enjoy; things seem to be as they were, and I almost forget that they can never be so again. If I have strength of mind, I have not strength of body for the task, which, you say, some would impose upon me. I cannot bear much thinking. The meshes of that fine net-work, the brain, are composed of such mere spinner's threads in me, that when a long thought finds its way into them, it buzzes, and twangs, and bustles about, at such a rate, as seems to threaten the whole contexture."

To the same correspondent he writes on another occasion:—"Your sentiments, with respect to me, are exactly like Mrs. Unwin's. She, like you, is perfectly sure of my deliverance, and often tells me so; I make her but one answer, and sometimes none at all. That answer gives *her* no pleasure, and would give *you* as little; therefore, at this time I suppress it. It is better on every account that they who interest themselves so deeply in that event, should believe the certainty of it, than that they should not. It is a comfort to *them*, at least, if it be none to me, and as I could not, if I would, so neither would I, if I could, deprive them of it. If human nature may be compared to a piece of tapestry, (and why not?) then human nature, as it subsists in me, though it is sadly faded on the right side, retains all its color on the wrong. At this season of the year,

and in this gloomy and uncomfortable climate, it is no easy matter for the owner of a mind like mine, to divert it from sad subjects, and fix it upon such as may administer to its amusement. Poetry, above all things, is useful to me in this respect. While I am held in pursuit of pretty images, or a pretty way of expressing them, I forget every thing that is irksome, and, like a boy that plays truant, determine to avail himself of the present opportunity to be amused, regardless of future consequences. It will not be long perhaps, before you will receive a poem, called the *Progress of Error;* that will be succeeded by another, in due time, called *Truth.* Don't be alarmed. I ride Pegasus with a curb. He will never run away with me again. I have even convinced Mrs. Unwin, that I can manage him, and make him stop, when I please."

On another occasion he gives the following curious and playful description of himself:—"I can compare this mind of mine to nothing that resembles it more, than to a board, that is under the carpenter's plane, (I mean while I am writing to you;) the shavings are my uppermost thoughts; after a few strokes of the tool, it acquires a new surface; this again, upon a repetition of his task, he takes off, and a new surface still succeeds. Whether the shavings of the present day, will be worth your acceptance, I know not; I am, unfortunately, made neither of cedar nor of mahogany, but *Truncus ficulnus, inutile lignum,* consequently, though I should be planed till I am as thin as a wafer, it will be but rubbish at last."

To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he thus plaintively describes his feelings:—"My days steal away silently, and march on, (as poor mad Lear would have made his soldiers march) as if they were shod with felt; not so silently but that I hear them, yet were it not that I am always listening to their flight, having no infirmity that I had not when I was much younger, I should deceive myself with an imagination that I am still young. I am fond of writing, as an amusement, but do not always find it one. Being rather scantily furnished with subjects that are good for any thing, and corresponding only with those who have no relish for such as are good for nothing, I often find myself reduced to the necessity, the disagreeable necessity, of writing about myself. This does not mend the matter much; for though, in a description of my own condition, I discover abundant materials to employ my pen upon, yet as the task is not very agreeable to *me*, so, I am sufficiently aware, that it is like to prove irksome to others. A painter, who should confine himself, in the exercise of his art, to the drawing of his own picture, must be a wonderful coxcomb indeed, if he did not soon grow sick of his occupation, and be peculiarly fortunate if he did not make others as sick as himself."

Notwithstanding Cowper's depressive malady, yet his views of religion, even at that period, remained unaltered, and were as much distinguished for their excellence as ever. Writing to his friend, Mr. Unwin, the following judicious remarks occur, respecting keeping the Sabbath:—"With respect to the advice you are required to give to a young lady, that she may be properly instructed in the manner of keeping the Sabbath, I just subjoin a few hints that have occurred to me on the occasion. I think the Sabbath may be considered, first, as a commandment, no less binding upon Christians than upon Jews. The spiritual people among them did not think it enough, merely to abstain from manual occupations on that day, but entering more deeply into the meaning of the precept, allotted those hours they took from the world, to the cultivation of holiness in their own souls; which ever was, and ever will be, incumbent upon all who have the Scripture in their hands, and is of perpetual obligation, both upon Jews and Christians; the commandment enjoins it, and the prophets have enforced it; and, in many instances, the breach of it has been punished with a providential severity, that has made bystanders tremble. Secondly, it may be considered as a *privilege*, which you will know how to dilate upon better than I can tell you; thirdly, as a sign of that covenant by which believers are entitled to a rest that yet remaineth; fourthly, as the *sine qua non* of the Christian character, and upon this head, I should guard against being misunderstood to mean no more than two attendances upon public worship, which is a form observed by thousands who never kept a Sabbath in their lives. Consistence is necessary to give substance and solidity to the whole. To sanctify the day at church, and to trifle it away out of church, is profanation, and vitiates all. After all, I should say to my catechumen, Do you love the day, or do you not? If you love it, you will never inquire how far you may safely deprive yourself of the enjoyment of it. If you do not love it, and you find yourself in conscience obliged to acknowledge it, that is an alarming symptom, and ought to make you tremble. If you do not love it, then it is a weariness to you, and you wish it over. The ideas of labor and rest, are not more opposite to each other than the idea of a Sabbath, and that dislike and disgust, with which it fills the souls of thousands, to be obliged to keep it: it is worse than bodily labor."

To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he again writes:—"I know not what impressions time may have made upon your person, for while his claws, (as our grandams called them,) strike deep furrows in some faces, he seems to sheath them with much tenderness, as if fearful of doing injury to others. But, though an enemy to the body, he is a friend to the mind, and you have doubtless found him so. Though, even in this respect, his treatment of us depends upon what he meets with at our hands, if we use him well, and listen to his admonitions, he is a friend indeed; but otherwise, the worst of enemies, who takes from us daily, something that we valued, and gives us nothing better in its stead. It is well with them, who, like you, can stand a tip-toe on the mountain-top of human life, look down with pleasure upon the valley they have passed, and sometimes stretch their wings in joyful hope of a happy flight into eternity. Yet a little while, and your hope will be accomplished. The course of a rapid river is the justest of all emblems, to express the variableness of our scene below. Shakspeare says, none ever bathed himself twice in the same stream; and it is equally true, that the world upon which we close our eyes at night, is never the same as that upon which we open them in the morning."

CHAPTER VIII.

Makes preparations for publishing his first volume. Reasons assigned for it. Beneficial effects of composition on his mind. His comparative indifference to the success of his volume. Great care, nevertheless, with which he composed it. His readiness to avail himself of the assistance and advice of his friends. The interest which Mr. Newton took in his publication. Writes the preface for the volume. Cowper's judicious reply to some objections that had been made to it. Publication of the volume. Manner in which it was received. Continuance of Cowper's depression. State of his mind respecting religion. His warm attachment to the leading truths of the gospel. Ardent desires to make his volume the means of conveying them to others.

More than seven years had now elapsed since the commencement of Cowper's distressing malady; and though he was not yet perfectly recovered, he had, at length, gradually acquired the full exercise of those mental powers for which he was so highly distinguished. Having now employed his

muse, with the happiest effect, for nearly two years, he had composed a sufficient number of lines to form a respectable volume. Mrs. Unwin had witnessed with delight the productions of his pen, and she now wisely urged him to make them public. He was, at first, exceedingly averse to the measure; but, after some consideration, he at length yielded to her suggestions, and made preparations to appear as an author. His letters to his correspondents on the subject are highly interesting, and afford a full development of the design he had in view in appearing before the public. To Mr. Unwin he thus writes:—"Your mother says I *must* write, and *must* admits of no apology; I might otherwise plead that I have nothing to say, that I am weary, that I am dull, that it would be more convenient for you, as well as for myself, that I should let it alone. But all these pleas, and whatever pleas besides, either disinclination, indolence, or necessity, might suggest, are overruled, as they ought to be, the moment a lady adduces her irrefragable argument, *you must*. Urged by her entreaties, I have at length sent a volume to the press: the greater part of it is the produce of last winter. Two-thirds of the volume will be occupied by four pieces. It contains, in all, about two thousand five hundred lines; and will be known, in due time, by the names of *Table Talk, The Progress of Error, Truth, Expostulation*, with an addition of some smaller poems, all of which, I believe, have passed under your notice. Altogether they will furnish a volume of tolerable bulk, that need not be indebted to an intolerable breadth of margin, for the importance of its figure."

In this undertaking he was encouraged by his friend, Mr. Newton, with whom he corresponded on the subject, and to whom he thus discloses his mind:—"If a board of inquiry were to be established, at which poets were to undergo an examination respecting the motives that induced them to publish, and I were to be summoned to attend, that I might give an account of mine, I think I could truly say, what perhaps few poets could, that though I have no objection to lucrative consequences, if any such should follow, they are not my aim; much less is it my ambition to exhibit myself to the world as a genius. What then, says Mr. President, can possibly be your motive? I answer, with a bow, amusement. There is no occupation within the compass of my small sphere, poetry excepted, that can do much towards diverting that train of melancholy forebodings, which, when I am not thus employed, are for ever pouring themselves in upon me. And if I did not publish what I write, I could not interest myself sufficiently in my own success to make an amusement of it. My own amusement, however, is not my sole motive. I am merry that I may decoy people into my company, and grave that they may be the better for it. Now and then I put on the garb of a philosopher, and take the opportunity that disguise procures me, to drop a word in favor of religion. In short, there is some froth, and here and there a bit of sweet-meat, which seems to entitle it justly to the name of a certain dish the ladies call a trifle. I did not choose to be more facetious, lest I should consult the taste of my readers at the expense of my own approbation; nor more serious than I have been, lest I should forfeit theirs. A poet in my circumstances has a difficult part to act; one minute obliged to bridle his humor, if he has any, the next, to clap a spur to the sides of it. Now ready to weep, from a sense of the importance of his subject, and on a sudden constrained to laugh, lest his gravity should be mistaken for dullness."

Writing to his amiable correspondent, Mrs. Cowper, 19th October, 1781, he says:—"I am preparing a volume of poems for the press, which I imagine will make its appearance in the course of the winter. It is a bold undertaking at this time of day, when so many writers of the greatest abilities have gone before, who seem to have anticipated every valuable subject, as well as all the graces of poetical embellishment, to step forth into the world in the character of a bard; especially when it is considered that luxury, idleness, and vice, have debauched the public taste, and that scarcely any thing but childish fiction, or what has a tendency to excite a laugh, is welcome. I thought, however, that I had stumbled upon some subjects that had never been poetically treated, and upon some others, to which I imagined it would not be difficult to give an air of novelty by the manner of treating them. My sole drift is to be useful—a point which, however, I knew I should in vain aim at, unless I could be likewise entertaining. I have therefore fixed these two strings to my bow; and by the help of both, have done my best to send my arrow to the mark. My readers will hardly have begun to laugh before they will be called upon to correct that levity, and peruse me with a more serious air. I cast a side-long glance at the goodliking of the world at large, more for the sake of their advantage and instruction than their praise. They are children; if we give them physic, we must sweeten the rim of the cup with honey. As to the effect, I leave that in His hands, who alone can produce it: neither prose nor verse can reform the manners of a dissolute age, much less can they inspire a sense of religious obligation, unless assisted, and made efficacious by the power who superintends the truth he has vouchsafed to impart."

To his warm friend, Mr. Hill, he thus amusingly adverts to his publication:—"I am in the press, and it is in vain to deny it. My labors are principally the production of the last winter; all, indeed, except a few of the minor pieces. When I can find no other occupation, I think, and when I think, I am very apt to do it in rhyme. Hence it comes to pass that the season of the year which generally pinches off the flowers of poetry, unfolds mine, such as they are, and crowns me with a winter garland. In this respect therefore, I and my contemporary bards are by no means upon a par. They write when the delightful influences of fine weather, fine prospects, and a brisk motion of the animal spirits, make poetry almost the language of nature; and I, when icicles depend from all the leaves of the Parnassian laurel, and when a reasonable man would as little expect to succeed in verse, as to hear a blackbird whistle. This must be my apology to you for whatever want of fire and animation you may observe in what you will shortly have the perusal of. As to the public, if they like me not, there is no remedy. A friend will weigh and consider all disadvantages, and make as large allowances as an author can wish, and larger, perhaps, than he has any right to expect, but not so the world at large; whatever they do not like, they will not by an apology be persuaded to forgive: it would be in vain to tell *them* that I wrote my verses in January, for they would immediately reply, Why did you not write them in May? A question that might puzzle a wiser head than we poets are generally blessed with."

It might have been supposed that the vigorous exercise of the mental powers which the composition of poetry like that of Cowper's required, would have increased this depressive malady, instead of diminishing it. His, however, was a peculiar case, and he found it of great advantage, as we learn in a letter to Mr. Newton, where he says:—"I have never found an amusement, among the many that I have been obliged to have recourse to, that so well answered the purpose for which I used it, as composition. The quieting and composing effect of it was such, and so totally absorbed have I sometimes been

in my rhyming occupation, that neither the past nor the future (those themes which to me are so fruitful in regret at other times) had any longer a share in my contemplation. For this reason I wish, and have often wished since the fit left me, that it would seize me again, but hitherto I have wished in vain. I see no want of subjects, but I feel a total disability to discuss them. Whether it is thus with other writers or not, I am ignorant, but I should suppose my case, in this respect, a little peculiar. The voluminous writers at least, whose vein of fancy seems always to have been rich in proportion to their occasions, cannot have been so unlike, and so unequal to themselves. There is this difference between my poetship and the generality of *them;* they appear to have been ignorant how much they stood indebted to an Almighty power for the exercise of those talents they supposed to be their own. Whereas I know, and know most perfectly, that my power to think, whatever it be, and consequently my power to compose, is, as much as my outward form, afforded to me by the same hand that makes me, in any respect, differ from a brute."

The commencement of authorship is generally a period of much painful anxiety: few persons have ventured on such an undertaking without experiencing considerable excitement; and in a mind like Cowper's, it might have been supposed that such would have been the case in a remarkable degree. No person, however, ever ventured before the public, in the character of an author, with less anxiety. Writing to Mr. Unwin, he says:—"You ask me how I feel on the occasion of my approaching publication? Perfectly at ease. If I had not been pretty well assured beforehand, that my tranquillity would be but little endangered by such a measure, I would never have engaged in it, for I cannot bear disturbance. I have had in view two principal objects; first, to amuse myself, and then to compass that point in such a manner, that others might possibly be the better for my amusement. If I have succeeded, it will give me pleasure; but if I have failed, I shall not be mortified to the degree that might perhaps be expected. The critics cannot deprive me of the pleasure I have in reflecting, that so far as my leisure has been employed in writing for the public, it has been employed conscientiously, and with a view to their advantage. There is nothing agreeable, to be sure, in being chronicled for a dunce; but I believe there lives not a man upon earth who would be less affected by it than myself."

Indifferent as he was to the result of his publications, he was far from being careless in their composition. Perhaps no author ever took more pains with his productions, or sought more carefully to make them worthy of public approbation. In one of his letters, adverting to this subject, he says:—"To touch and retouch is, though some writers boast of negligence, and others would be ashamed to show their foul copies, the secret of almost all good writing, especially in verse. I am never weary of it myself, and if you would take as much pains as I do, you would not need to ask for my corrections. With the greatest indifference to fame, which you know me too well to suppose me capable of affecting, I have taken the utmost pains to deserve it. This may appear a mystery, or a paradox, in practice, but it is true. I considered that the taste of the day is refined and delicate to excess, and that to disgust that delicacy of the taste by a slovenly inattention to it, would be to forfeit at once all hope of being useful; and for this reason, though I have written more verse this year than perhaps any man in England, I have finished, and polished, and touched and retouched, with the utmost care. Whatever faults I may be chargeable with as a poet, I cannot accuse myself of negligence; I never suffer a line to pass till I have made it as good as I can; and though some may be offended at my doctrines, I trust none will be disgusted by slovenly inaccuracy, in the numbers, the rhymes, or the language. If, after all, I should be converted into waste paper, it may be my misfortune, but it will not be my fault; and I shall bear it with perfect serenity."

In the character of Cowper there was nothing like an overweening confidence in his own powers. No person was ever more willing to avail himself of the advice of his friends, nor did any one ever receive advice more gratefully. Not satisfied with bestowing upon his productions the greatest pains himself, he occasionally submitted them to the correction of others, and his correspondence affords many proofs of his readiness to profit by the slightest hint. To Mr. Newton he thus writes:—"I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken with my poems, and for the manner in which you have interested yourself in their appearance. Your favorable opinion affords me a comfortable presage with respect to that of the public; for though I make allowance for your partiality to me, yet I am sure you would not suffer me, unadmonished, to add myself to the number of insipid rhymers with whose productions the world is already too much pestered. I forgot to mention, that Johnson uses the discretion my poetship has allowed him, with much discernment. He has suggested several alterations, or rather marked several defective passages, which I have corrected, much to the advantage of the poems. In the last sheet he sent me, he noticed three such, which I reduced to better order. In the foregoing sheet I assented to his criticisms in some instances, and chose to abide by the original expressions in others; whenever he has marked such lines as did not please him, I have, as often as I could, paid all possible respect to his animadversions. Thus we jog on together comfortably enough; and perhaps it would be as well for authors in general, if their booksellers, when men of some taste, are allowed, though not to tinker the work themselves, yet to point out the flaws, and humbly to recommend an improvement. I have also to thank you, and ought to have done it in the first place, for having recommended to me the suppression of some lines, which I am now more than ever convinced, would at least have done me no honor."

The great interest Mr. Newton took in Cowper's publication, induced the poet to request him to compose the preface; and his correspondence with Mr. Newton on the subject is alike honorable to his judgment and his feelings; and affords a striking display of the strong hold which religion had upon his affections. He thus introduces the subject to Mr. Newton:—"With respect to the poem called *Truth*, it is so true that it can hardly fail of giving offence to an unenlightened reader. I think, therefore, that in order to obviate in some measure those prejudices that will naturally erect their bristles against it, an explanatory preface, such as you (and nobody else so well as you) can furnish me with, will have every grace of propriety to recommend it; or if you are not averse to the task, and your avocations will allow you to undertake it, and if you think it will be still more proper, I should be glad to be indebted to you for a preface to the whole. I admit that it will require much delicacy, but am far from apprehending that you will find it difficult to succeed. You can draw a hair-stroke, where another man would make a blot as broad as a sixpence."

The preface composed by Mr. Newton, though it was in the highest degree satisfactory to Cowper, and was admitted by him to be every thing that he could wish, was nevertheless thought by others to be of too sombre a cast to introduce a volume of

poems pre-eminently distinguished for their vivacity and eloquence. Adverting to this objection, and to the suggestion of the publisher to suppress it, Cowper thus writes:—"If the men of the world are so merrily disposed, in the midst of a thousand calamities, that they will not deign to read a preface, of three or four pages, because the purport of it is serious, they are far gone, indeed, in the last stage of a frenzy. I am, however, willing to hope, that such is not the case: curiosity is an universal passion. There are few persons who think a book worth reading, but feel a desire to know something about the writer of it. This desire will naturally lead them to peep into the preface, where they will soon find, that a little perseverance will furnish them with some information on the subject. If, therefore, your preface finds no readers, I shall take it for granted that it is because the book itself is accounted not worth their notice. Be that as it may, it is quite sufficient that I have played the antic myself for their diversion; and that, in a state of dejection such as they are absolute strangers to, I have sometimes put on an air of cheerfulness and vivacity, to which I myself am in reality a stranger, for the sake of winning their attention to more useful matter. I cannot endure the thought, for a moment, that you should descend to my level on the occasion, and court their favor in a style not more unsuitable to your function, than to the constant and consistent strain of your whole character and conduct. Though your preface is of a serious cast, it is free from all offensive peculiarities, and contains none of those obnoxious doctrines at which the world is too apt to be angry. It asserted nothing more than every rational creature must admit to be true—that divine and earthly things can no longer stand in competition with each other, in the judgment of any man, than while he continues ignorant of their respective value; and that the moment the eyes are opened, the latter are always cheerfully relinquished for the former. It is impossible for me, however, to be so insensible to your kindness in writing the preface, as not to be desirous of defying all contingencies, rather than entertain a wish to suppress it. It will do me honor, indeed, in the eyes of those whose good opinion is worth having, and if it hurts me in the estimation of others, I cannot help it; the fault is neither yours nor mine, but theirs. If a minister's is a more splendid character than a poet's, and I think nobody that understands their value can hesitate in deciding that question, then, undoubtedly, the advantage of having our names united in the same volume is all on my side."

Cowper's first volume was published in the spring of 1782. Its success, at first, fell far short of what might have been anticipated from its extraordinary merit. It was not long, however, before the more intelligent part of the reading public appreciated its value. It soon found its way into the hands of all lovers of literature. Abounding with some of the finest passages that are to be met with, either in ancient or modern poetry, it was impossible that it should remain long unnoticed. By mere readers of taste, it was read for the beauty and elegance of its composition; by many, it was eagerly sought after for the sprightliness, vivacity, and wit, with which it abounded; by Christians, of all denominations, it was read with unfeigned pleasure for the striking and beautiful descriptions it contained of doctrinal, practical, and experimental Christianity.

It would scarcely be supposed that the author of a volume of poems like this, exhibiting such a diversity of powers as could not fail to charm the mind, delight the imagination, and improve the heart, could have remained, during the whole time he was composing it, in a state of great and painful depression. Such, however, was the peculiarity of Cowper's malady, that a train of melancholy thoughts seemed ever to be pouring themselves in upon his mind, which neither himself nor his friends were ever able to account for, satisfactorily. Writing to his friend, Mr. Newton, who had recently paid him a visit, he thus discloses the state of his mind:—"My sensations at your departure were far from pleasant. When we shall meet again, and in what circumstances, or whether we shall meet or not, is an article to be found nowhere but in that providence which belongs to the current year, and will not be understood till it is accomplished. This I know, that your visit was most agreeable to me, who, though I live in the midst of many agreeables, am but little sensible of their charms. But when you came, I determined, as much as possible, to be deaf to the suggestions of despair; that if I could contribute but little to the pleasure of the opportunity, I might not dash it with unseasonable melancholy, and like an instrument with a broken string, interrupt the harmony of the concert."

It is gratifying to observe, that neither the attention which Cowper paid to his publication, nor the depressive malady with which he was afflicted, could divert his attention from the all-important concerns of religion. A tone of deep seriousness, and genuine Christian feeling, pervades many of his letters written about this time. To Mr. Newton he thus writes:—"You wish you could employ your time to better purpose, yet are never idle, in all that you do; whether you are alone, or pay visits, or receive them; whether you think, or write, or walk, or sit still, the state of your mind is such as discovers even to yourself, in spite of all its wanderings, that there is a principle at the bottom, whose determined tendency is towards the best things. I do not at all doubt the truth of what you say, when you complain of that crowd of trifling thoughts that pesters you without ceasing; but then you always have a serious thought standing at the door of your imagination, like a justice of the peace, with the Riot Act in his hand, ready to read it and disperse the mob. Here lies the difference between you and me. You wish for more attention, I for less. Dissipation itself would be welcome to me, so it were not a vicious one; but however earnestly invited, it is coy, and keeps at a distance. Yet with all this distressing gloom upon my mind, I experience, as you do, the slipperiness of the present hour, and the rapidity with which time escapes me. Every thing around us, and every thing that befalls us, constitutes a variety, which, whether agreeable or otherwise, has still a thievish propensity; and steals from us days, months, and years, with such unparalleled suddenness, that even while we say they are here, they are gone. From infancy to manhood, is rather a tedious period, chiefly, I suppose, because at that time we act under the control of others, and are not suffered to have a will of our own. But thence downward into the vale of years is such a declivity, that we have just an opportunity to reflect upon the steepness of it, and then find ourselves at the bottom."

The following extracts from his correspondence with Mr. Unwin, who at that time was on a visit at Brightelmstone, will show the deep tone of seriousness that pervaded his mind:—"I think with you, that the most magnificent object under heaven is the great deep; and cannot but feel an unpolite species of astonishment, when I consider the multitudes that view it without emotion, and even without reflection. In all its varied forms, it is an object, of all others, the most suitable to affect us with lasting impressions of the awful power that created and controls it. I am the less inclined to think this negligence excusable, because at a time of life when I gave as little attention to religion as any

man, I yet remember that the waves would preach to me, and that in the midst of worldly dissipation I had an ear to hear them. In the fashionable amusements which you will probably witness for a time, you will discern no signs of sobriety, or true wisdom. But it is impossible for a man who has a mind like yours, capable of reflection, to observe the manners of a multitude without learning something. If he sees nothing to imitate, he is sure to see something to avoid. If nothing to congratulate his fellow-creatures upon, at least much to excite his compassion. There is not, I think, so melancholy a sight in the world, (an hospital is not to be compared to it,) as that of a multitude of persons, distinguished by the name of gentry, who, gentle perhaps by nature, and made more gentle by education, have the appearance of being innocent and inoffensive, yet being destitute of all religion, or not at all governed by the religion they profess, are none of them at any great distance from an eternal state, where self-deception will be impossible, and where amusements cannot enter. Some of them we may hope will be reclaimed; it is most probable that many will, because mercy, if one may be allowed the expression, is fond of distinguishing itself by seeking its objects among the most desperate class; but the Scripture gives no encouragement to the warmest charity, to expect deliverance for them all. When I see an afflicted and unhappy man, I say to myself, there is perhaps a man whom the world would envy, if they knew the value of his sorrows, which are possibly intended only to soften his heart, and to turn his affections towards their proper centre. But when I see or hear of a crowd of voluptuaries, who have no ears but for music, no eyes but for splendor, and no tongues but for impertinence and folly—I say, or at least I see occasion to say, this is madness—this, persisted in, must have a tragical conclusion. It will condemn you, not only as Christians, unworthy of the name, but as intelligent creatures—you know by the light of Nature, if you have not quenched it, that there is a God, and that a life like yours cannot be according to his will. I ask no pardon of you for the gravity and gloominess of these reflections, which, with others of a similar complexion, are sure to occur to me when I think of a scene of public diversion like that you have witnessed."

The following remarks, extracted from a letter to the same correspondent, while they serve to display the state of his mind respecting religion, exhibit at the same time the high value which he set upon the leading truths of the gospel:—"When I wrote this poem on Truth, it was indispensably necessary that I should set forth that doctrine which I know to be true; and that I should pass, what I understood to be a just censure, upon opinions and persuasions that stand in direct opposition to it; because, though some errors may be innocent, and even religious errors are not always dangerous, yet in a case where the faith and hope of a Christian are concerned, they must necessarily be destructive; and because neglecting this, I should have betrayed my subject; either suppressing what in my judgment is of the last importance, or giving countenance, by a timid silence, to the very evils it was my design to combat. That you may understand me better, I will subjoin, that I wrote that poem on purpose to inculcate the eleemosynary character of the gospel, as a dispensation of mercy, in the most absolute sense of the word, to the exclusion of all claims of merit on the part of the receiver; consequently to set the brand of invalidity upon the plea of works, and to discover, upon scriptural ground, the absurdity of that notion, which includes a solecism in the very terms of it, that man by repentance and good works may deserve the mercy of his Maker. I call it solecism, because mercy deserved ceases to be mercy, and must take the name of justice. This is the opinion which I said, in my last, the world would not acquiesce in, but except this, I do not recollect that I have introduced a syllable into any of my pieces that they can possibly object to; and even this I have endeavored to deliver from doctrinal dryness, by as many pretty things, in the way of trinket and plaything, as I could muster upon the subject. So that if I have rubbed their gums, I have taken care to do it with a coral, and even that coral embellished by the ribbon to which it is attached, and recommended by the tinkling of all the bells I could contrive to annex to it."

The following beautiful lines convey sentiments so much in unison with this extract, that we cannot forbear to insert them at the close of this chapter:—

"I am no preacher: let this hint suffice,
The cross once seen is death to every vice;
Else he that hung there suffered all his pain,
Bled, groaned, and agonized, and died in vain.
There, and there only, (though the deist rave,
And atheist, if earth bear so base a slave,)
There, and there only, is the power to save:
There no delusive hope invites despair
No mockery meets you, no deception there;
The spells and charms that blinded you before,
All vanish there, and fascinate no more."

Progress of Error.

CHAPTER IX.

Commencement of Cowper's acquaintance with Lady Austin. Pleasure it affords him. Poetic epistle to her. Her removal to Olney. Beneficial influence of her conversational powers on Cowper's mind. Occasion of his writing John Gilpin. Lines composed at Lady Austin's request. Induced by her to commence writing The Task. Principal object he had in view in composing it. Sudden and final separation from Lady Austin. Occasional severity of his depressive malady. Hopes entertained by his friends of his ultimate recovery. His own opinion upon it. Pleasing proofs of the power of religion on his mind. Tenderness of his conscience. Serious reflections. Aversion to religious deception and pretended piety. Bigotry and intolerance, with their opposite vices, levity and indifference, deplored. Sympathy with the sufferings of the poor. Enviable condition of such of them as are pious, compared with the rich who disregard religion.

In the autumn of 1781, Cowper became acquainted with Lady Austin, whose brilliant wit and unrivalled conversational powers, were admirably adapted to afford relief to a mind like his. This lady was introduced to the retired poet by her sister, the wife of a clergyman, who resided at Clifton, a mile distant from Olney, and who occasionally called upon Mrs. Unwin. Lady Austin came to pass some time with her sister, in the summer of 1781, and Mrs. Unwin, at Cowper's request, invited the ladies to tea. So much, however, was he averse to the company of strangers, that after he had occasioned the invitation, it was with considerable reluctance he was persuaded to join the party; but having at length overcome his feelings, he entered freely into conversation with Lady Austin, and derived so much benefit from her sprightly and animating discourse, that he from that time cultivated her acquaintance with the greatest attention. The opinion Cowper formed of this accomplished and talented lady, may be ascertained by the following extracts from his letters:—"Lady Austin has paid us her first visit, and not content with showing us that proof of her respect, made handsome apologies for her intrusion. She is a lively, agreeable woman; has seen much of the ways of the world, and accounts it a great simpleton, as it is. She laughs, and makes laugh without seeming to labor at it. She has many features in her character which you must ad-

mire but one in particular, on account of the rarity of it, will engage your attention and esteem. She has a degree of gratitude in her composition, so quick a sense of obligation, as is hardly to be found in any rank of life. Discover but a wish to please her, and she never forgets it; not only thanks you, but the tears will start into her eyes at the recollection of the smallest service. With these fine feelings she has the most harmless vivacity you can imagine: half an hour's conversation with her will convince you that she is one of the most intelligent, pious, and agreeable ladies you ever met with."

The following lines, part of a poetical epistle, addressed by Cowper to Lady Austin, will show how much he was delighted with his new friend:—

"Dear Anna—between friend and friend
Prose answers every common end;
Serves, in a plain and homely way,
To express the occurrence of the day,
Our health, the weather, and the news,
What walks we take, what books we choose,
And all the floating thoughts we find
Upon the surface of the mind.
But when a poet takes the pen,
Far more alive than other men,
He feels a gentle tingling come
Down to his fingers and his thumb,
Deriv'd from nature's noblest part,
The centre of a glowing heart!
And this is what the world, who knows
No flights above the pitch of prose,
His more sublime vagaries slighting,
Denominates an itch for writing.
No wonder I, who scribble rhyme
To catch the triflers of the time,
And tell them truths divine and clear,
Which couched in prose they will not hear,
Should feel that itching and that tingling
With all my purpose intermingling,
To your intrinsic merit true,
When call'd to address myself to you.
Mysterious are his ways whose power
Brings forth that unexpected hour,
When minds that never met before
Shall meet, unite, and part no more:
It is the allotment of the skies,
The hand of the supremely wise,
That guides and governs our affections
And plans and orders our connections,
Directs us in our distant road,
And marks the bounds of our abode.
This page of Providence quite new,
And now just opening to our view,
Employs our present thoughts and pains,
To guess and spell what it contains;
But day by day, and year by year,
Will make the dark enigma clear,
And furnish us, perhaps, at last,
Like other scenes already past,
With proof that we and our affairs
Are part of a Jehovah's cares:
For God unfolds by slow degrees
The purport of his deep decrees,
Sheds every hour a clearer light,
In aid of our defective sight,
And spreads, at length, before the soul,
A beautiful and perfect whole,
Which busy man's inventive brain
Toils to anticipate in vain.
Say, Anna, had you never known
The beauties of a rose full blown,
Could you, though luminous your eye,
By looking on the bud, descry,
Or guess, with a prophetic power,
The future splendor of the flower?
Just so the Omnipotent, who turns
The system of a world's concerns,
From mere minutiæ can educe
Events of most important use;
And bid a dawning sky display
The blaze of a meridian day.
The works of man tend one and all
As needs they must, both great and small,
And vanity absorbs at length
The monuments of human strength;
But who can tell how vast the plan
Which this day's incident began?
Too small, perhaps, the slight occasion
For our dim sighted observation;
It pass'd unnoticed as the bird
That cleaves the yielding air unheard,
And yet may prove, when understood,
An harbinger of endless good.
Not that I deem, or mean to call
Friendship a blessing cheap or small,
But merely to remark that ours,
Like some of nature's sweetest flowers,
Rose from a seed of tiny size
That seemed to promise no such prize:
A transient visit intervening,
And made almost without a meaning,
(Hardly the effect of inclination,
Much less of pleasing expectation!
Produced a friendship, then begun,
That has cemented us in one,
And placed it in our power to prove,
By long fidelity and love,
That Solomon has wisely spoken,
'A three-fold cord is not soon broken.'"

Lady Austin was not less delighted with her new acquaintance than Cowper and Mrs. Unwin were with her. She had previously determined to leave London, and had been looking out for a residence in the country, not far distant from her sister's. The house immediately adjoining that in which Cowper resided was at liberty; she accordingly hired it, and took possession of it in the course of the ensuing summer. Cowper thus adverts to this circumstance, in a letter to Mr. Newton:—"A new scene is opening upon us, which, whether it perform what it promises or not, will add fresh plumes to the wings of time, at least while it continues to be a subject of contemplation. Lady Austin, very desirous of retirement, especially of a retirement near her sister, an admirer of Mr. Scott as a preacher, and of your two humble servants, myself and Mrs. Unwin, is come to a determination to settle here; and has chosen the house formerly occupied by you for her future residence. I am highly pleased with the plan, upon Mrs. Unwin's account, who, since Mrs. Newton's departure, has been nearly destitute of all female connection, and has not, in any emergency, a woman to speak to. It has, in my view, and I doubt not it will have the same in yours, strong marks of a providential interposition. A female friend, who bids fair to prove herself worthy of the appellation, comes, recommended by a variety of considerations, to such a place as Olney. Since your removal, there was not in the kingdom, a retirement more absolutely such than ours. We did not covet company, but when it came, we found it agreeable. A person that understands the world well, has high spirits, a lively fancy, and great readiness of conversation, introduces a sprightliness into such a scene as this, which, if it was peaceful before, is not the worse for being a little enlivened. In case of illness too, to which we are all liable, it was rather a gloomy prospect, if we allowed ourselves to advert to it, that there was hardly a woman in the place from whom it would have been reasonable to have expected either comfort or assistance."

Preparations were made at the vicarage for the

reception of Lady Austin, and she took possession of it towards the close of 1782. Both Cowper and Mrs. Unwin were so charmed with her society, and she was so delighted with theirs, that it became their custom to dine together, at each other's houses, every alternate day. The effect of Lady Austin's almost irresistible conversational powers proved highly beneficial to the poet's mind, and contributed to remove that painful depression of which he still continued to be the subject, and which would sometimes seize him when he was in her company: even with her unrivalled talents, she was scarcely able, at times, to remove the deep and melancholy gloom which still shed its darkening influence over his mind. On one occasion, when she observed him to be sinking into rather an unusual depression, she exerted, as she was invariably accustomed to do, her utmost ability to afford him immediate relief. It occurred to her she might then probably accomplish it, by telling him a story of John Gilpin, which she had treasured up in her memory from her childhood. The amusing incidents of the story itself, and the happy manner in which it was related, had the desired effect; it dissipated the gloom of the passing hour, and he informed Lady Austin the next morning, that convulsions of laughter, brought on by the recollection of her story, had kept him awake during the greater part of the night, and that he had composed a poem on the subject. Hence arose the fascinating and amusing ballad of John Gilpin, which rapidly found its way into all the periodical publications of the day, and was admired by readers of every description.

Its happy influence on his own mind on subsequent occasions, is adverted to in the following letter to Mr. Unwin:—"You tell me that John Gilpin made you laugh tears, and that the ladies at court are delighted with my poems. Much good may they do them: may they become as wise as the writer wishes them, and they will then be much happier than he! I know there is, in the greater part of the poems which make up the volume, that wisdom which cometh from above, because it was from above that I received it. May they receive it too! for whether they drink it out of the cistern, or whether it falls upon them immediately from the clouds, as it did on me, it is all one. It is the water of life, which whosoever drinketh, shall thirst no more. As to the famous horseman above mentioned, he and his feats are an inexhaustible source of amusement. At least we find them so; and seldom meet without refreshing ourselves with the recollection of them. You are perfectly at liberty to do with them as you please, and when printed, send me a copy."

Lady Austin's intercourse with Mrs. Unwin and Cowper continued, uninterupted, till near the close of 1784; and during all this time, by her sprightly, judicious, and captivating conversation, she was often the means of rousing him from his melancholy depression. To console him, she would often exert her musical talents on the hapsichord; and at her request, he composed, among others, the following beautiful song, suited to airs she was accustomed to play:

"No longer I follow a sound,
No longer a dream I pursue;
O, happiness! not to be found,
Unattainable treasure, adieu!

I have sought thee in splendor and dress,
In the regions of pleasure and taste;
I have sought thee and seemed to possess,
But have proved thee a vision at last.

An humble ambition and hope
The voice of true wisdom inspires;
'Tis sufficient, if peace be the scope
And the summit of all our desires.

Peace may be the lot of the mind
That seeks it in meekness and love,
But rapture and bliss are confined
To the glorified spirits above!"

During the winter of 1783–4, Cowper spent the evenings in reading to these ladies, taking the liberty himself, and affording the same to them, of making remarks on what came under their notice. On these interesting occasions, Lady Austin displayed her enchanting, and almost magical powers, with singular effect. The conversation happened one evening to turn on blank verse, of which she had always expressed herself to be passionately fond. Persuaded that Cowper was able to produce, in this measure, a poem that would eclipse any thing he had hitherto written, she urged him to try his powers in that species of composition. He had hitherto written only in rhyme, and he felt considerable reluctance to make the attempt. After repeated solicitations, however, he promised her, if she would furnish the subject, he would comply with her request. "O!" she replied, "you can never be in want of a subject, you can write upon any thing: write upon this sofa." The poet obeyed her command, and the world is thus indebted to this lady for the Task, a poem of matchless beauty and excellence, embracing almost every variety of style, and every description of subject, combining elegance and ease, with sublimity and grandeur, adapted to impress the heart with sentiments of the most exalted piety and to make its readers happy in the present life, while it excites in them earnest and longing desires after the felicity and glory of heaven.

In composing this exquisite poem, however, it ought to be observed that Cowper had a higher object in view than merely to please Lady Austin. His great aim was to be useful; and, indeed, thi was his leading motive in all his productions, as is evident from the following extract from a letter to Mr. Unwin:—"In some passages of the inclosed poem, which I send for your inspection, you will observe me very satirical, especially in my second book. Writing on such subjects I could not be otherwise. I can write nothing without aiming, at least, at usefulness. It were beneath my years to do it, and still more dishonorable to my religion. I know that a reformation of such abuses as I have censured is not to be expected from the efforts of a poet; but to contemplate the world, its follies, its vices, its indifference to duty, and its strenuous attachment to what is evil, and not to reprehend it, were to approve it. From this charge at least I shall be clear, for I have neither tacitly nor expressly flattered either its characters or its customs. My principal purpose has been to allure the reader by character, by scenery, by imagery, and such poetical embellishments, to the reading of what may profit him. Subordinately to this, to combat that predilection in favor of a metropolis, that beggars and exhausts the country, by evacuating it of all its principal inhabitants; and collaterally, and as far as is consistent with this double intention, to have a stroke at vice, vanity, and folly, wherever I find them. What there is of a religious cast in the volume I have thrown towards the end of it, for two reasons: first, that I might not revolt the reader at his entrance; and, secondly, that my best impressions might be made last. Were I to write as many volumes as Lopez de Vega, or Voltaire, not one of them would be without this tincture. If the world like it not, so much the worse for them. I make all the concessions I can that I may please them, but I will not do this at the expense of my conscience. My descriptions are all from nature; not one of them second-handed. My delin-

eations of the heart are from my own experience; not one of them borrowed from books, or in the least degree conjectural."

The close of the year 1784, witnessed the completion of this extensive performance, and the commencement of another of greater magnitude, though of a different description, and less adapted for general usefulness—the translation of Homer; undertaken at the united request of Mrs. Unwin and Lady Austin. This was a remarkable period in Cowper's life. Circumstances arose, altogether unforeseen by him, and over which he had no control, which led to the removal of Lady Austin from Olney. He had so often been benefited by her company, had in so many instances been cheered by her vivacity when suffering under the influence of his depressive malady, and had received such repeated proofs of affability and kindness, that he could not entertain the thought of parting with her without considerable disquietude. Immediately, however, on perceiving that separation became requisite for the maintenance of his own peace, as well as to insure the tranquillity of his faithful and long-tried inmate, Mrs. Unwin, he wisely and firmly took such steps as were necessary to promote it, though it was at the expense of much mental anguish.

Some of Cowper's biographers have unjustly, and without the slightest foundation, attempted to cast considerable odium upon the character of Mrs. Unwin, for her conduct in this affair; as if all the blame of Cowper's separation from Lady Austin were to be laid at her door. One has even gone so far as to state, that her mind was of such a sombre hue, that it rather tended to foster than to dissipate Cowper's melancholy: an assertion utterly incapable of proof, and which, were the poet living, he would be the first to deny. The fact is, Cowper never felt any other attachment to either of these ladies than that of pure friendship, and much as he valued the society of Lady Austin, when he found it necessary for his own peace, to choose which he should please to retain, he could not hesitate for a moment to prefer the individual who had watched over him with so much tenderness, and probably to the injury of her own health. The whole of his conduct in this affair, and indeed the manner in which he has every where spoken of his faithful inmate, proves this indubitably.

Aware of the benefit he had received from Lady Austin's company, many of his friends were apprehensive that her removal would be attended with consequences seriously injurious to the poet. Deep, however, as was the impression which it made upon his mind, he bore it with much more fortitude than could have been expected, as will be seen by the manner in which he adverted to it in a letter to Mr. Hill:—"We have, as you say, lost a lively and sensible neighbor in Lady Austin, but we have been so long accustomed to a state of retirement, within one degree of solitude, and being naturally lovers of still life, we can relapse into our former duality without being unhappy in the change. To me, indeed, a third individual is not necessary, while I can have the faithful companion I have had these twenty years."

It might be imagined, from the production of Cowper's pen at this period, that he was entirely recovered from his depressive malady; such, however, was far from the case. His letters to his correspondents prove, that whatever gaiety and vivacity there was in his writings, there was nothing in his own state of mind that bore any resemblance to such emotions; but that, on the contrary, his fits of melancholy were frequent, and often painfully acute. To his friend, Mr. Newton, he thus feelingly discloses his peculiarly painful sensations:—"My heart resembles not the heart of a Christian, mourning and yet rejoicing, pierced with thorns, yet wreathed about with roses: I have the thorn without the rose. My brier is a wintry one; the flowers are withered, but the thorn remains. My days are spent in vanity, and it is impossible for me to spend them otherwise. No man upon earth is more sensible of the unprofitableness of such a life as mine than I am, or groans more heavily under the burden; but this too is vanity: my groans will not bring the remedy, because there is no remedy for me. I have been lately more dejected and more depressed than usual; more harassed by dreams in the night, and more deeply poisoned by them in the following day. I know not what is portended by an alteration for the worse after eleven years of misery, but firmly believe that it is not designed as the introduction of a change for the better. You know not what I suffered while you were here, nor was there any need you should. Your friendship for me would have made you in some degree a partaker of my woes, and your share in them would have been increased by your inability to help me. Perhaps, indeed, they took a keener edge, from the consideration of your presence. The friend of my heart, the person with whom I had formerly taken sweet counsel, no longer useful to me as a minister, no longer pleasant to me as a Christian, was a spectacle which must necessarily add the bitterness of mortification to the sadness of despair. I now see a long winter before me, and am to get through it as I can: I know the ground before I tread upon it. It is hollow; it is agitated; it suffers shocks in every direction: it is like the soil of Calabria—all whirlpool and undulation: but I must reel through it, at least if I be not swallowed up by the way. I have taken leave of the old year, and parted with it just when you did, but with very different sentiments and feelings upon the occasion. I looked back upon all the passages and occurrences of it as a traveller looks back upon a wilderness, through which he has passed with weariness and sorrow of heart, reaping no other fruit of his labor than the poor consolation, that, dreary as the desert was, he left it all behind him. The traveller would find even this comfort considerably lessened, if as soon as he passed one wilderness, he had to traverse another of equal length, and equally desolate. In this particular, his experience and mine would exactly tally. I should rejoice indeed that the old year is over and gone, if I had not every reason to expect a new one similar to it. Even the new year is already old in my account. I am not, indeed, sufficiently second-sighted to be able to boast, by anticipation, an acquaintance with the events of it yet unborn, but rest assured that, be they what they may, not one of them comes a messenger of good to me. If even death itself should be of the number, he is no friend of mine: it is an alleviation of the woes, even of an unenlightened man, that he can wish for death, and indulge a hope, at least, that in death he shall find deliverance. But, loaded as my life is with despair, I have no such comfort as would result from a probability of better things to come were it once ended. I am far more unhappy than the traveller I have just referred to; pass through whatever difficulties, dangers, or afflictions, I may, I am not a whit nearer home, unless a dungeon be called so. This is no very agreeable theme, but in so great a dearth of subjects to write upon, and especially impressed as I am at this moment with a sense of my own condition, I could choose no other. The weather is an exact emblem of my mind in its present state. A thick fog envelops every thing, and at the same time it freezes intensely. You will tell me, that this cold gloom will be succeeded by a cheerful spring, and endeavor to encourage me to hope for a spiritual change resembling it; but it will be lost labor. Na-

ture revives again; but a soul once slain lives no more. The hedge that has been apparently dead, is not so: it will burst into leaf, and blossom at the appointed time; but no such time is appointed for the *stake* that stands in it. It is as dead as it seems, and will prove itself no dissembler. The latter end of next month will complete a period of eleven years, in which I have spoken no other language. It is a long time for a man, whose eyes were once opened, to spend in darkness—long enough to make despair an inveterate habit; and such it is to me. My friends, I know, expect that I shall yet enjoy health again. They think it necessary to the existence of divine truth, that he who once had possession of it should never finally lose it. I admit the solidity of this this reasoning in every case but my own, and why not in my own? For causes which to them it appears madness to allege, but which rest upon my mind with a weight of immovable conviction. If I am recoverable, why am I thus? why crippled and made useless in the church, just at the time of life life when my judgment and experience being matured, I might be most useful? Why cashiered and turned out of service, till, according to the course of years, there is not life enough left in me to make amends for the years I have lost; till there is no reasonable hope left that the fruit can ever pay the expense of the fallow? I forestall the answer—God's ways are mysterious, and he giveth no account of his matters—an answer that would serve my purpose as well as theirs that use it. There is a *mistery* in my destruction, and in time it will be explained.

"I could easily, were it not a subject that would make us melancholy, point out to you some essential difference between the state of the person you mentioned and my own, which would prove mine to be by far the most deplorable of the two. I suppose no man would despair if he did not apprehend something singular in the circumstances of his own story, something that discriminates it from that of every other man, and that induces despair as an inevitable consequence. You may encounter his unhappy persuasion with as many instances as you please, of persons who, like him, having renounced all hope, were yet restored, and may thence infer that he, like them, shall meet with a season of restoration—but it is in vain. Every such individual accounts himself an exception to all rules, and, therefore, the blessed reverse that others have experienced affords no ground of comfortable expectation to him. But you will say, it is reasonable to conclude that as all your predecessors in this vale of misery and horror have found themselves delightfully disappointed, so may you. I grant the reasonableness of it—it would be sinful, perhaps, as well as uncharitable to reason otherwise–but an argument hypothetical in its nature, however rationally conducted, may lead to a false conclusion; and in this instance so will yours. But I forbear, and will say no more, though it is a subject on which I could write more than the mail could carry. I must deal with you as I deal with poor Mrs. Unwin, in all our disputes about it—cutting all controversy short by the event."

To a request from Mr. Newton that Cowper would favor the editor of the Theological Magazine with an occasional essay, he thus writes:—"I converse, you say, upon other subjects than that of despair, and may therefore write upon others. Indeed, my friend, I am a man of very little conversation upon any subject. From that of despair, I abstain as much as possible, for the sake of my company; but I will venture to say that it is never out of my mind one minute in the whole day. I do not mean to say that I am never cheerful. I am often so; always, indeed, when my nights have been undisturbed for a season. But the effect of such continual listening to the language of a heart hopeless and deserted, is that I can never give much more than half my attention to what is started by others, and very rarely start any thing myself. You will easily perceive that a mind thus occupied, is but indifferently qualified for the consideration of theological matters. The most useful, and the most delightful topics of that kind, are to me forbidden fruit: I tremble as I approach them. It has happened to me sometimes that I have found myself imperceptibly drawn in and made a party in such discourse. The consequence has been dissatisfaction and self-reproach. You will tell me, perhaps, that I have written upon those subjects in verse, and may therefore in prose. But there is a difference. The search after poetical expression, the rhymes and the numbers, are all affairs of some difficulty: they amuse, indeed, but are not to be attained without study, and engross, perhaps, a larger share of the attention than the subject itself."

In the spring of 1785, his friends became more sanguine in their expectations of his ultimate recovery, and they felt persuaded it would take place at no very distant period. It appears also, by the following extract, that Cowper was not himself wholly destitute of hope on the subject. Writing to Mr. Newton, he says:—"I am sensible of the tenderness and affectionate kindness with which you recollect our past intercourse, and express your hopes of my future restoration. I, too, within the last eight months have had my hopes, though they have been of short duration, cut off, like the foam upon the waters. Some previous adjustments, indeed, are necessary before a lasting expectation of comfort can take place in me. There are those persuasions in my mind, which either entirely forbid the entrance of hope, or if it enter, immediately eject it. They are incompatible with any such inmate, and must be turned out themselves before so desirable a guest can possibly have secure possession. This, you say, will be done. It may be, but it is not done yet; nor has a single step in the course of God's dealings with me been taken towards it. If I mend, no creature ever mended so slowly, that recovered at last. I am like a slug, or a snail, that has fallen into a deep well; slug as he is, he performs his descent with a velocity proportioned to his weight; but he does not crawl up again quite so fast. Mine was a rapid plunge; but my return to daylight, if I am indeed returning, is leisurely enough. Were I such as I once was, I should say that I have a claim upon your particular notice, which nothing ought to supersede. Most of your connections you may fairly be said to have formed by your own act; but your connection with me was the work of God. The kine that went up with the ark from Bathshemesh, left what they loved behind them, in obedience to an impression which to them was perfectly dark and unintelligible. Your journey to Huntingdon was not less wonderful. He, indeed, who sent you, knew well wherefore, but you knew not. That dispensation, therefore, would furnish me as long as we can both remember it, with a plea for some distinction at your hands, had I occasion to use and urge it, which I have not. But I am altered since that time; and if your affection for me had ceased, you might very reasonably justify your change by mine. I can say nothing for myself at present; but this I can venture to foretell, that should the restoration of which my friends assure me obtain, I shall undoubtedly love those who have continued to love me, even in a state of transformation from my former self, much more than ever."

It is gratifying to know, that, while such was the melancholy state of Cowper's mind, and while he steadily refused all religious comfort, come whence it might, he nevertheless afforded the most pleasing proofs, by his amiable and consistent conduct, of the firm hold which religion still had of his affections.

The excellent remarks that are to be found in his letters, written at this period, show that he had some lucid intervals, and that occasional gleams of light shot across the darkened horizon of his mind. "It strikes me," (he says on one occasion,) "as a very observable instance of providential kindness to man, that such an exact accordance had been contrived between his ear and the sounds with which, at least in a rural situation, it is almost every moment visited. All the world is sensible of the uncomfortable effect that certain sounds have upon the nerves, and consequently upon the spirits: and if a sinful world had been filled with such as would have curdled the blood, and have made the sense of hearing a perpetual inconvenience, I do not know that we should have had a right to complain. But now the fields, the woods, and the gardens, have each their concerts, and the ear of man is for ever regaled by creatures, who, while they please themselves, at the same time delight him. Even the ears that are deaf to the gospel, are continually entertained, though without appreciating it, by sounds for which they are solely indebted to its author. There is somewhere in infinite space, a world that does not roll within the precincts of mercy, and as it is reasonable, and even scriptural, to suppose that there is music in heaven, in these dismal regions perhaps the reverse of it is found—tones so dismal, as to make wo itself more insupportable, and even to acuminate despair."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, the following serious reflections occur:—"People that are but little acquainted with the terrors of divine wrath, are not much afraid of trifling with their Maker. But for my own part, I would sooner take Empledocles' leap, and fling myself into Mount Etna, than I would do it in the slightest instance, were I in circumstances to make an election. In the Scripture we find a broad and clear exhibition of mercy: it is displayed in every page. Wrath is, in comparison, but slightly touched upon, because it is not so much a discovery of wrath as of forgiveness. But had the displeasure of God been the principal subject of the book, and had it circumstantially set forth that measure of it only which may be endured in this life, the Christian world would perhaps have been less comfortable; but I believe presumptuous meddlers with the gospel would have been less frequently met with."

To Mr. Unwin he thus writes:—"Take my word for it—the word of a man singularly qualified to give his evidence in this matter, who, having enjoyed the privilege some years, has been deprived of it more, and has no hope that he shall live to recover it—those that have found a God, and are permitted to worship him, have found a treasure, of which, highly as they may prize it, they have but very scanty and limited conceptions. These are my Sunday morning speculations—the sound of the bells suggested them, or rather gave them such an emphasis, that they force their way into my pen in spite of me; for though I do not often commit them to paper, they are never absent from my mind."

"You express sorrow that your love of Christ was excited in you by a picture. Could the most insignificant thing suggest to me the thought that Christ is precious, I would not despise the thought. The meanness of the instrument cannot debase the nobleness of the principle. He that kneels to a picture of Christ is an idolater; but he in whose heart the sight of such a picture kindles a warm remembrance of the Saviour's suffering, must be a Christian. Suppose that I dream as Gardiner did, that Christ walks before me, that he turns and smiles upon me, and fills my soul with ineffable love and joy. Will a man tell me that I am deceived, that I ought not to love or rejoice in him for such a reason, because a dream is merely a picture drawn upon the imagination? I hold not with such divinity. To love Christ is the greatest dignity of man, be that affection wrought in him how it may."

No person ever formed more correct views of what really constitutes Christianity than Cowper, nor could any one ever feel a greater aversion to a mere profession of it. In a letter to one of his correspondents, the following remarks occur:—"I say amen, with all my heart, to your observations on religious characters. Men who profess themselves adepts in mathematical knowledge, in astronomy, or jurisprudence, are generally as well qualified as they would appear. The reason may be, that they are always liable to detection, should they attempt to impose upon mankind, and therefore take care to be what they pretend. In religion alone, a profession is often slightly taken up, and slovenly carried on, because forsooth, candor and charity require us to hope the best, and to judge favorably of our neighbor; and because it is easy to deceive the ignorant, who are a great majority, upon this subject. Let a man attach himself to a particular party, contend furiously for what are properly called evangelical doctrines, and enlist himself under the banner of some popular preacher, and the business is done. Behold a Christian! a saint! a phœnix! In the mean time perhaps his heart, his temper, and even his conduct, is unsanctified; possibly less exemplary than that of some avowed infidels. No matter, he can talk, he has the Bible in his pocket, and a head well stored with notions. But the quiet, humble, modest, and peaceable person, who is in his practice what the other is only in his profession, who hates a noise about religion, and therefore makes none, who, knowing the snares that are in the world, keeps himself as much out of it as he can, and never enters it but when duty calls, and even then with fear and trembling—is the Christian that will always stand highest in the estimation of those who bring all characters to the test of true wisdom, and judge of the tree by its fruits."

In another letter on a similar subject, he thus writes:—"It is indeed a melancholy consideration, that the gospel, whose direct tendency is to promote the happiness of mankind in the present as well as in the life to come, which so effectually answers the design of its author, whenever it is well understood, and sincerely believed, should, through the ignorance, the bigotry, the superstition, of its professors, and the ambition of popes and princes, have produced incidentally so much mischief; only furnishing the world with a plausible pretext to worry each other, while they sanctified the worst cause with the specious pretext of zeal for the furtherance of the best. Angels descend from heaven to publish peace between man and his Maker—the Prince of Peace himself comes to confirm and establish it; and war, hatred, and desolation, are the consequence. Thousands quarrel about the interpretation of a book, which none of them understand. He that is slain, dies firmly persuaded that the crown of martyrdom awaits him; and he that slew him, is equally convinced that he has done God service. In reality they are both mistaken and equally unentitled to the honor they have arrogated to themselves. If a multitude of blind men should set out for a certain city, and dispute about the right road till a battle ensued between them, the probable effect would be that none of them would ever reach it: and such a fray, preposterous and shocking in the extreme, would exhibit a picture in some degree resembling the original of which we have been speaking. And why is not the world thus occupied at present? only because they have exchanged a zeal that was no better than madness, for an indifference equally pitiable and absurd. The holy sepulchre has lost

its importance in the eyes of nations, called Christians, not because the light of true wisdom has delivered them from a superstitious attachment to the spot, but because he that was buried in it is no longer regarded by them as the Saviour of the world. The exercise of reason, enlightened by philosophy, has cured them indeed of the misery of an abused understanding, but together with the delusion they have lost the substance, and for the sake of the lies that were grafted upon it, have quarrelled with the truth itself. Here, then, we see the *ne plus ultra* of human wisdom, at least in affairs of religion. It enlightens the mind with respect to non-essentials, but with respect to that in which the essence of Christianity consists, leaves it perfectly in the dark. It can discover many errors that in different ages have disgraced the faith, but it is only to make way for one more fatal than them all, which represents that faith as a delusion. Why those evils have been permitted shall be known hereafter. One thing, in the mean time, is certain, that the folly and phrenzy of the professed disciples of the gospel, have been more dangerous to its interests, than all the avowed hostilities of its adversaries, and perhaps for this cause these mischiefs might be suffered to prevail for a season, that its divine original and nature might be the more illustrated, when it should appear that it was able to stand its ground for ages, against that most formidable of all attacks—the indiscretion of its friends. The outrages that have followed this perversion of the truth, have proved, indeed, a stumbling-block to individuals: the wise of this world, with all their wisdom, have not been able to distinguish between the blessing and the abuse of it. Voltaire was offended, and Gibbon has turned his back, but the flock of Christ is still nourished, and still increases, notwithstanding the unbelief of a philosopher is able to convert bread into a stone, and fish into a serpent."

The following very serious reflections occur in a letter to Mr. Newton, about this time, adverting to the sufferings of the poor at Olney, whose distressing circumstances on all occasions excited the tenderest sympathies of the poet:—"The winter sets in with great severity. The rigor of the season, and the advanced price of provisions, are very threatening to the poor. It is well with those that can feed upon a promise, and wrap themselves up warm in the robe of salvation. A good fire-side and a well-spread table are but indifferent substitutes for these better accommodations; so very indifferent, that I would gladly exchange them both for the rags and the unsatisfied hunger of the poorest creature, that looks forward with the hope to a better world, and weeps tears of joy in the midst of penury and distress. What a world is this! How mysteriously governed, and, in appearance, left to itself! One man, having squandered thousands at a gaming-table, finds it convenient to travel; gives his estate to somebody to manage for him; amuses himself a few years in France and Italy; returns, perhaps, wiser than he went, having acquired knowledge, which, but for his follies, he would never have acquired; again makes a splendid figure at home, shines in the senate, governs his country as its minister, is admired for his abilities, and if successful, adored, at least by a party. When he dies he is praised as a demi-god, and his monument records every thing but his vices. The exact contrast of such a picture is to be found in many cottages at Olney. I have no need to describe them, you know the characters I mean: they love God, they trust him, they pray to him in secret, and though he means to reward them openly, the day of recompense is delayed. In the mean time they suffer every thing that infirmity and poverty can inflict upon them. Who would suspect, that has not a spiritual eye to discern it, that the fine gentleman might possibly be one whom his Maker had in abhorrence, and the wretch last mentioned dear to him as the apple of his eye? It is no wonder that the world, who only look at things as they are connected with the present life, find themselves obliged, some of them at least, to doubt a providence, and others absolutely to deny it; when almost all the real virtue there is to be found in it, exists in a state of neglected obscurity, and all the vices cannot exclude them from the privileges of worship and honor. But behind the curtain the matter will be explained; very little, however, to the satisfaction of the great."

CHAPTER X.

Publication of Cowper's second volume of poems. Manner in which it was received by the public. His feelings on the occasion. Great self-abasement. Renewal of his correspondence with Lady Hesketh. Acceptance of her proffered assistance. Her projected visit to Olney. Cowper's pleasing anticipations of its results. Her arrival. Cowper's removal from Olney to Weston. His intimacy with the Throckmortons. Happiness it afforded him.

Cowper's second volume of poems, the publication of which had been delayed much longer than was expected, appeared, at length, in the summer of 1785. His first volume, though it had not met with that success which might have been expected, had nevertheless been extensively circulated, and was spoken of highly by some of the first literary characters of the age. It had therefore raised the expectations of the public, and had thus made way for its successor, which no sooner made its appearance than it was eagerly sought after, and met with a rapid and extensive sale. High as had been the expectations of his friends, they fell far short of what he had accomplished in that brilliant display of real poetical talent everywhere to be found in the Task. The singularity of the title made its first appearance somewhat repulsive: its various and matchless beauties were, however, soon discovered, and it speedily raised the reputation of Cowper to the highest summit of poetic genius, and placed him among the first class of poets.

In a letter to Mr. Newton, he describes his feelings on this occasion in such a manner as proves him to have been influenced by nothing like selfish or ambitious motives; but by principles far more noble and exalted:—"I found your account of what you experienced in your state of maiden authorship very entertaining, because very natural. I suppose no man ever made his first sally from the press without a conviction that all eyes and ears would be engaged to attend him, at least without a thousand anxieties lest they should not. But, however arduous and interesting such an enterprise may be in the first instance, it seems to me that our feelings on the occasion soon become obtuse. I can answer at least for one. Mine are by no means what they were when I published my first volume. I am even so indifferent to the matter, that I can truly assert myself guiltless of the very idea of my book sometimes for whole days together. God knows that my mind, having been occupied more than twelve years in the contemplation of the most distressing subjects, the world, and its opinions of what I write, is become as unimportant to me as the whistling of a bird in a bush. Despair made amusement necessary, and I found poetry the most agreeable amusement. Had I not endeavored to perform my best, it would not have amused me at all. The mere blotting of so much paper would have been but indifferent sport. God gave me grace also to wish that I might not write in vain. Accordingly, I have mingled much truth with some trifles; and such truths as deserved at least to be clad as well

and as handsomely as I could clothe them. If the world approve me not, so much the worse for them, but not for me; I have only endeavored to serve them, and the loss will be their own. And as to their commendations, if I should chance to win them, I feel myself equally invulnerable there. The view that I have had of myself, for many years, has been so truly humiliating, that I think the praises of all mankind could not hurt me. God knows that I speak my present sense of the matter at least most truly, when I say, that the admiration of creatures like myself seems to me a weapon the least dangerous that my worst enemy could employ against me. I am fortified against it by such solidity of real self-abasement, that I deceive myself most egregiously if I do not heartily despise it. Praise belongeth to God; and I seem to myself to covet it no more than I covet divine honors. Could I assuredly hope that God would at last deliver me, I should have reason to thank him for all that I have suffered, were it only for the sake of this single fruit of my affliction—that it has taught me how much more contemptible I am in myself than I ever before suspected, and has reduced my former share of self-knowledge (of which at that time I had a tolerable good opinion) to a mere nullity, in comparison to what I have acquired since. Self is a subject of inscrutable misery and mischief, and can never be studied to so much advantage as in the dark; for as the bright beams of the sun seem to impart a beauty to the most unsightly objects, so the light of God's countenance, vouchsafed to a fallen creature, so sweetens him and softens him for the time, that he seems both to others and to himself, to have nothing selfish or sordid about him. But the heart is a nest of serpents, and will be such while it continues to beat. If God cover the mouth of that nest with his hand, they are hush and snug; but if he withdraw his hand, the whole family lift up their heads and hiss, and are as active and venomous as ever. This I always professed to believe from the time that I had embraced the truth, but I never knew it as I know it now. To what end I have been made to know it as I do, whether for the benefit of others or for my own, or for both, or for neither, will appear hereafter."

While Cowper looked upon his publication with so much indifference, his friends regarded it with very opposite feelings. Its rapid and extensive circulation, not only delighted those who were intimately associated with him, and had been witnesses to the acute anguish of his mind, during his depressive malady, but it also gratified several of his former associates and correspondents, and induced them to renew their communications with the poet. Among these was Lady Hesketh, who was so charmed with productions of his pen, that on her return from abroad, where she had spent several years with her husband, she renewed her correspondence with Cowper, and as she was now a widow and was handsomely provided for, she generously offered to render him any assistance he might want. Cowper's reply to an affectionate letter she wrote him, shows the warmth of his affection towards those whom he loved. He thus writes:—"My dear cousin, it is no new thing for you to give pleasure. But I will venture to say that you do not often give more than you gave me this morning. When I came down to breakfast and found on the table, a letter franked by my uncle, and when opening that frank, I found that it contained a letter from you, I said within myself, this is just as it should be. We are all grown young again, and the days that I thought I should see no more, are actually returned. You perceive, therefore, that you judged well when you conjectured that a line from you would not be disagreeable to me. It could not be otherwise than as in fact it has proved, a most agreeable surprise. For I can truly boast of an affection for you that neither years nor intercepted intercourse have at all abated. I need only recollect how much I valued you once, and with how much cause, immediately to feel a revival of the same value; if that can be said to revive, which at the most has only been dormant for want of employment. But I slander it when I say that it has slept. A thousand times have I recollected a thousand scenes, in which our two selves have formed the whole of the drama, with the greatest pleasure; at times, too, when I had no reason to suppose that I should ever hear from you again. The hours that I have spent with you, were among the pleasantest of my former days, and are therefore chronicled in my mind so deeply as to fear no erasure. You say that you have often heard of me; that puzzles me. I cannot imagine from what quarter; but it is no matter. I must tell you, however, my dear cousin, that your information has been a little defective. That I am happy in my situation is true; I live, and have lived these twenty years, with Mrs. Unwin, to whose affectionate care of me, during the far greater part of that time, it is, under Divine Providence, owing that I live at all. But I do not account myself happy in having been for thirteen of those years in a state of mind that has made all that care and attention necessary; an attention and a care, that have injured her health, and which, had she not been uncommonly supported, must have brought her to the grave. But I will pass to another subject; it would be cruel to particularize only to give pain, neither should I by any means give a sable hue to the first letter of a correspondence so unexpectedly renewed. I must, however tell you, my dear cousin, that dejection of spirits, which I suppose may have prevented many a man from becoming an author, has made me one. I find constant employment necessary, and therefore take care to be constantly employed. Manual occupations do not engage the mind sufficiently, as I know by experience, having tried many. But composition, especially of verse, absorbs it wholly. I write, therefore, generally three hours in the morning, and in the evening I transcribe. I read also, but less than I write, for I must have bodily exercise, and therefore never pass a day without it.

"I do not seek new friends, not being altogether sure that I should find them, but have unspeakable pleasure in being beloved by an old one. I hope that our correspondence has now suffered its last interruption, and that we shall go down together to the grave, chattering and chirping as happily as such a scene as this will permit. I am happy that my poems have pleased you. My volume has afforded me no such pleasure at any time, either while I was writing it, or since its publication, as I have derived from yours and my uncle's favorable opinion respecting it. I make certain allowances for partiality, and for that peculiar quickness of taste, with which you both relish what you like; and after all drawbacks upon those accounts duly made, find myself rich in the measure of your approbation that still remains. But above all I honor John Gilpin, since it was he who first encouraged you to write. I made him on purpose to laugh at, and he served his purpose well; but I am now indebted to him for a more valuable acquisition than all the laughter in the world amounts to, the recovery of my intercourse with you, which is to me inestimable. I am glad that I always loved you as I did. It releases me from any occasion to suspect that my present affection for you is indebted for its existence to any selfish considerations. No, I am sure I love you disinterestedly, and for your own sake, because I never thought of you with any other sensations than those of the truest affection, even while I was under the persuasion, that I should

never hear from you again. But with my present feelings superadded to those that I always had for you, I find it no easy matter to do justice to my sensations. I perceive myself in a state of mind, similar to that of the traveller described in Pope's Messiah, who, as he passes through a sandy desert, starts at the sudden and unexpected sound of a waterfall.—Your very generous offer of assistance has placed me in a situation new to me, and in which I feel myself somewhat puzzled how to behave. When I was once asked if I wanted any thing, and given delicately to understand that the inquirer was ready to supply all my occasions, I thankfully and civilly, but positively, declined the favor. I neither suffer nor have suffered such inconveniences, as I had not much rather endure, than come under an obligation to a person who is almost a stranger to me. But to you I answer otherwise. I know you thoroughly, and the liberality of your disposition, and have that consummate confidence in the sincerity of your wish to serve me, that delivers me from all awkward constraint, and from all fear of trespassing by acceptance. To you, therefore, I reply, yes. Whensoever and whatsoever, and in what manner soever, you please, and add moreover, that my affection for the giver is such as will increase to me ten-fold the satisfaction I shall have in receiving. You must not, however, strain any points to your own inconvenience or hurt; there is no need of it; but indulge yourself in communicating (no matter what) that you can spare without missing it, since by so doing you will be sure to add to the comforts of my life, one of the sweetest that I can enjoy—a token and a proof of your affection. At the same time, that I would not grieve you by putting a check upon your bounty, I would be as careful not to abuse it, as if I were a miser, and the question were, not about your money but my own."

The happiest consequences resulted from the renewal of Cowper's correspondence with this accomplished and excellent lady. After an interchange of some of the most interesting letters that were ever written, she proposed at length to pay the sequestered poet a visit at Olney, and made arrangements accordingly.

The following extracts from Cowper's letters to her on this occasion will be read with pleasure, as a faithful record of the delight he anticipated from this interview:—"I have been impatient to tell you, that I am impatient to see you again. Mrs. Unwin partakes with me in all my feelings. Let me assure you, that your kindness in promising us a visit, has charmed us both. I shall see you again, I shall hear your voice. We shall take walks together. I will show you my prospects—the hovel, the alcove, the Ouse, and its banks, every thing that I have described. I anticipate the pleasure of those days not very far distant, and feel a part of it this moment. My dear, I will not let you come till the end of May, or the beginning of June, because before that time my green-house will not be ready to receive us, and it is the only pleasant room belonging to us. When the plants go out, we go in. I line it with nets, and spread the floor with mats; and there you shall sit, with a bed of mignonette at your side, and a hedge of honeysuckles, roses, and jasmine; and I will make you a bouquet of myrtle every day. We now talk of nobody but you—what we will do with you when we get you, where you shall walk, where you shall sleep, in short, every thing that bears the remotest relation to your well-being at Olney occupies all our talking time, which is all that I do not spend at Troy. Mrs. Unwin has already secured for you an apartment, or rather two, just such as we could wish. The house in which you will find them is within thirty yards of our own, and opposite to it. The whole affair is thus commodiously adjusted; and now I have nothing to do but to wish for June; and June, my dear cousin, was never so wished for since June was made. I shall have a thousand things to hear, and a thousand to say, and they will all rush into my mind together, till it will be so crowded with things impatient to be said, that for some time I shall say nothing. But no matter—sooner or later they will all come out. After so long a separation, a separation which of late seemed so likely to last for life, we shall meet each other as alive from the dead; and, for my own part, I can truly say, that I have not a friend in the other world whose resurrection would give me greater pleasure.

"If you will not quote Solomon, my dearest cousin, I will. He says, and as beautifully as truly, 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, but when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life!' I feel how much reason he had on his side when he made this observation, and I am myself really sick of your delay. Well, the middle of June will not always be a thousand years off; and when it comes, I shall hear you, and see you too; and shall not care a single farthing if you do not touch a pen for a month. From this very morning, 15th May, 1786, I begin to date the last month of our long separation; and confidently, and most comfortably hope, that before the fifteenth of June shall present itself, we shall have seen each other. Is it not so? and will it not be one of the most extraordinary eras of my extraordinary life? A year ago, we neither corresponded, nor expected to meet in this world. But this world is a scene of marvellous events, many of them more marvellous than fiction itself would dare to hazard: (blessed be God!) they are not all of the distressing kind. Now and then, in the course of an existence, whose hue is for the most part sable, a day turns up that makes amends for many sighs, and many subjects of complaint. Such a day shall I account the day of your arrival at Olney. Wherefore is it (canst thou tell me?) that, together with all these delightful sensations, to which the sight of a long absent dear friend gives birth, there is a mixture of something painful, flutterings and tumults, and I know not what accompaniments of our pleasure, that are in fact perfectly foreign from the occasion? Such I feel when I think of our meeting, and such, I suppose, feel you; and the nearer the crisis approaches, the more I am sensible of them. I know beforehand that they will increase with every turn of the wheels that shall convey you to Olney; and when we actually meet, the pleasure, and this unaccountable pain together, will be as much as I shall be able to support. I am utterly at a loss for the cause, and can only resolve it into that appointment, by which it has been foreordained that all human delights shall be qualified and mingled with their contraries. But a fig for them all! Let us resolve to combat with, and to conquer them. They are dreams; they are illusions of the judgment. Some enemy that hates the happiness of human kind, and is ever industrious to dash, if he cannot destroy it, works them in us, and they being so perfectly unreasonable as they are, is a proof of it. Nothing that is such can be the work of a good agent. This I know too by experience, that, like all other illusions, they exist only by force of imagination, are indebted for their prevalence to the absence of their objects, and in a few moments after their appearance cease. So then this is a settled point, and the case stands thus. You will tremble as you draw near to Olney, and so shall I; but we will both recollect that there is no reason why we should, and this recollection will at least have some little effect in our favor. We will likewise both take the comfort of what we know to be true, that the tumult will soon cease, and the pleasure long survive the pain, even as long, I trust,

as we ourselves shall survive it. Assure yourself, my dear cousin, that both for your sake, since you make a point of it, and for my own, I will be as philosophically careful as possible, that these fine nerves of mine shall not be beyond measure agitated when you arrive. In truth, there is a much greater probability that they will be benefited, and greatly, too. Joy of heart, from whatever occasion it may arise, is the best of all nervous medicines; and I should not wonder, if such a turn given to my spirits should have even a lasting effect, of the most advantageous kind, upon them. You must not imagine neither, that I am, on the whole, in any great degree, subject to nervous affections: occasionally I am, and have been these many years, much liable to dejection; but, at intervals, and sometimes for an interval of weeks, no creature would suspect it. For I have not that which commonly is a symptom of such a case, belonging to me: I mean, occasional extraordinary elevation. When I am in the best health, my tide of animal sprightliness flows with great equality, so that I am never, at any time, exalted in proportion as I am sometimes depressed. My depression has a cause, and if that cause were to cease, I should be as cheerful thenceforth, and perhaps for ever, as any man need be.

"Your visit is delayed too long, to my impatience, at least it seems so, who find the spring, backward as it is, too forward, because many of its beauties will have faded before you will have an opportunity to see them. We took our customary walk yesterday, and saw, with regret, the laburnums, syriangas, and guelder roses, some of them blown, and others just upon the point of blowing, and could not help observing, that all these will be gone before Lady Hesketh comes. Still, however, there will be roses, and jasmine, and honey suckles, and shady walks, and cool alcoves, and you will partake them with us. But I want you to have a share of every thing that is delightful here, and cannot bear that the advance of the season should steal away a single pleasure before you come to enjoy it. I will venture to say, that even *you* were never so much expected in your life.

"I regret that I have made your heart ache so often, my dear cousin, with talking about my fits of dejection. Something has happened that has led me to the subject, or I would have mentioned them more sparingly. Do not suppose that I treat you with reserve; there is nothing in which I am concerned that you shall not be made acquainted with. But the tale is too long for a letter: I will only add, for your present satisfaction, that the cause is not exterior, that it is not within the reach of human aid, and that yet I have a hope myself, and Mrs. Unwin a strong persuasion of its removal. I am indeed even now, and have been for a considerable time, sensible of a change for the better, and expect, with good reason, a comfortable lift from you. Guess then, my beloved cousin, with what wishes I look forward to the time of your arrival, from whose coming I promise myself not only pleasure, but peace of mind, at least an additional share of it. At present it is an uncertain and transient guest with me; but the joy with which I shall see, and converse with you, at Olney, may, perhaps, make it an abiding one."

It is seldom that pleasure, anticipated with such warmth of feeling, fully answers our expectations. Human enjoyments almost invariably seem much more valuable in prospect than in possession. Cowper's interview with his cousin, however, was altogether an exception, and proved a source of more real delight to both parties than either of them had expected. As might naturally be supposed, after a separation of three-and-twenty years, they both experienced the full force of those emotions, which Cowper had so well described in his letters, and their first meeting was, indeed, painfully pleasing; every sensation, however, that was in any degree painful, soon subsided, and gave place to such only as were pure and delightful. Mrs. Unwin was pleased with the sweetness of temper, agreeable manners, and cheerful conversation of Lady Hesketh, and her ladyship was no less delighted with the mild, amiable, and affectionate conduct of her new companion; while Cowper's heart was gladdened to have the advantage of daily intercourse with another highly cultivated mind.

The happy effect this change had upon Cowper's spirits will be seen by the following extracts from his correspondence:—"My dear cousin's arrival, as it could not fail to do, has made us happier than we ever were at Olney. Her great kindness, in giving us her company, is a cordial that I shall feel the effect of, not only while she is here, but while I live. She has been with us a fortnight. She pleases every body, and is, in her turn, pleased with every thing she finds here; is always cheerful and good tempered; and knows no pleasure equal to that of communicating pleasure to us, and to all around her. The disposition in her is the more comfortable, because it is not the humor of the day, a sudden flash of benevolence and goodness, occasioned merely by a change of scene, but it is her natural turn, and has governed all her conduct ever since I knew her first. We are consequently happy in her society, and shall be happier still to have you partake with us in our joy. I am fond of the sound of bells, but was never more pleased with those of Olney than when they rang her into her new habitation. She is, as she ever was, my pride and my joy; and I am delighted with every thing that means to do her honor. Her first appearance was too much for me; my spirits, instead of being gently raised, broke down with me, under the pressure of too much joy, and left me flat, or rather melancholy, throughout the day, to a degree that was mortifying to myself, and alarming to her. But I have made amends for this torture since; and, in point of cheerfulness, have far exceeded her expectations, for she knew that sable had been my suit for many years. By her help we get change of air and of scene, though still resident at Olney; and by her means, have intercourse with some families in this country, with whom, but for her, we could never have been acquainted. Her presence here would at any time, even in her happiest days, have been a comfort to me; but in the present day I am doubly sensible of its value. She leaves nothing unsaid, nothing undone, that she thinks will be conducive to our well-being; and so far as she is concerned, I have nothing to wish, but that I could believe her sent hither in mercy to myself;—then I should be thankful."

Lady Hesketh had not long been at Olney before she became dissatisfied with the poet's residence. She thought it a situation altogether unsuitable for a person subject to depression. Cowper himself had often entertained the same opinion respecting it: and both he and Mrs. Unwin had frequently wished for a change, and had, indeed, been looking out for a house more agreeable to their taste. At that time a very commodious cottage, pleasantly situated in the village of Weston Underwood, a mile and a half distant from Olney, belonging to Sir John Throckmorton, was unoccupied. It occurred to Cowper, that this would be a very agreeable summer residence for his cousin; and on his mentioning it to her, she immediately engaged it, not for herself only, but for the future residence of the poet and his amiable companion, with whom she had now made up her mind to become a frequent, if not a constant associate. The following extracts

will best describe Cowper's feelings on this occasion:—"I shall now communicate news that will give you pleasure. When you first contemplated the front of our abode, you were shocked. In your eyes it had the appearance of a prison, and you sighed at the thought that your mother lived in it. Your view of it was not only just, but prophetic. It had not only the aspect of a place built for the purposes of incarceration, but has actually served that purpose, through a long, long period, that we have been the prisoners; but a jail delivery is at hand. The bolts and bars are to be loosed, and we shall escape. A very different mansion, both in point of appearance and accommodation, expects us; and the expense of living in it will not be much greater than we are subjected to in this. It is situated at Weston, one of the prettiest villages in England, and belongs to Mr. Throckmorton, afterwards Sir John Throckmorton. We all three dine with him to-day by invitation, and shall survey it in the afternoon, point out the necessary repairs, and finally adjust the treaty. I have my cousin's promise that she will never let another year pass without a visit to us, and the house is large enough to take us, and our suite, and her also, with as many of her's as she shall choose to bring. The change will, I hope, prove advantageous, both to your mother and to me, in all respects. Here we have no neighborhood; there we shall have very agreeable neighbors in the Throckmortons. Here we have a bad air in the winter, impregnated with the fishy-smelling fumes of the marsh miasma; there we shall breathe in an atmosphere untainted. Here we are confined from September to March, and sometimes longer; there we shall be upon the very verge of pleasure grounds, upon which we can always ramble, and shall not wade through almost impassable dirt to get at them. Both your mother's constitution and mine have suffered materially by such close and long confinement; and it is high time, unless we intend to retreat into the grave, that we should seek out a more wholesome residence. So far is well; the rest is left to Heaven."

To his friend Mr. Newton, he thus writes:—"You have heard of our intended removal. The house that is to receive us is in a state of preparation, and when finished, will be both smarter and more commodious than our present abode. But the circumstance that recommends it chiefly is its situation. Long confinement in the winter, and indeed, for the most part in autumn too, has hurt us both. A gravel-walk, thirty yards long, affords but indifferent scope to the locomotive faculty; yet it is all that we have had to move in for eight months in the year, during thirteen years that I have been a prisoner. Had I been confined in the Tower, the battlements of it would have furnished me with a larger space. You say well, that there was a time when I was happy at Olney; and I am now as happy at Olney, as I expect to be any where, without the presence of God. Change of situation is with me no otherwise an object, than as both Mrs. Unwin's health and my own happen to be concerned in it. We are both I believe partly indebted for our respective maladies, to an atmosphere encumbered with raw vapors, issuing from flooded meadows, and we have perhaps fared the worse for sitting so often, and sometimes for several successive months, over a cellar filled with water. These ills we shall escape in the uplands; and as we may reasonably hope, of course, their consequences. But as for happiness, he that once had communion with his Maker, must be more frantic than ever I was yet, if he can dream of finding it at a distance from him. I no more expect happiness at Weston than here, or than I should expect it in company with felons and outlaws in the hold of a ballast-lighter. Animal spirits, however, have their value, and are especially desirable to him who is condemned to carry a burden which at any rate will tire him, but which without their aid, cannot fail to crush him."

On the 15th November, 1786, Cowper entered upon his new abode. The following extracts from his letters describe his sensations on the occasion:—"There are some things that do not exactly shorten the life of man, yet seem to do so, and frequent removals from place to place are of that number. For my own part, at least, I am apt to think, if I had been more stationary, I should seem to myself to have lived longer. My many changes of habitation have divided my time into many short periods; and when I look back upon them, they appear only as the stages of a day's journey, the first of which is at no great distance from the last. I lived longer at Olney than any where. There indeed I lived till mouldering walls and a tottering house warned me to depart. I have accordingly taken the hint, and two days since arrived, or rather took up my abode, at Weston. You perhaps have never made the experiment, but I can assure you that the confusion that attends a transmigration of this kind is infinite, and has a terrible effect in deranging the intellect. When God speaks to a chaos, it becomes a scene of order and harmony in a moment; but when his creatures have thrown one house into confusion by leaving it, and another by tumbling themselves and their goods into it, not less than many days' labor and contrivance are necessary to give them their proper places. And it belongs to furniture of all kinds, however convenient it may be in its place, to be a nuisance out of it. We find ourselves here in a comfortable house. Such it is in itself; and my cousin, who has spared no expense in dressing it up for us, has made it a genteel one. Such, at least, it will be, when its contents are a little harmonized. She left us on Tuesday, and on Wednesday, Mrs. Unwin and I took possession of our new abode. I could not help giving a last look to my old prison, and its precincts; and though I cannot easily account for it, having been miserable there so many years, felt something like a heart-ache, when I took my leave of a scene, that certainly in itself had nothing to engage affection. But I recollected that I had once been happy there, and could not, without tears in my eyes, bid adieu to a place in which God had so often found me. The human mind is a great mystery; mine, at least, appears to be such upon this occasion. I found that I not only had a tenderness for that ruinous abode, because it had once known me happy in the presence of God, but that even the distress I had there suffered, for so long a time, on account of his absence, had endeared it to me as much. I was weary of every object, had long wished for a change, yet could not take leave without a pang at parting. What consequences are to attend our removal, God only knows. I know well that it is not in the power of situation to effect a cure of melancholy like mine. The change, however, has been entirely a providential one; for much as I wished it, I never uttered that wish, except to Mrs. Unwin. When I learned that the house was to be let, and had seen it, I had a strong desire that Lady Hesketh should take it for herself, if she should happen to like the country. That desire, indeed, is not exactly fulfilled, and yet, upon the whole, is exceeded. We are the tenants; but she assures us that we shall often have her for a guest, and here is room enough for us all. You, I hope, my dear friend, and Mrs. Newton, will want no assurances to convince you that you will always be received here with the sincerest welcome; more welcome than you have been you cannot be, but better accommodated you may and will be."

CHAPTER XI.

Extracts from his correspondence. Description of the deep seriousness that generally pervaded his mind. His remarks to justify his removal from Olney. Vindicates himself and Mrs. Unwin from unjust aspersions. Reasons for undertaking the translation of Homer. His opinion of Pope's. Unremitting attention to his own. Immense pains he bestowed upon it. His readiness to avail himself of the assistance of others. Vexation he experienced from a multiplicity of critics. Just remarks upon criticism. Determination to persevere in his work. Justifies himself for undertaking it. Pleasure he took in relieving the poor. Renewal of his correspondence with General Cowper and the Rev. Dr. Bagot. Consolatory letter to the latter.

The extracts we have already made from Cowper's correspondence prove, unquestionably, that the leading bias of his mind was towards the all-important concerns of religion. As an exhibition, however, of the state of his mind in this respect, at least, up to the close of 1786, the period of his removal to Weston, we think the following extracts cannot fail to be interesting. To Mr. Newton he writes as follows:—"Those who enjoy the means of grace, and know how to use them well, will thrive any where; others no where. More than a few, who were formerly ornaments of this garden, which you once watered, here flourished, and have seemed to wither, and become, as the apostle James strongly expresses it—twice dead—plucked up by the roots; others trasplanted into a soil, apparently less favorable to their growth, either find the exchange an advantage, or at least, are not injured by it. Of myself, who had once both leaves and fruit, but who have now neither, I say nothing, or only this—that when I am overwhelmed with despair, I repine at my barrenness, and I think it hard to be thus blighted; but when a glimpse of hope breaks in upon me, I am then contented to be the sapless thing I am, knowing that he who has commanded me to wither, can command me to flourish again when he pleases. My experiences, however, of this latter kind, are rare and transient. The light that reaches me cannot be compared either to that of the sun, or of the moon; it is a flash in a dark night, during which the heavens seem opened only to shut again. I should be happy (and when I say this, I mean to be understood in the fullest and most emphatical sense of the word) if my frame of mind were such as to permit me to study the important truths of religion. But Adam's approach to the tree of life, after he had sinned, was not more effectually prohibited by the flaming sword that turned every way, than mine to its great Antitype has been now almost these thirteen years, a short interval of three or four days, which passed about this time twelvemonth, alone excepted. For what reason I am thus long excluded, if I am ever again to be admitted, is known to God only. I can say but this, that if he is still my father, his paternal severity has, toward me, been such as to give me reason to account it unexampled. For though others have suffered desertion, yet few, I believe, for so long a time, and perhaps none a desertion accompanied with such experience. But they have this belonging to them: that as they are not fit for a recital, being made up merely of infernal ingredients, so neither are they susceptible of it, for I know no language in which they could be expressed. They are as truly things which it is not possible for man to utter, as those were which Paul heard and saw in the third heaven. If the ladder of Christian experience reaches, as I suppose it does, to the very presence of God, it has nevertheless its foot in the abyss. And if Paul stood, as no doubt he did, on the topmost stave of it, I have been standing, and still stand, on the lowest, in this thirteenth year that has passed since I descended. In such a situation of mind, encompassed by the midnight of absolute despair, and a thousand times filled with unspeakable horror, I first commenced an author. Distress drove me to it; and the impossibility of existing without some employment, still recommends it. I am not, indeed, so perfectly hopeless as I was, but I am equally in need of an occupation, being often as much, and sometimes even more, worried than ever. I cannot amuse myself as I once could with carpenters' or with gardeners' tools, or with squirrels and guinea-pigs. At that time I was a child; but since it has pleased God, whatever else he withholds from me, to restore to me a man's mind, I have put away childish things. Thus far, therefore, it is plain that I have not chosen, or prescribed to myself, my own way, but have been providentially led to it; perhaps I might say, with equal propriety, compelled and scourged into it: for certainly could I have made my choice, or were I permitted to make it even now, those hours which I spend in poetry I would spend with God. But it is evidently his will that I should spend them as I do, because every other way of employing them he himself continues to make impossible. The dealings of God with me are to myself utterly unintelligible. I have never met, either in books, or in conversation, with an experience at all similar to my own. More than twelve months have now passed since I began to hope, that having walked the whole breadth of the bottom of this Red Sea, I was beginning to climb the opposite shore, and I prepared to sing the song of Moses. But I have been disappointed; those hopes have been blasted; those comforts have been wrested from me. I could not be so duped even by the arch-enemy himself as to be made to question the divine nature of them, but I have been made to believe (which you will say is being duped still more) that God gave them to me in derision, and took them away in vengeance. Such, however, is, and has been my persuasion many a long day; and when I shall think on this subject more comfortably, or as you will be inclined to tell me, more rationally and scripturally, I know not. In the mean time I embrace, with alacrity, every alleviation of my case, and with the more alacrity, because, whatever proves a relief of my distress is a cordial to Mrs. Unwin, whose sympathy with me, through the whole of it, has been such, that despair excepted, her burthen has been as heavy as mine."

Some of his friends, and Mr. Newton among the rest, on being apprized of his intended removal from Olney, expressed apprehensions that it would introduce him to company, uncongenial to his taste, if not detrimental to his piety. Adverting to these objections, he thus writes to his esteemed correspondent: "If in the course of such an occupation as I have been driven to by despair, or by the inevitable consequence of it, either my former connections are revived, or new ones occur, these things are as much a part of the dispensation of Providence as the leading points themselves. If his purposes in thus directing me are gracious, he will take care to prove them such in the issue; and, in the mean time, will preserve me (for he is able to do that, in one condition of life as well as in another) from all mistakes that might prove pernicious to myself, or give reasonable offence to others. I can say it, as truly as it was ever spoken, Here I am; let him do with me as seemeth to him good. At present, however, I have no connections, at which either you, I trust, or any who love me, and wish me well, have occasion to conceive alarm. Much kindness indeed I have experienced at the hands of several, some of them near relations, others not related to me at all, but I do not know that there is among them a single person from whom I am likely to catch contamination. I can say of them all, with more truth than Jacob uttered, when he

called kid venison, 'The Lord thy God brought them unto me.' I could show you among them two men, whose lives, though they have but little of what we call evangelical light, are ornaments to a Christian country, men who fear God more than some who profess to love him. But I will not particularize further on such a subject. Be they what they may, our situations are so distant, and we are likely to meet so seldom, that were they, as they are not, persons even of exceptionable manners, their manners would have little to do with me. We correspond, at present, only on the subject of what passed at Troy three thousand years ago; and they are matters that, if they can do no good, will at least hurt nobody."

"Your letter to Mrs. Unwin concerning our conduct, and the offence taken at it in our neighborhood, gave us both a great deal of concern, and she is still deeply affected by it. Of this you may assure yourself, that if our friends in London have been grieved, it is because they have been misinformed, which is the more probable, because the bearers of intelligence hence to London are not always very scrupulous concerning the truth of their reports; and that if any of our serious neighbors have been astonished, they have been so without the slightest occasion. Poor people are never well employed even when they judge one another; but when they undertake to scan the motives, and estimate the behavior of those whom Providence has raised a little above them, they are utterly out of their province and their depth. They often see us get into Lady Hesketh's carriage, and rather uncharitably suppose that it always carries us into a scene of dissipation, which, in fact, it never does. We visit, indeed, at Mr. Throckmorton's, and at Gayhurst; rarely, however, at the latter, on account of the greater distance; frequently, though not very frequently, at Weston, both because it is nearer, and because our business in the house that is making ready for our reception, often calls us that way. What good we can get or can do in these visits, is another question, which they, I am sure, are not qualified to solve. Of this we are both sure, that under the guidance of Providence we have formed these connections; that we should have hurt the Christian cause rather than have served it, by a prudish abstinence from them; and that St. Paul himself, conducted to them as we have been, would have found it expedient to have done as we have done. It is always impossible to conjecture to much purpose, from the beginnings of a providential event, how it will terminate. If we have neither received nor communicated any spiritual good at present, while conversant with our new acquaintance, at least no harm has befallen on either side; and it were too hazardous an assertion, even for our censorious neighbors to make, that the cause of the gospel can never be served in any of our future interviews with them, because it does not appear to have been served at present. In the mean time, I speak a strict truth as in the sight of God, when I say that we are neither of us at all more addicted to gadding than heretofore. We both naturally love seclusion from company, and never go into it without putting a force upon our own dispositions; at the same time I will confess, and you will easily conceive, that the melancholy, incident to such close confinement as we have so long endured, finds itself a little relieved by such amusements as a society so innocent affords. You may look round the Christian world, and find few, I believe, of our station, who have so little intercourse as we with the world, that is not Christian. We place all the uneasiness that you have felt for us on the subject, to the account of that cordial friendship of which you have long given us a proof. But you may be assured, that notwithstanding all the rumors to the contrary, we are exactly what we were when you saw us last:—I, miserable on account of God's departure from me, which I believe to be final; and she seeking his return to me in the path of duty, and by continual prayer."

After the publication of Cowper's second volume of poems, and indeed, for some considerable time before its actual appearance, he was diligently engaged in producing a new translation of Homer's unrivalled poems. His reasons for undertaking a work of so great magnitude, and that required such immense labor; and the spirited manner with which he brought it to a close, shall be related as nearly as possible in his own words. Writing to Mr. Newton, he thus describes the commencement of this great undertaking:—"I am employed in writing a narrative, but not so useful as that you have just published. Employment, however, with the pen, is through habit become essential to my well-being; and to produce always original poems, especially of considerable length, is not so easy. For some weeks after I had finished the Task, and sent away the last sheet corrected, I was through necessity idle, and suffered not a little in my spirits for being so. One day, being in such distress of mind as was hardly supportable, I took up the Iliad; and merely to direct attention, and with no more preconception of what I was then entering upon, than I have at this moment of what I shall be doing this day twenty years hence, translated the first twelve lines of it. The same necessity pressed me again, I had recourse to the same expedient, and translated more. Every day bringing its occasion for employment with it, every day consequently added something to the work; till at last I began to reflect thus:—The Iliad and the Odyssey together consist of about forty thousand verses. To translate these forty thousand verses will furnish me with occupation for a considerable time. I have already made some progress, and find it a most agreeable amusement. Homer, in point of purity, is a most blameless writer, and though he was not an enlightened man, has interspersed many great and valuable truths throughout both his poems. In short, he is in all respects a most venerable old gentleman, by an acquaintance with whom no man can disgrace himself; the literati are all agreed, to a man, that although Pope has given us two pretty poems, under Homer's title, there is not to be found in them the least portion of Homer's spirit, nor the least resemblance of his manner. I will try, therefore, whether I cannot copy him more happily myself. I have at least the advantage of Pope's faults and failings, which, like so many beacons upon a dangerous coast, will serve me to steer by, and will make my chance for success more probable. These, and many other considerations, but especially a mind that abhorred a vacuum as its chief bane, impelled me so effectually to the work, that ere long I mean to publish proposals for a subscription of it, having advanced so far as to be warranted in doing so."

In another letter to the same correspondent, the following just and critical remarks on Pope's translation occur:—"Your sentiments of Pope's Homer agree perfectly with those of every competent judge with whom I have at any time conversed about it. I never saw a copy so unlike the original. There is not, I believe, in all the world, to be found an uninspired poem so simple as are both of those of Homer; nor in all the world a poem more bedizened with ornaments than Pope's translation of them. Accordingly, the sublime of Homer in the hands of Pope, becomes bloated and tumid, and his description tawdry. Neither had Pope the faintest conception of those exquisite discriminations of character for which Homer is so remarkable. All

his persons, and equally upon all occasions, speak in an inflated and strutting phraseology, as Pope has managed them; although in the original, the dignity of their utterance, even when they are most majestic, consists principally in the simplicity of their sentiments and of their language. Another censure I must pass upon our Anglo-Grecian, out of many that obtrude themselves upon me, but for which I have now neither time nor room to spare, which is, that with all his great abilities, he was defective in his feelings, to a degree that some passages in his own poems make it difficult to account for. No writer is more pathetic than Homer, because none more natural; and because none less natural than Pope, in his version of Homer, therefore, than he, none less pathetic. One of the great faults of Pope's translation is, that it is licentious. To publish, therefore, a translation that should be at all chargeable with the same fault, would be useless. Whatever will be said of mine, when it does appear, it shall never be said that it is not faithful. I thank you heartily both for your wishes and prayers, that should a disappointment occur, I may not be too much hurt by it. Strange as it may seem to say it, and unwilling as I should be to say it to any person less candid than yourself, I will nevertheless say that I have not entered upon this work, unconnected as it must needs appear with the cause of God, without the direction of his providence, nor have I been altogether unassisted by him in the performance of it. Time will show to what it ultimately tends. I am inclined to think that it has a tendency to which I myself am at present a perfect stranger. Be that as it may, he knows my frame, and will consider that I am dust, and dust too that has been so trampled under foot, and beaten, that a storm less violent than an unsuccessful issue of such a business might occasion, would be sufficient to blow me quite away. As I know not to what end this my present occupation may finally lead, so neither did I know when I wrote it, or at all suspect, one valuable end, at least, that was to be answered by the Task. It has pleased God to prosper it; and being composed in blank verse, it is likely to prove as seasonable an introduction to a blank verse Homer, by the same hand, as any that could have been devised; yet when I wrote the last line of the Task, I as little suspected that I should ever engage in a version of the old Asiatic tale, as you do now."

Having undertaken a work that required so much labor, he bestowed upon it the utmost pains, and allowed nothing to divert his attention from it. In his correspondence the following remarks occur:—"The little time that I can devote to any other purpose than that of poetry, is, as you may suppose, stolen. Homer is urgent; much is done, and much still remains undone, and no school-boy is more attentive to the performance of his daily task than I am.—In truth, my time is very much occupied; and the more so, because I not only have a long and laborious work in hand—for such it would prove at any rate—but because I make it a point to bestow my utmost attention to it, and to give it all the finishing that the most scrupulous accuracy can command. As soon as breakfast is over I retire to my nutshell of a summer-house, which is my verse manufactory, and here I abide seldom less than three hours, and not often more. In the afternoon I return to it again; and all the day light that follows, except what is sometimes devoted to a walk, is given to Homer. It is well for me, that a course which is now become necessary, is so much my choice. Assure yourself, therefore, that when at any time it happens that I am in arrears in my correspondence with you, neither neglect nor idleness is the cause. I have a daily occupation of forty lines to translate, a task which I never excuse myself from, when it is possible to perform it. Equally sedulous I am in the matter of transcribing, so that between both, my mornings and evenings are, for the most part, completely engaged. Add to this, that though my spirits are seldom so bad, but I can write verse, they are often at so low an ebb as to make the production of a letter impossible. I am now in the twentieth book of Homer, and shall assuredly proceed, because the farther I go the more I find myself justified in the undertaking; and in due time, if I live, shall assuredly publish. In the whole I shall have composed about forty thousand verses, about which forty thousand verses, I shall have taken great pains, on no occasion suffering a slovenly line to escape me. I leave you to guess, therefore, whether, such a labor once achieved, I shall not determine to turn it to some account, and to gain myself profit by it if I can; if not, at least some credit, for my reward. Till I had made such a progress in my present undertaking as to put it out of all doubt, that, if I lived, I should proceed in, and finish it, I kept the matter to myself. It would have done me little honor to have told my friends, that I had an arduous enterprise in hand, if afterwards I must have told them that I had dropped it. Knowing it to have been universally the opinion of the literati, ever since they have allowed themselves to consider the matter coolly, that a translation, properly so called, of Homer, is, notwithstanding what Pope has done, a desideratum in the English language; it struck me that an attempt to supply the deficiency would be an honorable one, and having made myself, in former years, somewhat critically, master of the original, I was by this double consideration induced to make the attempt myself. I am now translating into blank verse the last book of the Iliad, and mean to publish by subscription. I wish that all English readers had an unsophisticated and unadulterated taste, and could relish real simplicity. But I am well aware, that in this respect, I am under a disadvantage, and that many, especially many ladies, missing many pretty terms of expression that they have admired in Pope, will account my translation, in those particulars, defective. But, I comfort myself with the thought that in reality it is no defect; on the contrary, that the want of all such embellishments as do not belong to the original, will be one of its principal merits, with persons really capable of relishing Homer. He is the best poet that ever lived, for many reasons, but for none more than that majestic plainness that distinguishes him from all others. As an accomplished person moves gracefully without thinking of it, in like manner, the dignity of Homer seems to have cost him no labor. It was natural to him to say great things, and to say them well, and little ornaments were beneath his notice."

The following extract will show that no person ever appeared before the public in a work of any literary importance, and more correct views of its legitimate claims, under such circumstances:—"I thank you for your friendly hints and precautions, and shall not fail to give them the guidance of my pen. I respect the public, and I respect myself, and had rather want bread than expose myself wantonly to the condemnation of either. I hate the affectation so frequently found in authors, of negligence and slovenliness, and in the present case am sensible how necessary it is to shun them, when I undertake the vast and invidious labor of doing better than Pope has done before me. I thank you for all that you have said and done in my cause, and beforehand for all that you shall say and do hereafter. I am sure that there will be no deficiency on your part. On my own part I assure you that no pains shall be wanted to make the work as complete as possible.

I am now in a scene of perfect tranquillity and the profoundest silence, kicking up the dust of heroic narrative and besieging Troy again. I told you that I had almost finished the translation of the Iliad, and I verily thought so. But I was never more mistaken. By the time when I had reached the end of the poem, the first book of my version was a twelvemonth old. When I came to consider it, after having laid it by so long, it did not satisfy me: I set myself to mend it, and did so. But still it appeared to me improvable, and that nothing would so effectually secure that point as to give the whole book a new translation. With the exception of a very few lines, I have so done, and was never in my life so convinced of the soundness of Horace's advice to publish nothing in haste; so much advantage have I derived from doing that twice which I thought I had accomplished notably at once. He, indeed, recommends nine years' imprisonment of your verses before you send them abroad; but the ninth part of that time is, I believe, as much as there is need of to open a man's eyes upon his own defects, and to secure him from the danger of premature self-approbation. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that nine years make so wide an interval between the cup and the lip, that a thousand things may fall out between. New engagements may occur, which may make the finishing of that which a poet has begun impossible. In nine years he may rise into a situation, or he may sink into one, utterly incompatible with his purpose. His constitution may break in nine years, and sickness may disqualify him for improving what he enterprised in the days of his health. His inclination may change, and he may find some other employment more agreeable; or another poet may enter upon the same work, and get the start of him. Therefore, my friend Horace, though I acknowledge your principle to be good, I must confess the practice you would ground upon it is carried to an extreme. The rigor that I exercised upon the first book, I intend to exercise upon all that follow, and have now actually advanced into the middle of the seventh, nowhere admitting more than one line in fifty of the first translation. You must not imagine that I had been careless and hasty in the first instance. In truth, I had not; but, in rendering so excellent a poet as Homer into our language, there are so many points to be attended to, both in respect of language and numbers, that a first attempt must be fortunate indeed if it does not call aloud for a second. You saw the specimen, and you saw (I am sure) one great fault in it; I mean the harshness of some of the elisions. I do not altogether take the blame of these to myself, for into some of them I have been absolutely driven and hunted by a series of reiterated objections, made by a critical friend, whose scruples and delicacies teazed me almost out of all patience."

With a view to make his translation as perfect as possible, Cowper, before he committed it to the press, availed himself of the assistance of several eminent critics, from some of whom he derived considerable assistance, which, at every convenient opportunity, he very readily and gratefully acknowledged. The remarks of others, however, to whose notice he had been persuaded to submit parts of his manuscript, were so frivolous and perfectly hypercritical, as to occasion him considerable vexation. Of this, the closing remarks of the last, and the whole of the following extract will afford ample proof:—"The vexation and perplexity that attend a multiplicity of criticisms by various hands, many of which are sure to be futile, many of them unfounded, and some of them contradictory to others, is inconceivable, except by the author, whose ill-fated work happens to be the subject of them. This also appears to me self-evident, that if a work have passed under the review of one man of taste and learning, and have had the good fortune to please him, his approbation gives security for that of all others qualified like himself. I speak thus, after having just escaped such a storm of trouble, occasioned by endless remarks, hints, suggestions, and objections, as drove me almost to despair, and to the very verge of a resolution to drop my undertaking for ever. With infinite difficulty, I at last sifted the chaff from the wheat, availed myself of what appeared to me just, and rejected the rest, but not till the labor and anxiety had nearly undone all that one judicious critic had been doing for me. I assure you I can safely say, that vanity and self-importance had nothing to do in all this distress that I suffered. It was merely the effect of an alarm that I could not help taking, when I compared the great trouble I had with a few lines only thus handled, with that which I foresaw such handling of the whole must necessarily give me. I felt beforehand that my constitution would not bear it. Though Johnson's friend has teased me sadly, I verily believe that I shall have no more such cause to complain of *him*. We now understand one another; and I firmly believe that I might have gone the world through before I had found his equal in an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the original. Though he is a foreigner, he has a perfect knowledge of the English language, and can consequently appreciate its beauties, as well as discover its defects.

"The animadversions of the critic you sent me, hurt me more than they would have done, had they come from a person from whom I might have expected such treatment. In part they appeared to me unjust, and in part ill-natured; and, the man himself being an oracle in almost every body's account, I apprehended that he had done me much mischief. Why he says that the translation is far from exact is best known to himself. For I know it to be as exact as is compatible with poetry; and prose translations of Homer are not wanted. The world has one already. I am greatly pleased with the amendments of a friend, to whom I sent a specimen, which he has returned amended with so much taste and candor, and accompanied with so many expressions of kindness, that it quite charmed me. He has chiefly altered the lines encumbered with elisions; and I will just take this opportunity to tell you, because I know you to be as much interested in what I write as myself, that some of the most offensive of these elisions were occasioned by mere criticism. I was fairly hunted into them by vexatious objections, made without end by —— and his friends, and altered, and altered, till at last I scarcely cared how I altered. I am not naturally insensible, and the sensibilities I had by nature have been wonderfully enhanced by a long series of shocks, given to a frame of nerves that was never very athletic. I feel accordingly, whether painful or pleasant, in the extreme; am easily elevated, and easily cast down. The power of a critic freezes my poetical powers, and discourages me to such a degree, that makes me ashamed of my own weakness. Yet I presently recover my confidence again, especially when I have every reason to believe, as in the case you refer to, that a critic's censures are harsh and unreasonable, and arise more from his own wounded and mortified feelings, than from any defect in the work itself."

Notwithstanding the irritation produced in the mind of the poet by the trifling amendments and vexatious criticisms of some whom he had been persuaded to consult, he nevertheless persevered in the translation, with undiminished activity, and gave abundant proof that he possessed that real greatness of mind which alone could enable him to undertake

and accomplish a work of so great magnitude. To Lady Hesketh he thus discloses the state of his mind in this respect:—"Your anxious wishes for my success delight me, and you may rest assured that I have all the ambition on the subject that you can wish me to feel. I more than admire my author. I often stand astonished at his beauties. I am for ever amused with the translation of him, and I have received a thousand encouragements: these are all so many happy omens, that I hope will be verified by the event. I am not ashamed to confess that, having commenced an author, I am most abundantly desirous to succeed as such. I have (what perhaps you little suspect me of) in my nature an infinite share of ambition. But with it I have, at the same time, as you well know, an equal share of diffidence. To this combination of opposite qualities it has been owing that, till lately, I stole through life without undertaking any thing, yet always wishing to distinguish myself. At last I ventured, ventured too in the only path that, at so late a period, was yet open to me, and am determined, if God have not determined otherwise, to work my way through the obscurity that has been so long my portion, into notice. Every thing, therefore, that seems to threaten this my favorite purpose, with disappointment, affects me severely. I suppose that all ambitious minds are in the same predicament. He who seeks distinction must be sensible of disapprobation, exactly in the same proportion as he desires applause. I have thus, my dear cousin, unfolded my heart to you in this particular, without a speck of dissimulation. Some people, and good people too, would blame me, but you will not; and they, I think, would blame without just cause. We certainly do not honor God when we bury, or when we neglect to improve, as far as we can, whatever talent he may have bestowed upon us, whether it be little or much. In natural things, as well as spiritual, it is a never-failing truth, that to him who *hath*, (that is, to him who employs what he hath, diligently, and so as to increase it,) more shall be given. Set me down, therefore, my dear cousin, for an industrious rhymer, so long as I shall have ability. For in this only way is it possible for me, so far as I can see, either to honor God, or even to serve myself."

In reply to the apprehensions expressed by some of his correspondents, that the confinement and close application which this work necessarily required, would prove injurious to his health, and be likely to increase his depression, he made the following remarks:—"You may well wonder at my courage, who have undertaken a work of such enormous length; you would wonder more if you knew I translated the whole Iliad, with no other help than a Clavis. But I have since equipped myself for this immense journey, and am revising the work in company with a good commentator. I thank you for the solicitude you express on the subject of my present studies. The work is undoubtedly long and laborious, but it has an end, and proceeding leisurely, with a due attention to air and exercise, it is possible that I may live to finish it. Assure yourself of one thing, that though to a bystander it may seem an occupation surpassing the powers of a constitution never very athletic, and, at present, not a little the worse for wear, I can invent for myself no employment that does not exhaust my spirits more. I will not pretend to account for this; I will only say that it is not the language of predilection for a favorite amusement, but that the fact is really so. I have ever found that those plaything avocations which one may execute almost without any attention, fatigue me, and wear me away, while such as engage me much, and attach me closely, are rather serviceable to me than otherwise."

During the whole of Cowper's residence at Olney, he retained the same sentiments of affectionate sympathy for the sufferings of the poor that he had evinced when he first came among them. And though he had experienced some painful proofs of their insensibility, ingratitude, and unkindness, yet his heart had often been made to rejoice with those whom either his own liberality or the liberality of his friends had enabled him to relieve. Aware that it afforded him so much pleasure to be employed in communicating happiness to others, his friends often placed at his disposal such things as they felt inclined to contribute. The following interesting extract from a letter to Mr. Unwin, proves how highly he was gratified in being thus benevolently employed:—"I have thought with pleasure of the summer that you have had in your heart, while you have been employed in softening the severity of winter, in behalf of so many who must otherwise have been exposed to it. You never said a better thing in your life than when you assured Mr. — of the expedience of a gift of bedding to the poor at Olney. There is no one article of this world's comforts, with which, as Falstaff says, they are so heinously unprovided. When a poor woman, and an honest one, whom we know well, carried home two pair of blankets, a pair for herself and husband, and a pair for her six children, that you kindly placed at my disposal, as soon as the children saw them, they jumped out of their straw, caught them in their arms, kissed them, blessed them, and danced for joy. An old woman, a very old one, the first night that she found herself so comfortably covered, could not sleep a wink, being kept awake by the contrary emotions of transport on the one hand, and the fear of not being thankful enough on the other."

After the publication of Cowper's second volume, and previous to his removal from Olney, he had renewed his correspondence with some relatives and friends with whom he had formerly been on terms of intimacy, but who seemed almost to have forgotten him, until the popularity of his publications arrested their attention. Among these were General Cowper and Rev. Walter Bagot. Cowper's letters to the latter prove that his attachment to him was not slight and superficial, but deep and fervent. In February, 1786, it pleased God to deprive Mr. Bagot of his amiable and accomplished wife, who was respected and beloved by all who knew her. On this melancholy occasion Cowper wrote to him as follows—"Alas! alas! my dear, dear friend, may God himself comfort you! I will not be so absurd as to attempt it. By the close of your letter, it should seem that in this hour of great trial, he withholds not his consolations from you. I know by experience that they are neither few nor small; and though I feel for you as I never felt for man before, yet do I sincerely rejoice in this, that, whereas there is but one comforter in the universe, under afflictions such as yours, you both know Him, and know where to seek Him. I thought you a man the most happily mated that I had ever seen, and had great pleasure in your felicity. Pardon me, if now I feel a wish, that, short as my acquaintance with her was, I had never seen her; I should then have mourned with you, but not as I do now. Mrs. Unwin also sympathizes with you most sincerely, and you neither are, nor will be soon forgotten, in such prayers as we can make. I will not detain you longer now, my poor afflicted friend, than to commit you to the mercy of God, and to bid you a sorrowful adieu. May God be with you my friend, and give you a just measure of submission to his will, the most effectual remedy for the evils of this changing scene. I doubt not that he has granted you this blessing already, and may he still continue it."

CHAPTER XII.

Pleasure he enjoyed in his new residence. Sudden death of Mrs. Unwin's son. Cowper's distress on the occasion. Experiences a severe attack of illness. Is compelled to relinquish, for a time, his labors of translation. Mr. Rose's first visit to him. His sudden recovery. Manner of spending his time. Peculiarities of his case. Is dissuaded from resuming his translation. His determination to persevere in it. Applies to it with the utmost diligence. Great care with which he translated it. His admiration of the original. Providential preservation of Mrs. Unwin. His painful depression unremoved.

By the end of November, 1786, Cowper was comfortably settled in his new residence at Weston. The house was delightfully situated, very near that of his friendly and accomplished landlord, Sir John Throckmorton, with whom he was now on terms of intimacy, and who had given him the full use of his spacious and agreeable pleasure grounds. This afforded him an opportunity, at almost all seasons, of taking that degree of exercise in the open air, which he always found so conducive to his health. The following extracts from his first letter to Lady Hesketh, after entering on his new abode, describe the state of his feelings, and prove how truly he enjoyed the change. "November 26, 1786. It is my birth-day, my beloved cousin, and I determine to employ a part of it that is not destitute of festivity, in writing to you. The dark thick fog that has obscured it, would have been a burthen to me at Olney, but here I have hardly attended to it. The neatness and snugness of our abode, compensates for all the dreariness of the season, and whether the ways are wet or dry, our house, at least, is always warm and commodious. Oh! for you, my cousin, to partake of these comforts with us! I will not begin already to tease you upon that subject, but Mrs. Unwin remembers to have heard from your own lips, that you hate London in the spring: perhaps, therefore, by that time, you may be glad to escape from a scene which will be every day growing more disagreeable, that you may enjoy the comforts of the Lodge. You well know that the best house has a desolate appearance unfurnished. This house accordingly, since it has been occupied by us, and our *meubles*, is as much superior to what it was when you saw it, as you can imagine; the parlor is even elegant. When I say that the parlor is elegant, I do not mean to insinuate that the study is not so. It is neat, warm, and silent, and a much better study than I deserve, if I do not produce in it an incomparable translation of Homer. I think every day of those lines of Milton, and congratulate myself on having obtained, before I am quite superannuated, what he seems not to have hoped for sooner.

> "And may at length my weary age
> Find out the peaceful hermitage."

For, if it is not an hermitage, at least it is a much better thing, and you must always understand, my dear, that when poets talk of cottages, hermitages, and such like things, they mean a house with six sashes in front, two comfortable parlors, a smart stair-case, and three bed-chambers, of convenient dimensions; in short, exactly such a house as this is.

"The Throckmortons continue the most obliging neighbors in the world. One morning last week, they both went with me to the cliffs—a scene, my dear, in which you would delight beyond measure, but which you cannot visit except in the spring or autumn. The heat of summer, and clinging dirt of winter would destroy you. What is called the cliff, is no cliff, nor at all like one, but a beautiful terrace, sloping gently down to the base, and from the brow of which, though it is not lofty, you have a view of such a valley, as makes that which you saw from the hills near Olney, and which I have had the honor to celebrate, an affair of no consideration.

"Wintry as the weather is, do not suspect that it confines me. I ramble daily, and every day change my ramble. Wherever I go, I find short grass under my feet, and when I have travelled perhaps five miles, come home with shoes not at all too dirty for a drawing-room."

Cowper was scarcely settled in his new abode, and had hardly had time to participate of its enjoyments, before an event occurred, which plunged both him and Mrs. Unwin into the deepest distress. It pleased God, who does every thing according to his will, with angels as well as with men, all whose dispensations, mysterious as some of them may appear, are conducted on principles of unerring wisdom, and infinite benevolence, to remove from this scene of toil and labor, to regions of peace and happiness, Mrs. Unwin's son, in the prime of life, and in a manner the most sudden and unexpected. Cowper had always loved him as a brother, and had most unreservedly communicated his mind to him, on all occasions. Their attachment to each other was mutually strong, cordial, and affectionate. The loss of such a friend could not fail to make a deep impression on the poet's mind, and the following extracts will show how much he felt on the occasion:—"I find myself here situated exactly to my mind. Weston is one of the prettiest villages in England; the walks about it are at all seasons of the year delightful. We had just begun to enjoy the pleasantness of our new situation, to find at least as much comfort in it as the season of the year would permit, when affliction found us out in our retreat, and the news reached us of the death of Mr. Unwin. He had taken a western tour with Mr. Henry Thornton, and on his return at Winchester, was seized with a putrid fever, which sent him to his grave. He is gone to it, however, though young, as fit for it as age itself could have made him. Regretted, indeed, and always to be regretted by those who knew him; for he had every thing that makes a man valuable, both in his principles and in his manners, but leaving still this consolation to his surviving friends; that he was desirable in this world chiefly because he was so well prepared for a better.

"The death of one whom I valued as I did Mr. Unwin, is a subject on which I could say much, and with much feeling. But habituated as my mind has been these many years to melancholy themes, I am glad to excuse myself the contemplation of them as much as possible. I will only observe that the death of so young a man, whom I saw so lately in good health, and whose life was so desirable on every account, has something in it peculiarly distressing. I cannot think of the widow and the children he has left, without a heart-ache that I remember not to have felt before. We may well say that the ways of God are mysterious: in truth, they are so, and to a degree that only such events can give us any conception of. Mrs. Unwin's life has been so much a life of affliction, that whatever occurs to her in that shape, has not, at least, the terrors of novelty to embitter it. She is supported under this, as she has been under a thousand others, with a submission of which I never saw her deprived for a moment.

"Though my experience has long since taught me that this world is a world of shadows, and that it is the more prudent, as well as the more Christian course, to possess the comforts that we find in it, as if we possessed them not, it is no easy matter to reduce this doctrine to practice. We forget that that God who gave them, may, when he pleases, take them away; and that, perhaps, it may please him to take them away at a time when we least expect it, and are least disposed to part with them. Thus it

has happened in the present case. There never was a moment in Unwin's life when there seemed to be more urgent want of him than the moment in which he died. He had attained to an age, when, if they are at any time useful, men become more useful to their families, their friends, and the world. His parish began to feel, and to be sensible of the value of his ministry; his children were thriving under his own tuition and management. The removal of a man in the prime of life, of such a character, and with such connections, seems to make a void in society that can never be filled. God seemed to have made him just what he was, that he might be a blessing to others, and when the influence of his character and abilities began to be felt, removed him. These are mysteries that we cannot contemplate without astonishment, but which will nevertheless be explained hereafter, and must, in the mean time, be revered in silence. It is well for Mrs. Unwin that she has spent her life in the practice of an habitual acquiescence in the dispensations of Providence, else I know that this stroke would have been heavier, after all that she has suffered upon another account, than she could have borne. She derives, as she well may, great consolation from the thought that he lived the life, and died the death of a Christian. The consequence is, if possible, more certain than the most mathematical conclusion, that therefore he is happy."

Cowper had scarcely given vent to his feelings on the melancholy occurrence of Mr. Unwin's decease, when he was himself again visited by severe indisposition. His depressive malady retured, with all its baleful consequences, and prevented him for more than six months, either from doing any thing with his translation of Homer, or carrying on his correspondence with his friends, or even from enjoying the conversation of those with whom he was most intimately associated, and whom he loved most affectionately. It is highly probable, that the painful feelings, occasioned by a too frequent recurrence to the apparently disastrous consequences, that must be the result of his friend's removal, occasioned this attack. His mind bore up under the first shock with comparative firmness, but his intense feelings, perhaps, pictured its remote effects in colors much more gloomy than were ever likely to be realized. Such seems to have been the case with him at the death of his brother. He attended him in his dying hours, saw him gradually sink into the arms of death, arranged all the affairs of his funeral, and then, when other persons less susceptible of feeling, would in all probability have forgotten the event, his apprehensive mind invested it with imaginary horrors that were to him insupportable.

This affliction of Cowper's commenced in the early part of January, 1787. In his letters to his cousin, he thus adverts to the first symptoms of it:—"I have had a little nervous fever lately, that has somewhat abridged my sleep, and though I find myself better to-day than I have been since it seized me, yet I feel my head lightish, and not in the best order for writing." In the next letter to the same correspondent, written about a week afterwards—the last he wrote to any of his correspondents until his recovery, he again adverts to the progress of his complaint. "I have been so much indisposed with the nervous fever, that I told you in my last had seized me, my nights, during the whole week, may be said to have been almost sleepless. The consequence has been, that, except the translation of about thirty lines at the conclusion of the thirteenth book, I have been forced to abandon Homer entirely. This was a sensible mortification to me, as you may suppose, and felt the more, because my spirits of course failing with my strength, I seemed to have peculiar need of my old amusement. It seemed hard, therefore, to be forced to resign it, just when I wanted it most. But Homer's battles cannot be fought by a man who does not sleep well, and who has not some little degree of animation in the daytime. Last night, however, quite contrary to my expectation, the fever left me entirely, and I slept soundly, quietly and long. If it please God that it return not, I shall soon find myself in a condition to proceed. I walk constantly, that is to say, Mrs. Unwin and I together; for at these times I keep her constantly employed, and never suffer her to be absent from me many minutes. She gives me all her time, and all her attention, and forgets that there is another object in the world besides myself."

About this time, that intimacy between Cowper and Samuel Rose, Esq. which subsequently ripened into a friendship that nothing but death could dissolve, commenced. At the close of the letter from which we made our last extract, Cowper thus adverts to the circumstance:—"A young gentleman called here yesterday, who came six miles out of his way to see me. He was on a journey from London to Glasgow, having just left the university there. He came, I suppose, partly to satisfy his own curiosity, but chiefly, as it seemed, to bring me the thanks of some of the Scotch professors for my two volumes. His name is Rose, an Englishman. Your spirits being good, you will derive more pleasure from this incident than I can at present, therefore I send it." Notwithstanding the depression of mind which Cowper was beginning again to experience, when this unexpected interview between him and Mr. Rose took place, and his consequent aversion to the visits of any one, but especially strangers, yet he was so highly pleased with his new friend, that he commenced a correspondence with him immediately on recovering his health; and he ever regarded it as a providential circumstance, and a token of the goodness of God towards him, in giving him a friend and a correspondent, who, in some measure at least, supplied the loss he had experienced by the death of Mr. Unwin.

In February, 1787, Cowper's depressive malady had so greatly increased, that his mind became again enveloped in the deepest gloom. The following extracts from his letters, written after his recovery, which took place in the ensuing autumn, will best describe the painful and distressing state to which he was reduced:—"My indisposition could not be of a worse kind. Had I been afflicted with a fever, or confined by a broken bone, neither of these cases would have made it impossible that we should meet. I am truly sorry that the impediment was insurmountable while it lasted, for such, in fact, it was. The sight of any face, except Mrs. Unwin's was to me an insupportable grievance; and when it has happened, that by forcing himself into my hiding place, some friend has found me out, he has had no great cause to exult in his success, as Mr. Bull could tell you. From this dreadful condition of mind, I emerged suddenly; so suddenly, that Mrs. Unwin, having no notice of such a change herself, could give none to any body; and when it obtained, how long it might last, and how far it might be depended upon, was a matter of the greatest uncertainty. It affects me on the recollection with the more concern, because it has deprived me of an interview with you, and has prevented you from visiting others who would have been very glad to see you."

In the midst of Cowper's severe attack, his friend, Mr. Rose paid him another visit, and was greatly distressed to find him reduced to such a degree of

wretchedness that he could not be prevailed upon to converse with him on any subject. Cowper, as soon as he began to feel the slightest symptoms of recovery, recollected the great sympathy and disinterested kindness of his new friend, and he took care to present him with the first productions of his pen. In the last week of July, 1787, he thus addressed him:—"This is the first time I have written these six months; and nothing but the constraint of obligation could induce me to write now. I cannot be so wanting to myself as not to endeavor, at least, to thank you, both for the visits with which you have favored me, and the poem that you have sent me. In my present state of mind I *taste* nothing, nevertheless I read—partly from habit, and partly because it is the only thing I am capable of." A month afterwards he again wrote to the same correspondent. "I have not yet taken up my pen, except to write to you. The little taste that I have had of your company, and your kindness in finding me out, make me wish that we were nearer neighbors, and that there were not so great a disparity in our years; that is to say, not that you were older, but that I was younger. Could we have met early in life, I flatter myself that we might have been more intimate than we are now likely to be. But you shall not find me slow to cultivate such a measure of your regard as your friends of your own age can spare me. I hope the same kindness which has prompted you twice to call on me, will prompt you again; and I shall be happy, if, on a future occasion, I shall be able to give you a more cheerful reception than can be expected from an invalid. My health and spirits are considerably improved, and I once more associate with my neighbors. My head, however, has been the worst part of me, and still continues so; is subject to giddiness and pain, maladies very unfavorable to poetical employment: but I feel some encouragement to hope that I may possibly, before long, find myself able to resume the translation of Homer. When I cannot walk, I read, and read perhaps more than is good for me. But I cannot be idle. The only mercy that I show myself in this respect is, that I read nothing that requires much closeness of application."

Cowper was now recovered sufficiently to resume his correspondence with Lady Hesketh, and the following extracts will throw some additional light on the gradually improving state of his health, and on the manner in which he then spent his time:—"My dear cousin, though it costs me something to write, it would cost me more to be silent. My intercourse with my neighbors being renewed, I can no longer forget how many reasons there are why you especially should not be neglected: no neighbor, indeed, but the kindest of my friends, and ere long, I hope an inmate. My health and spirits seem to be mending daily. To what end I know not, neither will conjecture, but endeavor, as far as I can, to be content that they do so. I use exercise, and take the air in the park; I read much; have lately read Savary's Travels in Egypt, Memoirs of Baron du Tott, Fenn's Original Letters, the Letters of Frederick of Bohemia, and am now reading Memoirs d'Henri de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. I have also read Barclay's Argenis, a Latin romance, and the best romance that was ever written. All these, together with Madan's Letters to Priestley, and several pamphlets, I have read within these two months. So that you will say I am a great reader. I, however, write but little, because writing is become new to me; but I shall come on by degrees, and hope to regain the use of my pen before long. Our friends at the Hall make themselves more and more amiable in our account, by treating us rather as old friends, than [redacted] friends newly acquired. There are few days in which we do not meet, and I am now almost as much at home in their house as in my own. I have the free use of their library, an acquisition of great value to me, as I cannot live without books. By this means I have been so well supplied, that I have not yet even looked at the Lounger, which you were so kind as to send me. His turn comes next, and I shall probably begin him to-morrow."

Cowper's correspondence with Mr. Newton had now been suspended for some months. In the beginning of the ensuing October he renewed it; and the following extracts will afford some interesting information respecting the peculiarity of his case:—

"*My Dear Friend*—After a long but necessary interruption of our correspondence, I return to it again in one respect, at least better qualified for it than before; I mean by a belief of your identity, which, for thirteen years, strange and unaccountable as it may appear, I did not believe. The acquisition of this light, if light it may be called, which leaves me as much in the dark as ever, on the most interesting subjects, releases me, however, from the most disagreeable suspicion that I am addressing myself to you as the friend whom I loved and valued so highly in my better days, while in fact you are not that friend, but a stranger. I can now write to you without seeming to act a part, and without having any need to charge myself with dissimulation—a charge from which, in that state of mind, and under such an uncomfortable persuasion, I know not how to exculpate myself, and which, as you will easily conceive, not seldom made my correspondence with you a burden. Still, indeed, it wants, and is likely to want, that best ingredient, which alone can make it truly pleasant, either to myself or you—that spirituality which once enlivened all our intercourse. You will tell me, no doubt, that the knowledge I have gained is an earnest of more, and more valuable information too; and that the dispersion of the clouds in part, promises, in due time, their complete dispersion. I should be happy to believe it; but the power to do so is at present far from me. Never was the mind of man benighted to the degree that mine has been. The storms that have assailed me would have overset the faith of every man that ever had any; and the very remembrance of them, even after they have been long passed by, makes hope impossible. Mrs. Unwin, whose poor bark is still held together, though much shattered by being tossed and agitated so long at the side of mine, does not forget yours and Mrs. Newton's kindness on this last occasion. Mrs. Newton's offer to come to her assistance, and your readiness to have rendered us the same service, could you have hoped for any salutary effect of your presence, neither Mrs. Unwin nor myself undervalue, nor shall presently forget. But you judged right when you supposed that even your company would have been no relief to me; the company of my father or my brother, could they have been returned from the dead to visit me, would have been none. We are now busy in preparing for the reception of Lady Hesketh, whom we expect here shortly. Mrs. Unwin's time has, of course, been lately occupied to a degree that made writing, to her impracticable; and she excused herself the rather, knowing my intentions to take her office. It does not, however, suit me to write much at a time. This last tempest has left my nerves in a worse condition than it found them; my head especially, though better informed, is more infirm than ever; I will therefore only add, that I rejoice to hear Mrs. Cowper has been so comfortably supported under her heavy trial. She must have severely felt the loss of her son. She has an affectionate heart towards her children, and could not but be sensible of the bitter-

ness of such a cup. But God's presence sweetens every bitter. Desertion is the only evil that a Christian cannot bear."

Cowper's friends were all delighted to see him again in full possession of his mental powers; and, as many of them attributed his last attack to the irritation and fatigue occasioned by his translation of Homer, they endeavored to dissuade him from pursuing it, and recommended him to confine his attention to original poetry. Cowper was not, however, to be diverted from his purpose without an irrefragable proof of its injurious tendency, and he had formed a very different opinion on the subject to that of his friends. In a letter to Mr. Newton, he particularly adverts to it.—"I have many kind friends, who, like yourself, wish that, instead of turning my endeavors to a translation of Homer, I had proceeded in the way of original poetry. But I can truly say, that it was ordered otherwise, not by me, but by that God who governs all my thoughts, and directs all their intentions as he pleases. It may seem strange, but it is true, that after having written a volume, in general, with great ease to myself, I found it impossible to write another page. The mind of man is not a fountain, but a cistern; and mine, God knows, a broken one. It is my creed, that the intellect depends as much, both for the energy and the multitude of its exertions, upon the operations of God's agency upon it, as the heart, for the exercise of its graces, upon the influence of the Holy Spirit. According to this persuasion, I may very reasonably affirm, that it was not God's good pleasure that I should proceed in the same track, because he did not enable me to do it. A whole year I waited, and waited in circumstances of mind that made a state of mere employment peculiarly irksome to me. I longed for the pen as the only remedy, but I could find no subject: extreme distress, at last, drove me, as, if I mistake not, I told you some time since, to lay Homer before me, and translate for amusement. Why it pleased God that I should be hunted into such a business, of such enormous length and labor, by miseries for which he did not see good to afford me any other remedy, I know not. But so it was; and jejune as the consolation may be, and unsuited to the exigencies of a mind that once was spiritual, yet a thousand times have I been glad of it, for a thousand times it has served, at least, to divert my attention, in some degree, from such terrible tempests as I believe have seldom been permitted to beat upon a human mind. Let my friends, therefore, who wish me some little measure of tranquillity in the performance of the most turbulent voyage that ever Christian mariner made, be contented, that having Homer's mountains and forests to windward, I escape, under their shelter, from many a gust of melancholy depression that would almost overset me, especially when they consider that, not by choice, but by necessity, I make *them* my refuge. As to the fame, and honor, and glory, that may be acquired by poetical feats of any sort, God knows, that if I could lay me down in my grave with hope at my side, or sit with this companion in a dungeon all the residue of my days, I would cheerfully waive them all. For, the little fame that I have already earned, has never saved me from one distressing night, or from one despairing day, since I first acquired it. *For* what I am reserved, or *to* what, is a mystery; I would fain hope, not merely that I may amuse others, or only to be a translator of Homer."

Ten months had now elapsed since Cowper had laid aside his translation, and as Johnston, the publisher, had been informed of his recovery, he wrote to require him to persevere in the work with as little delay as possible.—Cowper immediately recommenced the undertaking, and again entered upon it with all his former spirit and activity. The following extracts will show that his affliction had not deprived him of the vigor of his mind, or produced in him the slightest disinclination to engage in this laborious work. "I am as heretofore occupied with Homer; my present occupation is the revisal of all I have done, which is the first fifteen books. I stand amazed at my own increasing dexterity in the business, being verily persuaded that as far as I have gone, I have improved the work to double its value. I will assure you, that it engages, unavoidably, my whole attention. The length of it, the spirit of it, and the exactness requisite to its due performance, are so many most interesting subjects of consideration to me, who find that my best attempts are only introductory to others, and, that what to-day I supposed finished, to-morrow I must begin again. Thus it fares with a translator of Homer.—To exhibit the majesty of such a poet in a modern language, is a task that no man can estimate the difficulty of till he attempts it. To paraphrase him loosely, to hang him with trappings that do not belong to him, all this is comparatively easy. But to represent him with only his own ornaments, and still to preserve his dignity, is a labor that if I hope in any measure to achieve it, I am sensible can only be achieved by the most assiduous and most unremitting attention; a perseverance that nothing can discourage, a minuteness of observation that suffers nothing to escape, and a determination not to be seduced from the staight line that lies before us, by any images which fancy may present. There are perhaps, few arduous undertakings that are not, in fact, more arduous than we at first supposed them. As we proceed, difficulties increase upon us, but our hopes gather strength also, and we conquer difficulties, which, could we have foreseen them, we should never have had the boldness to encounter. You possess by nature all that is necessary to success in the profession you have chosen. What remains is in your own power. They say of poets, that they must be born such; so must mathematicians, so must great generals, so must lawyers, and so indeed must men of all denominations, or it is not possible that they should excel. But with whatever faculties we are born, and to whatever studies our genius may direct us, *studies* they must still be. I am persuaded that Milton did not write his Paradise Lost, nor Homer his Iliad, nor Newton his Principia, without immense labor. Nature gave them a bent to their respective pursuits, and that strong propensity, I suppose, is what we mean by genius. The rest they gave themselves.

"My first thirteen books of Homer have been criticised in London; have been by me accommodated to those criticisms, returned to London in their improved state, and sent back to Weston with an imprimatur. This would satisfy some poets less anxious than myself about what they expose in public, but it has not satisfied me. I am now revising them again, by the light of my own critical taper, and make more alterations than at the first. But are they improvements? you will ask. Is not the spirit of the work endangered by all this correctness? I think and hope that it is not. Being well aware of the possibility of such a catastrophe, I guard particularly against it. Where I find a servile adherence to the original would render the passage less animated than it should be, I still, as at the first, allow myself a liberty. On all other occasions, I prune with an unsparing hand, determined that there shall not be found in the whole translation an idea that is not Homer's. My ambition is, to produce the closest copy possible, and at the same time as harmonious as I can possibly make it.—This

being my object, you will no longer think, if indeed you had thought it at all, that I am unnecessarily and over-much industrious. The original surpasses every thing; it is of an immense length, is composed in the best language ever used upon earth, and deserves, indeed demands, all the labor that any translator, be he who he may, can possibly bestow upon it. At present, mere English readers know no more of Homer in reality, than if he had never been translated. That consideration indeed it was, which mainly induced me to the undertaking; and if after all, either through idleness or dotage upon what I have already done, I leave it chargeable with the same incorrectness as my predecessors, or, indeed, with any other that I may be able to amend, I had much better have amused myself otherwise. I am now in the nineteenth book of the Iliad, and on the point of displaying such feats of heroism, performed by Achilles, as make all other achievements trivial. I may well exclaim, Oh, for a muse of fire! especially, having not only a great host to cope with, but a great river also; much, however, may be done when Homer leads the way. What would I give if he were now living, and within my reach! I, of all men living, have the best excuse for indulging such a wish, unreasonable as it may seem, for I have no doubt the fire of his eyes, and the smile of his lips, would put me, now and then, in possession of his full meaning more effectually than any commentator."

The close application of Cowper, to the translation of Homer, was not allowed to suspend, though it in some measure interrupted, his correspondence with Mr. Newton. To him he still opened the state of his mind without the least reserve, and it will appear, from the following extracts, that he had lost, in no degree, his relish for the enjoyments of religion, though his mind still continued under the influence of his depressive malady. "Your last letter informed us, that you were likely to be much occupied for some time in writing on a subject that must be interesting to a person of your feelings—the Slave Trade. I was unwilling to interrupt your progress in so good a work, and have, therefore, enjoined myself a longer silence than I should otherwise have thought excusable, though, to say the truth, did not our once intimate fellowship in the things of God recur to my remembrance, and present me with something like a warrant for doing it, I should hardly have prevailed upon myself to write at all. Letters such as mine, to a person of a character such as yours, are like snow in harvest: and you will say, that if I will send you a letter that you can answer, I shall make your part of the business easier than it is. This I would gladly do, but though I abhor a vacuum, as much as nature herself is said to do, yet a vacuum I am bound to feel, of all such matter as may merit your perusal. I have lately been engaged in correspondence with a lady whom I never saw. She lives at Perton Hall, near Kimbolton, and is the wife of Dr. King, who has the living. She is evidently a Christian, and a very gracious one. I would that she had you for a correspondent, rather than me. One letter from you would do her more good than a ream of mine. But so it is; and though I despair of communicating to her any thing that will be of much advantage, I must write to her this evening. Undeserving as I feel myself to be of divine protection, I am nevertheless receiving almost daily, I might indeed say hourly, proofs of it. A few days ago, Providence interfered to preserve me from the heaviest affliction that I could now suffer: the loss of Mrs. Unwin, and in a way, too, the most shocking imaginable. Having kindled her fire in the room where she dresses, (an office that she always performs for herself,) she placed the candle on the hearth, and kneeling, addressed herself to her devotions; a thought struck her while thus occupied, that the candle, being short, might possibly catch her clothes, she pinched it out with the tongs, and set it on the table. In a few moments the chamber was so filled with smoke, that her eyes watered, and it was hardly possible to see across it. —Supposing that it proceeded from the chimney, she pushed the billets backward, and while she did so, casting her eye downward, perceived that her dress was on fire. In fact, before she extinguished the candle, the mischief that she apprehended had begun; and when she related the matter to me, she showed me her clothes, with a hole burnt in them as large as this sheet of paper. It is not possible, perhaps, that so tragical a death could occur to a person actually engaged in prayer, for her escape seems almost a miracle. Her presence of mind, by which she was enabled, without calling for help, or waiting for it, to gather up her clothes, and plunge them, burning as they were, in water, seems as wonderful a part of the occurrence as any. The very report of fire, though distant, has rendered hundreds torpid and incapable of self-succor; how much more was such a disability to be expected, when the fire had not seized a neighbor's house, or begun its devastations on our own, but was actually consuming the apparel that she wore, and seemed in possession of her person!"

The continued gloomy state of Cowper's mind will be seen by the following extract from a letter to his cousin, Lady Hesketh, with whom he corresponded, as nearly as possible, at stated and regular intervals.—January 30, 1788, he thus writes: "It is a fortnight since I heard from you, that is to say, a week longer than you have been accustomed to make me wait for a letter. I do not forget that you have recommended it to me, on occasions somewhat similar, to banish all anxiety, and to ascribe your silence only to the interruptions of company. Good advice, my dear, but not easily taken by a man circumstanced as I am. I have learned in the school of adversity, a school from which I have no expectations that I shall ever be dismissed, to apprehend the worst, and have ever found it the only course in which I can indulge myself, without the least danger of incurring a disappointment. This kind of experience, continued through many years, has given me such an habitual bias to the gloomy side of every thing, that I never have a moment's ease on any subject to which I am not indifferent. How then can I be easy, when I am left afloat upon a sea of endless conjectures, of which you furnish the occasion? Write, I beseech you, and do not forget that I am now a battered actor upon this turbulent stage, that what little vigor of mind I ever had, of the self-supporting kind, I mean, has long since been broken, and, that though I can bear nothing well, yet any thing better than a state of ignorance concerning your welfare. I have spent hours in the night, leaning upon my elbow, and wondering what your silence can mean. I entreat you, once more, to put an end to these speculations, which cost me more animal spirits than I can spare. I love you, my cousin, and cannot suspect, either with or without cause, the least evil in which you may be concerned, without being greatly troubled! O, trouble! the portion of mortals—but mine in particular—would I had never known thee, or could bid thee farewell for ever! For, I meet thee at every turn, my pillows are stuffed with thee, my very roses smell of thee, and even my cousin, who would, I am sure, cure me of all trouble if she could, is sometimes innocently the cause of trouble to me!"

CHAPTER XIII.

Pressing invitations of his friends to write a poem on the Slave Trade. Reasons for declining it. Correspondence with Mrs. King. Particular description of his feelings. Death of Sir Ashley Cowper. Description of his character. Great severity of Cowper's depression. Is again urged to write on the Slave Trade. Again declines it. Assigns particular reasons for it. His indefatigable application to Homer. Notice he took of passing events. Mr. and Mrs. Newton's visit to Weston. The pleasure it afforded Cowper. Lady Hesketh's visit. Completion of the Iliad, and commencement of the Odyssey. His unwearied application to Homer not allowed to divert his attention from religion. Occasional composition of original poetry. Readiness to listen to any alteration that might be suggested in his productions.

MANY of Cowper's friends were anxious to have him employ his admirable powers in a poem on the abolition of slavery, and Lady Hesketh wrote him several pressing invitations on the subject; to which he gave the following reply:—"I have now three letters of yours, my dearest cousin, before me, all written in the space of a week, and must be, indeed, insensible of kindness, did I not feel yours on this occasion. I cannot describe to you, neither could you comprehend it if I could, the manner in which my mind is sometimes impressed with melancholy on particular subjects. Your late silence was such a subject. I heard, saw, and felt, a thousand terrible things, which had no real existence, and was haunted by them night and day, till they at last extorted from me that doleful epistle, which I have since wished had been burnt before I sent it. But the cloud has passed, and, as far as you are concerned, my heart is once more at rest. Before you gave me the hint contained in your last letters, I had once or twice, as I lay on my bed, watching the break of day, ruminated on the subject which you kindly recommended to me. Slavery, or a release from slavery, such as the poor negroes have endured, or perhaps both these topics together, appeared to me a theme so important at the present juncture, and at the same time so susceptible of practical management, that I more than once perceived myself ready to start in that cause, could I have allowed myself to desert Homer for so long a time as it would have cost me to do them justice. While I was pondering these things, the public prints informed me that Miss More was on the point of publication, having actually finished what I had not begun. The sight of her advertisement convinced me that my best course would be that to which I felt myself most inclined; to persevere, without turning aside to attend to any other call, however alluring, in the business I have in hand. It occurred to me likewise, that I have lately borne my testimony in favor of my black brethren, and that I was one of the earliest, if not the first, of those who have, in the present day, expressed their detestation of the diabolical trade in question. On all these accounts I judged it best to be silent. I shall be glad to see Hannah More's poem; she is a favorite writer with me, and has more nerve and energy, both in her thoughts and language, than half the rhymers in the kingdom."

It will be seen by the last extract made from Cowper's letters to Mr. Newton, that he had now commenced a correspondence with Mrs. King, and as his letters to that lady are highly interesting, we shall make such use of them as will be descriptive of the state of his mind at that period. "A letter from a lady who was once intimate with my brother, could not fail of being most acceptable to me. I lost him just at a moment when those truths which have recommended my volumes to your approbation, were become his daily sustenance, as they had long been mine. But the will of God was done. I have sometimes thought that had his life been spared, being made brothers by a stricter tie than ever, in the bonds of the same faith, hope, and love, we should have been happier in each other than it was in the power of mere natural affection to make us. But it was his blessing to be taken from a world in which he had no longer any wish to continue; and it will be mine, if, while I live in it, my time may be not altogether wasted: in order to effect that good end, I wrote what I am happy to find has given you pleasure to read. But for that pleasure, Madam, you are indebted neither to me nor my muse; but (as you are well aware) to Him who alone can make divine truths palatable, in whatever vehicle conveyed. It is an established philosophical axiom, that nothing can communicate what it has not in itself, but in the effects of Christian communion, a very strong exception is found to this general rule, however self-evident it may seem. A man, himself destitute of all spiritual consolation, may, by occasion, impart it to others. Thus I, it seems, who wrote those very poems, to amuse a mind oppressed with melancholy, and who have myself derived from them no other benefit, (for mere success in authorship will do me no good,) have nevertheless, by so doing, comforted others, at the same time that they administer to me no consolation. But I will proceed no farther in this strain, lest my prose should damp a pleasure that my verse has happily excited. On the contrary, I will endeavor to rejoice in your joy, and especially, because I have myself been the instrument of conveying it."

"I owe you many acknowledgments, dear Madam, for that unreserved communication both of your history and of your sentiments, with which you honored me in your last. It gives me great pleasure to learn that you are so happily circumstanced, both in respect of situation and frame of mind. With your views of religious subjects, you could not indeed, speaking properly, be pronounced unhappy in any circumstances; but to have received from above, not only that faith which reconciles the heart to affliction, but many outward comforts also, and especially that greatest of all earthly comforts, a comfortable home, is happiness indeed. May you long enjoy it! As to health or sickness, you have learned already their true value, and know well that the former is no blessing, unless it be sanctified, and that the latter is the greatest we can receive, when we are enabled to make a proper use of it.

"The melancholy that I have mentioned to you, and concerning which you are so kind as to inquire, is of a kind, so far as I know, peculiar to myself. It does not at all affect the operations of my mind, on any subject to which I can attach it, whether serious or ludicrous, or whatever it may be; for which reason I am almost always employed either in reading or writing, when I am not engaged in conversation. A vacant hour is my abhorrence; because, when I am not occupied, I suffer under the whole influence of my unhappy temperament. I thank you for your recommendation of a medicine from which you have derived benefit yourself; but there is hardly any thing that I have not proved, however beneficial it may have been found to others, in my own case, utterly useless. I have, therefore, long since bid adieu to all hope from human means—the means excepted of perpetual employment. I will not say that we shall never meet, because it is not for a creature, who knows not what will be to-morrow, to assert any thing positively concerning the future. Things more unlikely I have seen come to pass; and things which, if I had expressed myself on them at all, I should have said were impossible. But, being respectively circumstanced as we are, there seems no present probability of it. You speak of insuperable hinderances, and I also have hinderances that would be equally difficult to sur-

mount. One is, that I never ride; that I am not able to perform so long a journey on foot; and that chaises do not roll within the sphere of that economy which my circumstances oblige me to observe. If this were not of itself a sufficient excuse, when I decline so obliging an invitation as yours, I could mention yet other obstacles. But to what end? One impracticability makes as effectual a barrier as a thousand: it will be otherwise in other worlds: either we shall not bear about us a body, or it will be more easily transportable than this. The world in which we live is indeed, as you say, a foolish world, and is likely to continue such, till the Great Teacher himself shall vouchsafe to make it wiser. I am persuaded that time alone will never mend it. But there is doubtless a day appointed when there will be a more general manifestation of the beauty of holiness, than mankind have ever yet beheld. When that period shall arrive, there will be an end of profane representations, whether of heaven or hell, on the stage, of which you complain—the great realities of religion will supersede them.

"You must think me a tardy correspondent, unless you have charity enough to suppose that I have met with other hinderances than those of indolence and inattention. With these I cannot charge myself, for I am never idle by choice; and inattentive to you I certainly have not been. My silence has been occasioned by a malady to which I have all my life been subject—an inflammation of the eyes. The last sudden change of weather, from excessive heat to a wintry degree of cold, occasioned it, and at the same time gave me a pinch of the rheumatic kind, from both which disorders I have but just recovered. I do not suppose that our climate has been much altered since the days of our forefathers, the Picts; but certainly the human constitution, in this country, has altered very much. Inured as we are from our cradles to every vicissitude, in a climate more various than any other, and in possession of all that modern refinement has been able to contrive for our security, we are yet as subject to blights as the tenderest blossoms of spring; and we are so well admonished of every change in the atmosphere by our bodily feelings, as hardly to have any need of a weather-glass to mark them. For this we are, no doubt, indebted to the multitude of our accommodations; for it was not possible to retain the hardiness that originally belonged to our race, under the delicate management to which, for many ages, we have been accustomed. It is observable, however, that though we have by these means lost much of our pristine vigor, our days are not the fewer. We live as long as those whom, on account of the sturdiness of their frame, the poets supposed to have been the progeny of oaks. Perhaps, too, they had but little feeling, and for that reason might be imagined to be so descended; for a very robust, athletic habit, seems inconsistent with much sensibility. But sensibility is the *sine qua non* of real happiness. If, therefore, our lives have been shortened, and if our feelings have been rendered more exquisite, as our habit of body has become more delicate, on the whole we have no cause to complain, but are rather gainers by our degeneracy."

In the beginning of June, 1788, an event occurred, which, though it had been long expected by Cowper and by all his friends, could not fail to make a deep impression upon his peculiarly sensitive mind. This was the death of his esteemed and venerable relation, Ashley Cowper, Esq., Clerk of the Parliaments, and brother to Cowper's father, the last moments of whose life his daughter, Lady Hesketh, had watched over with the tenderest solicitude. In reply to an affectionate letter from his friend Mr. Hill, apprizing him of the event, he thus writes:—"Your letter brought me the first intelligence of the event it mentions. My last from Lady Hesketh gave me reason enough to expect it; but the certainty of it was unknown to me till I learned it by your information. If gradual decline, the consequence of great age, be a sufficient preparation of the mind to encounter such a loss, our minds were certainly prepared to meet it: yet to you I need not say that no preparation can supersede the feelings of the heart on such occasions. While our friends yet live, inhabitants of the same world with ourselves, they seem still to live to *us*—we are sure that they often think of *us*; and, however improbable it may seem, it is never impossible that we may see each other once again. But the grave, like a great gulf, swallows all such expectations, and in the moment when a beloved friend sinks into it, a thousand tender recollections awaken a regret that will be felt in spite of all reasonings, and let our warnings have been what they may. My dear uncle's death awakened in me many reflections, which, for a time, sunk my spirits. A man like him would have been mourned had he doubled the age he reached. At any age his death would have been felt as a loss that no survivor could repair. And though it was not probable that, for my own part, I should ever see him more, yet the consciousness that he still lived, was a comfort to me. Let it comfort us now, that we have lost him only at a time when nature could afford him to us no longer; that as his life was blameless, so was his death without anguish, and that he is gone to heaven. I know not that human life, in its most prosperous state, can present any thing to our wishes half so desirable as such a close of it."

In another letter, he again writes:—"We have indeed lost one who has not left his like in the present generation of our family; and whose equal, in all respects, no future generation of it will probably produce. I often think what a joyful interview there has been between him and some of his friends who went before him. The truth of the matter is, my dear, they are happy ones, and we shall never be entirely so ourselves till we have joined the party. Can there be any thing so worthy of our warmest wishes as to enter on an eternal, unchangeable state, in blessed fellowship and communion with those whose society we valued most, and for the best reasons, while they continued with us? A few steps more through a vain, foolish world, and this happiness will be yours. But I earnestly hope the end of thy journey is not near. For of all that live, thou art one whom I can least spare; for thou also art one who shall not leave thy equal behind thee."

The state of Cowper's mind at this period will be discovered by the following extract from a letter to his friend Mr. Bull, who appears to have solicited him for some original hymns, to be used by him probably on some public occasion. "Ask possibilities, and they shall be performed; but ask not hymns from a man suffering with despair as I do. I would not sing the Lord's song were it to save my life, banished as I am, not to a strange land, but to a remoteness from his presence, in comparison to which the distance from east to west is no distance—is vicinity and cohesion. I dare not, either in prose or verse, allow myself to express a frame of mind which I am conscious does not belong to me; least of all can I venture to use the language of absolute resignation, lest, only counterfeiting, I should, for that very reason, be taken strictly at my word, and lose all my remaining comfort. Can there not be found, among the translations of Madame Guion, somewhat that might serve the purpose? I should think there might. Submission to the will of Christ, my memory tells me, is a theme that pervades them all. If so, your request is performed already; and if any alteration in them should be necessary, I will, with all my heart, make it. I have no objection to

giving the graces of a foreigner an English dress, but insuperable ones to all false pretences and affected exhibitions of what I do not feel."

Several of Cowper's correspondents, at this time again strongly urged him to write a poem on the Slave Trade. The following extracts will show that he was unwilling to give a refusal, though he could by no means prevail upon himself to accede to their wishes. "Twice or thrice, before your request came, have I been solicited to write a poem on the cruel, odious, and disgusting subject of Negro Slavery. But besides that it would be in some sort treason against Homer to abandon him for any other matter, I felt myself so much hurt in my spirits the moment I entered on the contemplation of it, that I have at last determined, absolutely, to have nothing more to do with it. There are some scenes of horror on which my imagination has dwelt not without some complacency; but then they are such scenes as God, not man, produces. In earthquakes, high winds, tempestuous seas, there is a grand as well as a terrible. But when man is tempted to disturb, there is such meanness in the design and such cruelty in the execution, that I both hate and despise the whole operation, and feel it a degradation of poetry to employ her in the description of it. I hope, also, that the generality of my countrymen have more generosity in their nature than to want the fiddle of verse to go before them in the performance of an act to which they are invited by the loudest calls of humanity. I shall rejoice if your friend, influenced by what you told him of my present engagements, shall waive his application to me for a poem on this revolting subject. I account myself honored by his intention to solicit one, and it would give me pain to refuse him, which inevitably I shall be constrained to do. The more I have considered it, the more I have convinced myself that it is not a promising theme for verse, at least to me. General censure on the iniquity of the practice will avail nothing. The world has been overwhelmed with such remarks already, and to particularize all the horrors of it, were an employment for the mind, both of the poet and of his readers, of which they would necessarily soon grow weary. For my own part, I cannot contemplate the subject very nearly, without a degree of abhorrence that affects my spirits, and sinks them below the pitch requisite for success in verse. Lady Hesketh recommended it to me some months since, and then I declined it for those reasons, and for others which I need not now mention."

The close attention that Cowper found it necessary to pay to his Homer, left him, at this period, but little time for any other engagement. Adverting to this, he thus writes to Mr. Newton:—"It is a comfort to me that you are so kind as to make allowance for me, in consequence of my being so busy a man. The truth is, that could I write with both hands, and with both at the same time—verse with one, and prose with the other—I should not, even so, be able to despatch both my poetry and my arrears of correspondence faster than I have need. The only opportunities that I can find for conversing with distant friends are in the early hour, (and that sometimes reduced to half a one,) before breakfast. Neither am I exempt from hinderances, which, while they last, are insurmountable, especially one, by which I have been occasionally a sufferer all my life—an inflammation of the eyes; which has often disabled me from all sorts of scribbling. When I tell you that an unanswered letter troubles my conscience, in some degree, like a crime, you will think me endued with a most heroic patience, who have so long submitted to that trouble on account of yours, not answered yet. But the truth is, that I have been much engaged. Homer, you know, affords me constant employment, besides which I have rather, what may be called—considering the privacy in which I have long lived—a numerous correspondence: to one of my friends in particular, a near and much beloved relation, I write weekly, and sometimes twice in the week; nor are these my only excuses: the sudden changes of the weather have much affected me, and have often made me wholly incapable of writing."

The summer of 1788 was remarkably hot and dry, and to show the manner in which it affected Cowper's mind we give the following extract from a letter to one of his correspondents:—"It has pleased God to give us rain, without which, this part of the country, at least, must soon have become a desert. The goodness and power of God are never, (I believe,) so universally acknowledged as at the end of a long drought. Man is naturally a self-sufficient animal, and in all concerns that seem to be within the sphere of his own ability, thinks little, or not at all, of the need he always has of protection and furtherance from above. But he is sensible that the clouds will not assemble at *his* bidding, and that though they do assemble, they will not fall in showers, because *he* commands them. When therefore the blessing descends, you shall hear, even in the streets, the most irreligious and thoughtless with one voice exclaim—Thank God! Confessing themselves indebted to his power, and willing, at least as far as words go, to give Him the glory. I can hardly doubt, therefore, that the earth is sometimes parched, and the crops endangered, in order that the multitude may not want a memento to whom they owe them; nor absolutely forget the power on which we all depend for all things. The summer is leaving us at a rapid rate, as indeed do all the seasons, and though I have marked their flight often, I know not which is the swiftest. Man is never so deluded as when he dreams of his own duration. The answer of the old patriarch to Pharaoh may be adopted by every man at the close of the longest life.—'Few and evil have been the days of the years of my pilgrimage.' Whether we look back from fifty, or from twice fifty, the past appears equally a dream; and we can only be said to have lived, while we have been profitably employed. Alas, then! making the necessary deductions, how short is life! Were men in general to save themselves all the steps they take to no purpose, or to a bad one, what numbers, who are now active and thoughtless, would become sedentary and serious!"

In the latter part of July, 1788, Mr. and Mrs. Newton paid Cowper a visit at Weston; and the pleasure it afforded him, will, with the state of his mind on the occasion, be seen by the following extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Newton, after his return.—"I rejoice that you and yours reached London safe, especially when I reflect that you performed your journey on a day so fatal, as I understand, to others travelling the same road. I found those comforts in your visit which have formerly sweetened all our interviews, in part restored. I knew you, knew you for the same shepherd who was sent to lead me out of the wilderness into the pasture, where the Chief Shepherd feeds his flock, and felt my sentiments of affectionate friendship for you the same as ever. But one thing was still wanting, and that thing the crown of all. I shall find it in God's time, if it be not lost for ever. When I say this, I say it trembling: for at what time soever comfort may come, it will not come without its attendant evil: and whatever good things may occur in the interval, I have sad forebodings of the event, having learned by experience that I was born to be persecuted with peculiar fury, and assured by believing, that such as my lot has been, it will be to the end. This belief is connected in my mind with

an observation I have often made, and is, perhaps, founded in great part upon it—that there is a certain *style* of dispensations maintained by Providence, in the dealings of God with every man, which, however the incidents of his life may vary, and though he may be thrown into different situations, is never exchanged for another. The style of dispensation peculiar to myself has hitherto been that of sudden, violent, unlooked-for change. When I have thought myself falling into the abyss, I have been caught up again; when I have thought myself on the threshold of a happy eternity, I have been thrust down to hell. The rough and the smooth of such a lot, taken together, should perhaps have taught me never to despair; but through an unhappy propensity in my nature to forebode the worst, they have, on the contrary, operated as an admonition for me, never to hope. A firm persuasion that I can never durably enjoy a comfortable state of mind, but must be depressed in proportion as I have been elevated, withers my joys in the bud, and, in a manner, entombs them before they are born: for I have no expectation but of sad vicissitude, and ever believe that the last shock of all will be fatal."

It might be supposed, from the gloomy state of Cowper's mind, as described by his letters, that no person could feel any real enjoyment in his society, and that his friends who visited him, did so, not so much for their own sake as for his. The fact, however, was, that all who had once been favored with his company, were particularly anxious to enjoy it again; for though he was never what might be termed brilliant in conversation, yet he was always interesting; and his amiable, polite, and unaffected manners, associated with his rich intellectual acquirements, which he had the happy talent of displaying in a manner perfectly unobtrusive, made him the charm of the social circle. His anxiety to promote the happiness of those with whom he might happen to be associated, gave to his conversation an air of cheerfulness, and sometimes even of sprightliness and vivacity, altogether different to that which generally pervaded his correspondence: and the same amiable solicitude for the welfare of others, caused him sometimes to write to his correspondents, in a style the most playful and agreeable. Of this we have an instance, in a letter to Mrs. King, written about this time.—"You express some degree of wonder that I found you out to be sedentary, at least, much a stayer within doors, without any sufficient data for my direction. Now, if I should guess your figure and stature with equal success, you will deem me not only a poet, but a conjuror. Yet, in fact, I have no pretensions of that sort. I have only formed a picture of you in my own imagination, as we ever do of a person of whom we think much, but whom we have never seen. Your height, I conceive, to be about five feet five inches, which, though it would make a short man, is yet height enough for a woman. If you insist on an inch or two more, I have no objection. You are not very fat, but somewhat inclined to be so, and unless you allow yourself a little more air and exercise, will incur some danger of exceeding your present dimensions before you die. Let me, therefore, once more recommend to you, to walk a little more, at least in your garden, and to amuse yourself with pulling up here and there a weed, for it will be an inconvenience to you to be much fatter than you are, especially when your strength will be naturally on the decline. I have given you a fair complexion, a slight tinge of the rose on your cheeks, dark brown hair, and, if the fashion would give you leave to show it, an open and well-formed forehead. To all this I add a pair of eyes not quite black, but approaching nearly to that hue, and very animated. I have not absolutely determined on the shape of your nose or the form of your mouth, but should you tell me that I have in other respects drawn a tolerable likeness, have no doubt but I can describe them too. I assure you that though I have a great desire to read Lavater, I have never seen his volumes, nor have I availed myself in the least of any of his rules on this occasion. Ah, Madam! if with all this sensibility of yours, which exposes you to so much sorrow, and necessarily must expose you to it in a world like this, I have had the good fortune to make you smile, I have then painted you, whether with a strong resemblance, or with none at all, to very good purpose."

During the time that Mr. and Mrs. Newton were on their visit at Weston, Cowper's friend, Mr. Samuel Rose, arrived there also. Cowper was highly pleased with this circumstance, as it served to enliven his social circle, and afforded him an opportunity to introduce his young friend to Mr. Newton, whose advice and influence might probably be of considerable advantage to him at a future period. To a person, easily diverted from his purpose, the company of friends whom he so highly esteemed, would have been thought a sufficient excuse for the suspension of every literary engagement. Cowper, however, labored indefatigably at his translation, and instead of laying it aside because of his friends' visits, he gladly availed himself of their advice and assistance. We learn from the following remarks, extracted from a letter to his cousin, written about this time, that Cowper would not allow his friend Rose to pay him an idle visit:—"My dear cousin, the Newtons are still here, and will continue with us, I believe, till the 15th of the month. Here is also my friend, Mr. Rose, a valuable young man, who, attracted by the effluvia of my genius, found me out in my retirement last January twelvemonth. I have not permitted him to be idle, but have made him transcribe for me the twelfth book of the Iliad. He brings me the compliments of several of the literati, with whom he is acquainted in town; and tells me that from Dr. Maclain, whom he saw lately, he learns that my book is in the hands of sixty different persons at the Hague, who are all enchanted with it; not forgetting the said Dr. Maclain himself, who tells him that he reads it every day, and is always the better for it. I desire to be thankful for this encouraging information, and am willing to ascribe it to its only legitimate cause, the blessing of God upon my feeble efforts."

Shortly after Mr. Rose, and Mr. and Mrs. Newton, left Weston, the vacuum which the absence of their agreeable company made in Cowper's enjoyments, was supplied by the arrival of his cousin, Lady Hesketh, whose cheerful conversation contributed greatly to his comfort, and who diminished much of the labor of his translation by transcribing the manuscript, so that a fair copy might be forwarded to the printers. In September, 1788, he finished the Iliad, and thus describes his feelings on the occasion, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Rose:—"The day on which you shall receive this, I beg you will remember to drink one glass at least to the success of the Iliad, which I finished the day before yesterday, and yesterday began the Odyssey. It will be some time before I shall perceive myself travelling in another road; the objects around me are at present so much the same, Olympus and a council of gods meet me at my first entrance. To tell you the truth, I am weary of heroes and deities, and, with reverence be it spoken, shall be glad for variety's sake to change their company for that of Cyclops."

Cowper's time was now so much employed in his translation, that he had but little opportunity for keeping up his correspondence, and the letters he

wrote at this period abound with apologies for his apparent neglect. He still, however, found time to advert to passing events, sufficiently to prove that the bent of his mind remained decidedly serious. To Mrs. King he thus writes:—"Mrs. Battison, your late relative at Bedford, being dead, I was afraid you would have no more calls there; but the marriage so near at hand, of the young lady you mention, with a gentleman of that place, gives me hope again, that you may occasionally approach us, as heretofore; and that on some of these occasions you will perhaps find your way to Weston. The deaths of some and the marriages of others, make a new world of it every thirty years. Within that space of time, the majority are displaced, and a new generation has succeeded. Here and there one is permitted to stay a little longer, that there may not be wanting a few grave dons like myself, to make the observation. The thought struck me very forcibly the other day, on reading a paper which came hither in the package of some books from London. It contained news from Hertfordshire, and informed me among other things, that at Great Berkhamstead, the place of my birth, there is hardly a family left of all those with whom, in my early days, I was so familiar. The houses no doubt remain, but the greater part of their former inhabitants are now to be found by their grave-stones. And it is certain that I might pass through a town in which I was once a sort of principal figure, unknowing and unknown. They are happy who have not taken up their rest in a world fluctuating as the sea, and passing away with the rapidity of a river. I wish from my heart that you and Mr. King may long continue as you have already long continued, exceptions from the general truth of this remark."

Lady Hesketh remained at Weston through the greater part of the winter of 1788—9, and contributed much to revive Cowper's drooping spirits, and to cheer and animate him in his important undertaking; which seemed to engage more of his time the nearer it approached to a finish. The close attention which he found it indispensably necessary to bestow upon it, compelled him almost entirely to relinquish his correspondence. And, as a letter from him was esteemed a treasure by all his friends, many of whom began to make complaints of being neglected, he was often compelled, in those he did write, to advert to these complaints. We find him thus excusing himself for his apparent neglect:—"The post brings me no letters that do not grumble at my silence. Had not you, therefore, taken me to task as roundly as others, I should, perhaps, have concluded that you were more indifferent to my epistles than the rest of my correspondents; of whom one says, 'I shall be glad when you have finished Homer; then possibly you will find a little leisure for an old friend.' Another says, 'I don't choose to be neglected, unless you equally neglect every one else.' Thus I hear of it with both ears, and shall, till I appear in the shape of two great quarto volumes, the composition of which I confess engrosses me to a degree that gives my friends, to whom I feel myself much obliged for their anxiety to hear from me, but too much reason to complain. Johnson told Mr. Martyn the truth, when he said I had nearly completed Homer, but your inference from that truth is not altogether so just as most of your conclusions are. Instead of finding myself the more at leisure, because my labor draws to a close, I find myself the more occupied. As when a horse approaches the goal, he does not, unless he be jaded, slacken his pace, but quickens it: even so it fares with me. The end is in view; I seem almost to have reached the mark, and the nearness of it inspires me with fresh alacrity. But be it known to you, that I have still two books of the Odyssey before me, and when they are finished, shall have almost the whole eight-and-forty to revise. Judge then, my dear madam, if it is yet time for me to play, or to gratify myself with scribbling to those I love. No, it is necessary that waking I should be all absorbed in Homer, and that sleeping I should dream of nothing else."

Busily engaged, however, as Cowper was with his translation, he found time to compose several short, but beautiful poems, on various subjects, as they happened to occur to his mind. These were eagerly sought after by his correspondents, and were forwarded to them respectively, as opportunities offered, accompanied generally with the poet's acknowledgments of their comparative insignificance, at least in his own esteem. Several of these productions were written to oblige his friends, for whom Cowper always had the highest regard, and whom he felt pleased on all occasions to accommodate; others were written at the request of strangers, whom he was not unwilling, when it lay fairly in his way, to oblige. On one occasion, the parish clerk of Northampton applied to him for some verses, to be annexed to some bills of mortality, which he was accustomed to publish at Christmas. This singular incident, so illustrative of Cowper's real generosity, he relates in the following most interesting and sprightly manner:—"On Monday morning last, Sam brought me word that there was a man in the kitchen, who desired to speak with me. I ordered him in. A plain, decent, elderly-looking figure made its appearance, and being desired to sit, spoke as follows: 'Sir, I am clerk of the parish of All Saints, in Northampton; brother of Mr. C. the upholsterer. It is customary for the person in my office to annex to a bill of mortality, which he publishes at Christmas, a copy of verses. You would do me a great favor, Sir, if you would furnish me with one.' To this I replied; 'Mr. C. you have several men of genius in your town, why have you not applied to some of them? There is a namesake of yours in particular, Mr. C. the statuary, who every body knows is a first rate maker of verses. He surely is the man, of all the world, for your purpose.' 'Alas! Sir,' replied he, 'I have heretofore borrowed help from him, but he is a gentleman of so much reading, that the people of the town cannot understand him.' I confess I felt all the force of the compliment implied in this speech, and was almost ready to answer, perhaps, my good friend, they may find me unintelligible for the same reason. But on asking him whether he had walked over to Weston on purpose to implore the assistance of my muse, and on his replying in the affirmative, I felt my mortified vanity a little consoled, and pitying the poor man's distress, which appeared to be considerable, promised to supply him. The wagon has accordingly gone this day to Northampton, loaded in part with my effusions in the mortuary style. A fig for poets who write epitaphs upon individuals; I have written one that serves *two hundred* persons."

On another occasion, Cowper thus writes to Mr. Hill, adverting to the numerous entreaties he sometimes received for the assistance of his muse. "My muse were a vixen, if she were not always ready to fly in obedience to your commands. But what can be done? I can write nothing in the few hours that remain to me of this day, that will be fit for your purpose: and, unless I could dispatch what I write by to-morrow's post, it would not reach you in time. I must add, too, that my friend the vicar of the next parish, engaged me the day before yesterday, to furnish him by next Sunday with a hymn to be sung on the occasion of his preaching to the children of the Sunday-school; of which hymn I have not yet produced a syllable. I am somewhat in the case of Lawyer Dowling, in Tom Jones; and could I split

myself into as many poets as there are muses, I could find employment for them all."

These numerous engagements, however, did not prevent the poet from recording his sentiments respecting any circumstance that occurred which he thought deserving notice. About this time the following melancholy event happened, which drew from him lines expressive of his entire abhorrence of cruelty, by whomsoever perpetrated, and whether practised upon man or upon the lower order of animals. John A——, Esq. a young gentleman of large fortune, who was passionately fond of cock-fighting, came to his death in the following awful manner. He had a favorite cock, upon which he had won many large sums. The last bet he laid upon it he lost, which so enraged him, that he had the bird tied to a spit, and roasted alive, before a large fire. The screams of the suffering animal were so affecting, that some gentlemen who were present attempted to interfere, which so exasperated Mr. A——, that he seized the poker, and with the most furious vehemence declared that he would kill the first man who interfered; but in the midst of his passionate assertions, awful to relate, he fell down dead upon the spot. Cowper was so deeply affected by the circumstance, that he composed a poetic obituary on the occasion, which was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1789, from which we extract the following lines:

"This man (for since the howling wild
Disclaims him, man he must be styled)
Wanted no good below:
Gentle he was, if gentle birth
Could make him such, and he had worth,
If wealth can worth bestow.

Can such be cruel? such can be
Cruel as hell, and so was he;
A tyrant, entertained
With barbarous sports, whose fell delight
Was to encourage mortal fight,
'Twixt birds to battle trained.

One feathered champion he possessed,
His darling far beyond the rest,
Which never knew disgrace,
Nor e'er had fought, but he made flow
The life-blood of his fiercest foe—
The Cæsar of his race.

It chanced, at last, when on a day,
He pushed him to the desperate fray,
His courage drooped, he fled:
The master stormed, the prize was lost,
And, instant, frantic at the cost,
He doomed his favorite dead.

He seized him fast, and from the pit
Flew to the kitchen, snatched the spit,
And, Bring me cord, he cried;
The cord was brought, and at his word,
To that dire implement, the bird,
Alive and struggling, tied.

The horrid sequel asks a veil,
And all the terrors of the tale
That can be, shall be sunk;
Led by the sufferer's screams aright,
His shocked companions view the sight,
And him with pity, drunk.

All, suppliant, beg a milder fate,
For the old warrior at the grate:
He, deaf to pity's call,
Whirl'd round him, rapid as a wheel,
His culinary club of steel,
Death menacing on all.

But vengeance hung not far remote,
For while he stretched his clamorous throat,
And heaven and earth defied;
Big with a curse too closely pent,
That struggled vainly for a vent,
He totter'd, reel'd, and died.

'Tis not for us, with rash surmise,
To point the judgment of the skies;
But judgments plain as this,
That, sent for men's instruction, bring
A written label on their wing,
'Tis hard to read amiss."

It was Cowper's intention, after finishing his translation, to publish a third volume of original poems, which was to contain, in addition to a poem he intended to compose, similar to the Task, entitled "The Four Ages," all the minor unpublished productions of his pen. And it is deeply to be regretted that he was not permitted to carry this design into completion, as the interesting subject of the different stages of man's existence would have been admirably adapted for a complete development of his poetic talents.

The readiness of Cowper to listen to any alterations in his productions, suggested by his correspondents, ought not to go unrecorded. To the Rev. Walter Bagot he thus writes.—"My verses on the Queen's visit to London, either have been printed, or soon will be in the world. The finishing to which you objected, I have altered, and have substituted two new stanzas in the room of it. Two others also I have struck out, another friend having objected to them. I think I am a very tractable sort of a poet. Most of my fraternity would as soon shorten the noses of their children because they were said to be too long, as thus dock their compositions, in compliance with the opinions of others. I beg that when my life shall be written hereafter, my authorship's ductibility of temper may not be forgotten."

CHAPTER XIV.

Mrs. Unwin much injured by a fall. Cowper's anxiety respecting her. Continues incessantly engaged in his Homer. Expresses regret that it should, in some measure, have suspended his correspondence with his friends. Revises a small volume of poems for children. State of his mind. Receives as a present from Mrs. Bodham, a portrait of his mother. Feelings on the occasion. Interesting description of her character. His affectionate attachment to her. Translates a series of Latin letters from a Dutch minister of the gospel. Continuance of his depression. Is attacked with a nervous fever. Completion of his translation. Death of Mrs. Newton. His reflections on the occasion. Again revises his Homer. His unalterable attachment to religion.

In the commencement of 1789, a circumstance occurred, which occasioned Cowper considerable uneasiness. Mrs. Unwin, his amiable inmate, and faithful companion, received so severe an injury by a fall, which she got when walking on a gravel path, covered with ice, that she was confined to her room for several weeks. Though she neither dislocated any joint, nor broke any bones, yet such was the effect of the fall, that it crippled her completely, and rendered her as incapable of assisting herself as a child. It happened providentially, that Lady Hesketh was at Weston, when this painful event occurred. By her kind attention to Mrs. Unwin, and her no less tender care over her esteemed relative, lest his mind should be too deeply affected by this afflicting occurrence, she contributed greatly to the recovery of the former, and to the support of the latter. It was, however, several weeks before Mrs. Unwin recovered her strength sufficiently to attend to her domestic concerns. Her progress too, when she began to amend, was so slow, as to be almost

imperceptible, and her lengthened affliction, notwithstanding the precautionary measures adopted by herself, and by Lady Hesketh to prevent it, tended, in a great degree, to depress the mind of Cowper.

Early in the ensuing spring, Lady Hesketh was compelled to return to town. Mrs. Unwin had not then wholly recovered her strength; she was, however, so far convalescent, as to resume the management of her domestic concerns, and to pay the same kind attention to the poet's comfort as had distinguished all her former conduct towards him. The greater part of the year 1789, Cowper was incessantly engaged, principally in translating Homer, but occasionally, and indeed frequently, in composing original poems for the gratification of his friends, or in the more difficult employment of revising the productions of less gifted poets. The few letters he wrote at this time abound with apologies for his seeming negligence, and with descriptions of the manner in which he employed his time. To one of his correspondents he thus writes:—"I know that you are too reasonable a man to expect any thing like punctuality of correspondence from a translator of Homer, especially from one who is a doer also of many other things at the same time; for I labor hard, not only to acquire a little fame for myself, but to win it for others, men of whom I know nothing, not even their names, who send me their poetry, that by translating it out of prose into verse, I may make it more like poetry than it was. I begin to perceive that if a man will be an author, he must live neither to himself nor to his friends so much as to others whom he never saw nor shall see. I feel myself in no small degree unworthy of the kind solicitude which you express concerning me and my welfare, after a silence so much longer than you had reason to expect. I should, indeed, account myself inexcusable, had I not to allege in my defence, perpetual engagements of such a kind as could by no means be dispensed with. Had Homer alone been in question, Homer should have made room for you; but I have had other work in hand at the same time, equally pressing and more laborious. Let it suffice to say, that I have not wilfully neglected you for a moment, and that you have never been out of my thoughts a day together. Having heard all this, you will feel yourself disposed not only to pardon my long silence, but to pity me for the causes of it. You may, if you please, believe likewise, for it is true, that I have a faculty of remembering my friends even when I do not write to them, and of loving them not one jot the less, though I leave them to starve for want of a letter from me."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, 16th August, 1789, Cowper thus describes the situation in which he was then placed, and the state of his mind at the time:—"Mrs. Newton and you are both kind and just in believing that I do not love you the less when I am long silent: perhaps a friend of mine who wishes to be always in my thoughts, is never so effectually possessed of the accomplishment of that wish, as when I have been long his debtor; for *then* I think of him, not only every day, but day and night, and indeed all day long. But I confess, at the same time, that my thoughts of you will be more pleasant to myself, when I shall have exonerated my conscience by giving you the letter, so long your due. Therefore, here it comes—little worth your having, but payment such as it is, that you have a right to expect, and that is essential to my own tranquillity. That the Iliad and Odyssey should have proved the occasion of my suspending my correspondence with you, is a proof how little we see the consequences of what we publish. Homer, I dare say, hardly at all suspected, that, at the fag end of time, two personages would appear, one ycleped Sir Newton, and the other Sir Cowper, who loving each other heartily, would nevertheless suffer the pains of an interrupted intercourse—his poems the cause. So, however, it has happened; and though it would not, I suppose, extort from the old bard a single sigh, if he knew it, yet to me it suggests the serious reflection above mentioned. An author by profession had need narrowly to watch his pen, lest a line should escape it, which by possibility may do mischief, when he has been long dead and buried. What we have done when we have written a book, will never be known till the day of judgment: then the account will be liquidated, and all the good that it has occasioned, and all the evil, will witness either for or against us. I am now in the last book of the Odyssey, yet have still, I suppose, half a year's work before me. The accurate revisal of two such voluminous poems can hardly cost me less. I rejoice, however, that the goal is in prospect; for though it has cost me years to run this race, it is only now that I begin to have a glimpse of its termination.—That I shall never receive any proportionable pecuniary recompense for my long labors, is pretty certain; and as to any fame that I may possibly gain by it, that is a commodity that daily sinks in value, in measure as the consummation of all things approaches. In the day when the lion shall dandle the kid, and a little child shall lead them, the world will have lost all relish for the fabulous legends of antiquity, and Homer and his translator may budge off the stage together."

Some months afterwards, to the same correspondent Cowper thus writes:—"On this fine first of December, under an unclouded sky, and in a room full of sunshine, I address myself to the payment of a debt, long in arrear, but never forgotten by me, however I may have seemed to forget it. I will not waste time in apologies; I have but one, and that one will suggest itself unmentioned. I will only add that you are the first to whom I write, of several to whom I have not written many months, who all have claims upon me, and who, I flatter myself, are all grumbling at my silence. In your case, perhaps I have been less anxious than in the case of some others; because, if you have not heard from myself, you have heard from Mrs. Unwin. From her you have learned that I live, that I am as well as usual, and that I translate Homer—three short items, but in which is comprised the whole detail of my present history. Thus I fared when you were here; thus I have fared ever since you were here; and thus, if it please God, I shall continue to fare for some time longer: for, though the work is done, it is not finished—a riddle which you, who are a brother of the press, will solve easily. I have been the less anxious on your behalf, because I have had frequent opportunities to hear from you; and have always heard that you are in good health, and happy. Of Mrs. Newton, too, I have heard more favorable accounts of late, which has given us both the sincerest pleasure. Mrs. Unwin's case is, at present, my only subject of uneasiness, that is not immediately personal, and properly my own. She has almost constant head-aches, almost a constant pain in her side, which nobody understands, and her lameness, within the last half year, is very little amended. But her spirits are good, because supported by comforts which depend not on the state of the body: and I do not know that, with all her pain, her appearance is at all altered, since we had the happiness to see you here, unless indeed it be altered a little for the better. I have thus given you as circumstantial an account of ourselves as I could: the most interesting matter, I verily believe, with which I could have filled my paper, unless I could have made spiritual mercies to myself the subject.

In my next, perhaps I shall find time to bestow a few lines on what is doing in France and in the Austrian Netherlands; though, to say the truth, I am much better qualified to write an essay on the siege of Troy, than to discant on any of these modern revolutions. I question if, in either of the countries just mentioned, full of bustle and tumult as they are, there be a single character, whom Homer, were he living, would deign to make his hero. The populace are the heroes now, and the stuff of which gentlemen heroes are made, seems to be all expended."

The year 1790, found Cowper still indefatigably engaged in preparing his translation for the press. In a letter to Mrs. King, 4th January, he thus writes:—"Your long silence has occasioned me a thousand anxious thoughts about you. So long it has been, that whether I now write to a Mrs. King at present on earth, or already in heaven, I know not. I have friends whose silence troubles me less, though I have known them longer; because, if I hear not from themselves, I yet hear from others that they are still living, and likely to live. But if your letters cease to bring me news of your welfare, from whom can I gain the desirable intelligence? The birds of the air will not bring it, and third person there is none between us by whom it might be conveyed. Nothing is plain to me in this subject, but that either you are dead, or very much indisposed, or, which would perhaps affect me with as deep a concern, though of a different kind, very much offended. The latter of those suppositions I think the least probable, conscious as I am of an habitual desire to offend nobody, especially a lady, and a lady, too, who has laid me under so many obligations. But all the three solutions above mentioned are very uncomfortable; and if you live, and can send me one that will cause me less pain than either of them, I conjure you, by the charity and benevolence which I know influence you on all occasions, to communicate it without delay. It is possible, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, that you are not become perfectly indifferent to me, and to what concerns me. I will, therefore, add a word or two on the subject which once interested you, and which is, for that reason, worthy to be mentioned, though truly for no other. I am well, and have been so (uneasiness on your part excepted) both in mind and body ever since I wrote to you last. I have still the same employment—Homer in the morning, and Homer in the evening, as constant as the day goes round. In the spring, I hope to send the Iliad and the Odyssey to the press. So much for me and my occupations."

It would scarcely be supposed that a person performing such an Herculean task as that of translating Homer, would have troubled himself to compose, or even to revise, a volume of hymns for children. The following extract, however, will show that, anxious as Cowper was to finish his Homer, he could nevertheless allow his attention to be, in a great measure, diverted from it, at least for a time, when he thought he could employ his talents usefully:—"I have long been silent, but you have had the charity, I hope and believe, not to ascribe my silence to a wrong cause. The truth is, I have been too busy to write to any body, having been obliged to give my early mornings to the revisal and correction of a little volume of hymns for children, written by I know not whom: this task I finished yesterday, and while it was in hand, wrote only to my cousin, and to her rarely. From her, however, I knew that you would hear of my well-being, which made me less anxious about my debts to you than I could have been otherwise. The winter has been mild; but our winters are in general such, that when a friend leaves us in the beginning of that season, I always feel in my heart a *perhaps*, importing that we may possibly have met for the last time, and that the robins may whistle on the grave of one of us before the return of summer. Though I have been employed as described above, I am still thrumming Homer's lyre, that is to say, I am still employed in my last revisal; and to give you some idea of the intenseness of my toils, I will inform you that it cost me all the morning yesterday, and all the evening, to translate a single simile to my mind. The transitions from one member of the subject to another, though easy and natural in the Greek, turn out often so intolerably awkward in an English version, that almost endless labor, and no little address, are requisite to give them grace and elegance. The under parts of the poem, (those, I mean, which are merely narrative,) I find the most difficult. These can only be supported by the diction, and on these, for that reason, I have bestowed the most abundant labor. Fine similes, and fine speeches, are more likely to take care of themselves; but the exact process of slaying a sheep and dressing it, is not so easy in our language, and in our measure, to dignify. But I shall have the comfort, as I before said, to reflect, that whatever may be hereafter laid to my charge, the sin of idleness will not—justly, at least, it never will. In the mean time, I must be allowed to say, that not to fall short of the original in every thing is impossible. I thank you for your German clavis, which has been of considerable use to me; I am indebted to it for a right understanding of the manner in which Achilles prepared pork, mutton, and goats' flesh, for the entertainment of his friends, on the night when they came deputed by Agamemnon to negotiate a reconciliation. A passage of which nobody in the world is perfectly master, myself only, and Schaulfelbergerus excepted, nor ever was, except when Greek was a living language."

About this time, Mrs. King appears to have been informed that it was Cowper's intention to leave Weston, and that Mrs. Unwin had been making inquiries after a house at Huntingdon. Adverting to this report, in a letter to that lady, he thus writes:—"The report that informed you of inquiries made by Mrs. Unwin, after a house at Huntingdon, was unfounded. We have no thought of quitting Weston, unless the same Providence that led us hither should lead us away. It is a situation the most eligible, perfectly agreeable to us both, and to me in particular, who write much, and walk much, and consequently love silence and retirement. If it has a fault, it is that it seems to threaten us with a certainty of never seeing you. But may we not hope that when a milder season shall have improved your health, we may yet, notwithstanding the distance, be favored with Mr. King's and your company? A better season will likewise improve the roads, and exactly in proportion as it does so, will, in effect, lessen the interval between us. I know not if Mr. Martyn be a mathematician, but most probably he is a good one, and he can tell you that this is a proposition mathematically true, though rather paradoxical in appearance."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, 5th February, 1790, Cowper again plaintively describes the state of his mind.—"Your kind letter deserved a speedier answer, but you know my excuse, which were I to repeat always, my letters would resemble the fag end of a newspaper, where we always find the price of stocks, detailed with little or no variation. When January returns, you have your feelings concerning me, and such as prove the faithfulness of your friendship. I have mine also concerning myself, but they are of a cast different from yours. Yours have a mixture of sympathy and tender solicitude, which makes them, perhaps, not altogether unplea-

sant. Mine, on the contrary, are of an unmixed nature, and consist, simply and merely, of the most alarming apprehensions. Twice has that month returned upon me, accompanied by such horrors, as I have no reason to suppose ever made part of the experience of any other man. I accordingly look forward to it, and meet it with a dread not to be imagined. I number the nights as they pass, and in the morning bless myself that another night is gone, and no harm has happened. This may argue, perhaps, some imbecility of mind, and indeed no small degree of it; but it is natural, I believe, and so natural as to be necessary and unavoidable. I know that God is not governed by secondary causes, in any of his operations; and that, on the contrary, they are all so many agents in his hand, which strike only when he bids them. I know, consequently, that one month is as dangerous to me as another; and that in the middle of summer, at noonday, and in the clear sunshine, I am, in reality, unless guarded by Him, as much exposed as when fast asleep at midnight, and mid-winter. But we are not always the wiser for our knowledge, and I can no more avail myself of mine, in this case, than if it were in the head of any other man, and not in my own. I have heard of bodily aches and ails, that have been particularly troublesome when the season returned in which the hurt that occasioned them was received. The mind, I believe, (with my own, however, I am sure it is so,) is liable to similar periodical affection. But February is come; January, my terror, is passed; and some shades of the gloom that attended his presence have passed with him. I look forward with a little cheerfulness to the buds and the leaves that will soon appear, and say to myself, till they turn yellow I will make myself easy. The year *will* go round, and January *will* approach. I *shall* tremble again, and I know it; but in the mean time I will be as comfortable as I can. Thus, with respect to peace of mind, such as it is, that I enjoy. I subsist, as the poor are vulgarly said to do, from hand to mouth; and of a Christian, such as you once knew me, am, by a strange transformation, become an epicurean philosopher, bearing this motto on my mind—*Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærere.*"

Towards the end of this month, Cowper received as a present, from Mrs. Bobham, a cousin of his, then residing in Norfolk, his mother's portrait. The following extracts will show the powerful impression which this circumstance made upon his tender mind:—"My dearest Rose,* whom I thought withered and fallen from the stalk, but whom I find still alive: nothing could give me greater pleasure than to know it, and to learn it from yourself. I loved you dearly when you were a child, and love you not a jot the less for having ceased to be so. Every creature that bears any affinity to my mother is dear to me, and you, the daughter of her brother, are but one remove distant from her. I love you, therefore, and love you much, both for her sake, and for your own. The world could not have furnished you with a present so acceptable to me as the picture you have so kindly sent me. I received it the night before last, and received it with a trepidation of nerves and spirits, somewhat akin to what I should have felt had the dear original presented herself to my embraces. I kissed it, and hung it where it is the last object that I see at night, and, of course, the first that I open my eyes upon in the morning. She died when I had completed my sixth year, yet I remember her well, and am an ocular witness of the great fidelity of the copy. I remember too, a multitude of the maternal tendernesses which I received from her, and which have endeared her memory to me beyond expression. There is, I believe, in me, more of the Donne than of the Cowper, and though I love all of both names, and have a thousand reasons to love those of my own name, yet I feel the bond of nature draw me vehemently to your side. I was thought, in the days of my childhood, much to resemble my mother, and in my natural temper, of which, at the age of fifty-eight, I must be supposed a competent judge, can trace both her, and my late uncle, your father. Somewhat of his irritability, and a little, I would hope, both of his, and of her ——, I know not what to call it, without seeming to praise myself, which is not my intention; but speaking to *you*, I will even speak out, and say *good nature*. Add to all this, I deal much in poetry, as did our venerable ancestor, the Dean of St. Paul's, and I think I shall have proved myself a Donne at all points. The truth is, whatever I am, and wherever I am, I love you all."

To Lady Hesketh he thus adverts to the circumstance:—"I am delighted with Mrs. Bobham's kindness in giving me the only picture of my mother that is to be found, I suppose, in all the world. I had rather possess it than the richest jewel in the British crown, for I loved her with an affection, that her death, fifty years since, has not in the least abated. I remember her too, young as I was when she died, well enough to know that it is a very exact resemblance of her, and as such it is to me invaluable. Every body loved her, and with an amiable character so impressed on all her features, every body was sure to do so."

To John Johnson, Esq., 28th February, 1790, he thus records his feelings on this occasion. "I was never more pleased in my life than to learn, and to learn from herself, that my dearest Rose is still alive. Had she not engaged me to love her by the sweetness of her character when a child, she would have done it effectually now, by making me the most acceptable present in the world, my own dear mother's picture. I am perhaps the only person living who remembers her, but I remember her well, and can attest on my own knowledge, the truth of the resemblance. Amiable and elegant as the countenance is, such exactly was her own; she was one of the tenderest parents, and so just a copy of her, is therefore to me invaluable. I wrote yesterday to my Rose, to tell her all this, and to thank her for her kindness in sending it! Neither do I forget your kindness who intimated to her that I should be happy to possess it. She invites me into Norfolk, but alas! she might as well invite the house in which I dwell: for, all other considerations and impediments apart, how is it possible that a translator of Homer should lumber to such a distance? But though I cannot comply with her kind invitation, I have made myself the best amends in my power, by inviting her, and all the family of Donnes, to Weston." To Mrs. King, on the same interesting occasion, he writes: "I have lately received from a female cousin of mine in Norfolk, whom I have not seen these five-and-twenty years, a picture of my own mother. She died when I wanted two days of being six years old; yet I remember her perfectly, find the picture a strong resemblance of her, and because her memory has been ever precious to me, I have written a poem on the receipt of it; a poem which, one excepted, I had more pleasure in writing than any that I ever wrote. That one was addressed to a lady whom I expect in a few minutes to come down to breakfast, and who has supplied to me the place of my own mother—my own invaluable mother, these six-and-twenty years. Some

* Mrs. Bobham's name is Anne, but Cowper always called her Rose, when a child, and was aware that she would remember his doing so.

sons may be said to have had many fathers, but a plurality of mothers is not common."

In May of this year, 1790, Cowper thus describes the manner in which he was employed. "I am still at my old sport—Homer all the morning, and Homer all the evening. Thus have I been held in constant employment, I know not exactly how many, but I believe these six years, an interval of eight months excepted. It is now become so familiar to me to take Homer from my shelf at a certain hour, that I shall, no doubt, continue to take him from my shelf at the same time, even after I have ceased to want him. That period is not far distant. I am now giving the last touches to a work, which had I foreseen the difficulty of it, I should never have meddled with; but which, having at length nearly finished it to my mind, I shall discontinue with regret."

Perhaps no one was ever better qualified to give sound and judicious advice to persons in various conditions in life than Cowper, and no one certainly ever gave it more cheerfully, or in a manner more perfectly unassuming. An instance of this occurred in a letter which he wrote in June of this year, to his cousin, John Johnson, Esq., who was then pursuing his studies at Cambridge, who had recently been introduced to him, and for whom he entertained the most affectionate regard. "You never pleased me more than when you told me you had abandoned your mathematical pursuits. It grieved me to think that you were wasting your time merely to gain a little Cambridge fame; now scarcely worth your having. I cannot be contented that your renown should thrive nowhere but on the banks of the Cam. Conceive a nobler ambition, and never let your honer be circumscribed by the paltry dimensions of a University. It is well that you have already, as you observe, acquired sufficient information in that science to enable you to pass creditably such examinations as I suppose you must hereafter undergo. Keep what you have gotten, and be content: more is needless. You could not apply to a worse than I am, to advise you concerning your studies. I was never a regular student myself, but lost the most valuable part of my life in an attorney's office, and in the Temple. I will not therefore give myself airs and affect to know what I know not. The affair is of great importance to you, and you should be directed by a wiser than I. To speak, however, in very general terms on the subject, it seems to me that your chief concern is with history, natural philosophy, logic, and divinity; as to metaphysics, I know but little about them. But the very little I do know has not taught me to admire them. Life is too short to afford time even for serious trifles; pursue what you know to be attainable; make *truth* your object, and your studies will make you a wise man."

In the summer of 1790, much as Cowper's time was occupied in giving the finishing touch to his Homer, he nevertheless, at the suggestion of some friend, undertook to translate a series of Latin letters, received from a Dutch minister of the gospel, at the Cape of Good Hope. This occupation, though it left him but little time for writing to his numerous correspondents, afforded him considerable pleasure. There was a congeniality in it to the prevailing disposition of his mind, and in a letter to Mr. Newton, who requested him to publish these letters, he thus writes: "I have no objection at all to being known as the translator of Van Leer's Letters, when they shall be published. Rather, I am ambitious of it as an honor. It will serve to prove, that if I have spent much time to little purpose in the translation of Homer, some small portion of my time has, however, been well disposed of."

It will have been perceived, from the extracts we have already made, that Cowper's gloomy peculiarity of mind still prevailed, at least occasionally, to a painful extent. It is true, he adverts to it in his letters, at this time, less frequently than formerly; he introduces it, however, sufficiently often to show that it had undergone no diminution, and that it was suppressed only by the intense application which his engagements required. The following extracts from his letters written towards the close of 1790, will describe the state of his mind in this respect, at that period. "I have singularities of which, I believe, at present you know nothing; and which would fill you with wonder if you knew them. I will add, however, in justice to myself, that they would not lower me in your good opinion; though perhaps they might tempt you to question the soundness of my upper story. Almost twenty years have I been thus unhappily circumstanced; and the remedy is in the hands of God only. That I make you this partial communication on the subject, conscious at the same time that you are well worthy to be entrusted with the whole, is merely because the recital would be too long for a letter, and painful both to me and to you. But all this may vanish in a moment, and if it please God, it shall. In the mean time, my dear Madam, remember me in your prayers, and mention me at those times, as one whom it has pleased God to afflict with singular visitations. Twice I have been overwhelmed with the blackest despair; and at those times, every thing in which I have been at any time of my life concerned, has afforded to the enemy a handle against me. I tremble, therefore, almost at every step I take, lest on some future similar occasion, it should yield him opportunity, and furnish him with means to torment me."

On another occasion he thus writes: "A yellow shower of leaves is now continually falling from all the trees in the country. A few moments only seem to have passed since they were buds; and in a few moments more they will have disappeared! It is one advantage of a rural situation, that it affords many hints of the rapidity with which life flies, that do not occur in towns and cities. It is impossible for a man, conversant with such scenes as surround me, not to advert daily to the shortness of his existence here, admonished of it, as he must be, by ten thousand objects. There was a time when I could contemplate my present state, and consider myself as a thing of the day with pleasure; when I numbered the seasons, as they passed in swift rotation, as a school-boy numbers the days that interpose between the next vacation, when he shall see his parents, and enjoy his home again. But to make so just an estimate of a life like this, is no longer in my power. The consideration of my short continuance here, which was once grateful to me, now fills me with regret. I would live, and live always, and am become such another wretch as Mæcenas was, who wished for long life—he cared not at what expense of sufferings. The only consolation left me on this subject is, that the voice of the Almighty can, in one moment, cure me of this mental infirmity. That he can, I know by experience; and there are reasons for which I ought to believe that he will. But from hope to despair is a transition that I have made so often, that I can only consider the hope that may come, and that sometimes I believe will, as a short prelude to joy, to a miserable conclusion of sorrow that shall never end. Thus are my brightest prospects clouded; and thus, to me, is hope itself become like a withered flower, that has lost both its hue and its fragrance. I ought not to have written in this dismal strain to you, nor did I intend it; you have more need to be cheered than saddened; but a dearth of other themes constrained me to choose myself for a subject, and of myself I can write no otherwise."

Early in December, 1790, Cowper had a short but severe attack of that nervous fever to which he was very subject, and which he dreaded above all others, because it generally preceded a most severe paroxysm of melancholy. Happily, on this occasion, it lasted only for a short time; and in a letter to Mrs. King, dated the last day of the year, he thus records his feelings on the occasion:—"I have lately been visited with an indisposition much more formidable than that which I mentioned to you in my last—a nervous fever, a disorder to which I am subject, and which I dread above all others, because it comes attended by a melancholy perfectly insupportable. This is the first day of my complete recovery, the first in which I have perceived no symptoms of my terrible malady. I wish to be thankful to the Sovereign Dispenser both of health and of sickness, that, though I have felt cause enough to tremble, He gives me new encouragement to hope that I may dismiss my fears, and expect an escape from my depressive malady. The only drawback to the comfort I now feel, is in the intelligence contained in yours, that neither Mr. King nor yourself are well. I dread always, both for my own health and for that of my friends, the unhappy influences of a year worn out. But, my dear Madam, this is the last day of it, and I resolve to hope that the new year shall obliterate all the disagreeables of the old one. I can wish nothing more warmly, than that it may prove a propitious year for you."

In the autumn of this year Cowper had sent his "Homer" to the press; and through the whole of the ensuing winter he was closely employed in correcting the proof-sheets, and making such alterations as he still thought desirable. The time which this consumed, and the indefatigable industry with which he engaged in it, will be seen by the following extracts:—"My poetical operations, I mean of the occasional kind, have lately been pretty much at a stand. I told you, I believe, in my last, that 'Homer,' in the present stage of the process, occupied me more intensely than ever. He still continues to do so, and threatens, till he shall be completely finished, to make all other composition impracticable. I am sick and ashamed of myself that I forgot my promise, but it is actually true that I did forget it. You, however, I did not forget; nor did I forget to wonder and be alarmed at your silence, being myself perfectly unconscious of my arrears. All this, together with various other trespasses of mine, must be set down to the account of Homer; and, wherever he is, he is bound to make his apology to all my correspondents, but to you in particular. True it is, that if Mrs. Unwin did not call me from that pursuit, I should forget, in the ardor with which I persevere in it, both to eat and to drink, if not to retire to rest! This zeal has increased in me regularly as I have proceeded, and in an exact ratio, as a mathematician would say, to the progress I have made towards the point at which I have been aiming. You will believe this, when I tell you that, not contented with my previous labors, I have actually revised the whole work, and have made a thousand alterations in it since it has been in the press. I have now, however, tolerably well satisfied myself at least, and trust that the printer and I shall trundle along merrily to the conclusion."

In the commencement of 1791, Cowper's long-tried friend, Mr. Newton, lost his wife. She died sometime in January, after many months' severe suffering, borne with exemplary fortitude and patience. She had always taken a lively interest in Cowper's welfare; and, when she resided at Olney, had frequently assisted Mrs. Unwin in the arduous duty of watching over the poet, during his painful mental depression. Her decease, therefore, was sure to affect him deeply; and the following extracts from his letters to Mr. Newton, on this trying occasion, will not fail to be interesting:—"Had you been a man of the world, I should have held myself bound, by the law of ceremonies, to have sent you long since my tribute of condolence. I have sincerely mourned with you; and though you have lost a wife, and I only a friend, yet do I understand too well the value of such a friend as Mrs. Newton, not to have sympathized with you very nearly. But you are not a man of the world; neither can you, who have the Scripture, and the Giver of the Scripture to console you, have any need of aid from others, or expect it from such spiritual imbecility as mine."

"It affords me sincere pleasure that you enjoy serenity of mind, after your great loss. It is well in all circumstances, even in the most afflictive, with those who have God for their comforter. You do me justice in giving entire credit to my expressions of friendship for you. No day passes in which I do not look back to the days that are fled, and consequently none in which I do not feel myself affectionately reminded of you, and of her whom you have lost for a season. I cannot even see Olney spire from any of the fields in the neighborhood, much less can I enter the town, and still less the vicarage, without experiencing the force of those mementoes, and recollecting a multitude of passages to which you and yours were parties. The past would appear a dream, were the remembrance of it less affecting. It was, in the most important respects, so unlike my present moment, that I am sometimes almost tempted to suppose it a dream! But the difference between dreams and realities long since elapsed, seems to consist chiefly in this: that a dream, however painful or pleasant at the time, and perhaps for a few ensuing hours, passes like an arrow through the air, leaving no trace of its flight behind it; but our actual experiences make a lasting impression. We review those which interested us much when they occurred, with hardly less interest than in the first instance; and whether few years or many have intervened, our sensibility makes them still present—such a mere nullity is time, to a creature to whom God gives a feeling heart and the faculty of recollection!"

In June, 1791, having completed his long and arduous undertaking—the translation of "Homer," he thus writes to Mr. Newton on the occasion:—"Considering the multiplicity of your engagements, and the importance, no doubt, of most of them, I am bound to set the higher value on your letters; and, instead of grumbling that they come so seldom, to be thankful to you that they come at all. You are now going into the country, where I presume you will have less to do; and I am rid of "Homer;" let us try, therefore, if in the interval between the present hour and the next busy season (for I too, if I live, shall probably be occupied again,) we can contrive to exchange letters more frequently than for some time past. You do justice to me, and to Mrs. Unwin, when you assure yourself that to hear of your health, will give us pleasure. I know not, in truth, whose health and well-being could give us more. The years that we have seen together will never be out of our remembrance; and, so long as we remember them, we must remember you with affection. In the pulpit, and out of the pulpit, you have labored in every possible way to serve us; and we must have a short memory indeed for the kindness of a friend, could we by any means become forgetful of yours. It would grieve me more than it does, to hear you complain of the effects of time, were not I also myself the subject of them. While he is wearing out you and other dear friends of

mine, he spares not me; for which I ought to account myself obliged to him, since I should otherwise be in danger of surviving all that I have ever loved—the most melancholy lot that can befall a mortal. God knows what will be my doom hereafter; but precious as life necessarily seems to a mind doubtful of its future happiness, I love not the world, I trust, so much, as to wish a place in it when all my beloved shall have left it. As to Homer, I am sensible that, except as an amusement, he was never worth my meddling with; but, as an amusement, he was to me invaluable. As such, he served me more than five years; and in that respect I know not, at present, where I shall find his equal. You oblige me by saying, that you will read him for my sake. I verily believe that any person of a spiritual turn may read him to some advantage. He may suggest reflections that may not be unserviceable, even in a sermon: for I know not where we can find more striking examples of the pride, the arrogance, and the insignificance of man; at the same time that, by ascribing all events to a divine interposition, he inculcates constantly the belief of a Providence; insists much on the duty of charity towards the poor and the stranger: on the respect that is due to superiors, and to our seniors in particular; and on the expedience and necessity of prayer and piety towards the gods; a piety mistaken indeed in its object, but exemplary for the punctuality of its performance. Thousands who will not learn from Scripture to ask a blessing, either on their actions or on their food, may learn it, if they please, from Homer."

It appears from the above extract that Cowper had no expectations of again seeing his Homer until it was actually before the public. Johnson, the publisher, however, unexpectedly to him, sent him an interleaved copy, and recommended him to revise it again before it was fully committed to the press. On this occasion, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Newton:—"I did not foresee, when I challenged you to a brisker correspondence, that a new engagement of all my leisure time was at hand—a new, and yet an old one. An interleaved copy of my Homer arrived soon after from Johnson, in which he recommended it to me to make any alterations that might yet be expedient, with a view to another impression. The alterations that I make are, indeed, but few, and they are also short; not more, perhaps, than half a line in two thousand. But the lines are, I suppose, nearly forty thousand in all; and to revise them critically must consequently be a work of time and labor. I suspend it, however, for your sake, till the present sheet be filled, and that I may not seem to shrink from my own offer. Were I capable of envying, in the strict sense of the word, a good man, I should envy Mr. Venn, and Mr. Berridge, and yourself, who have spent, and while they last, will continue to spend, your lives in the service of the only Master worth serving; laboring always for the *souls* of men, and not to tickle their ears, as I do. But this I can say, God knows how much rather I would be the obscure tenant of a lath and plaster cottage, with a lively sense of my interest in a Redeemer, than the most admired object of public notice without it. Alas! what is a whole poem, even one of Homer's, compared with a single aspiration that finds its way immediately to God, though clothed in ordinary language, or perhaps, not articulated at all?—These are my sentiments as much as ever they were, though my days are all running to waste among Greeks and Trojans. The night cometh when no man can work; and if I am ordained to work to better purpose, that desirable period cannot be far distant. My day is beginning to shut in, as every man's must, who is on the verge of sixty."

CHAPTER XV.

Publication of his Homer. Anxiety respecting it. To whom dedicated. Benefits he had derived from it. Feels the want of employment. Prepares materials for a splendid edition of Milton's poetic works. Vindicates his character. Attempts of his friends to dissuade him from his new engagement. His replies. The commencement of his acquaintance with Mr. Haley. Pleasure it afforded Mr. Haley. Mrs. Unwin's first attack of paralysis. Manner in which it affected Cowper. Remarks on Milton's labors. Reply to Mr. Newton's letter for original composition. Continuance of his depression. First letter from Mr. Haley. Unpleasant circumstances respecting it. Mr. Haley's first visit to Weston. Kind manner in which he was received. Mrs. Unwin's second severe paralytic attack. Cowper's feelings on the occasion. Mr. Hayley's departure. Cowper's warm attachment to him. Reflections on the recent changes he had witnessed. Promises to visit Eartham. Makes preparations for the journey. Peculiarity of his feelings on the occasion.

On the first of July, 1791, Cowper's Homer appeared.—After so many years of incessant toil, it was not to be expected that he would feel otherwise than anxious respecting the reception it met with from the public. He had labored indefatigably to produce a faithful and free translation of the inimitable original, and he could not be indifferent to the result. To Mrs. King he thus writes on the occasion:—"My Homer is gone forth, and I can sincerely say—joy go with it! What place it holds in the estimation of the generality I cannot tell, having heard no more about it since its publication than if no such work existed. I must except, however, an anonymous eulogium from some man of letters, which I received about a week ago. It was kind in a perfect stranger, as he avows himself to be, to relieve me in some degree, at least, at so early a day, from much of the anxiety that I could not but feel on such an occasion: I should be glad to know who he is, only that I might thank him."

Cowper, very properly, dedicated the Iliad to his noble relative Earl Cowper, and the Odyssey to the dowager Countess Spencer, whom, in one of his letters he thus describes:—"We had a visit on Monday from one of the first women in the world—I mean in point of character and accomplishments—the dowager Lady Spencer! I may receive, perhaps, some honors hereafter, should my translation speed according to my wishes, and the pains I have taken with it; but shall never receive any that I esteem so highly; she is indeed, worthy, to whom I should dedicate, and may but my Odyssey prove as worthy of her, I shall have nothing to fear from the critics."

Whether it arose from the unreasonable expectations of the public, or from the utter impossibility of conveying all the graces and the beauties of these unrivalled poems, in a translation, it is certain that the volumes, when they appeared, did not give that satisfaction, either to the author, or to his readers, which had been anticipated. It would, perhaps, be difficult, if not impossible, to assign a better reason, for the imperfection of Cowper's translation, if imperfection it deserves to be called, than that mentioned by his justly admired biographer, Mr. Hayley.—"Homer is so exquisitely beautiful in his own language, and he has been so long an idol in every literary mind, that any copy of him, which the best of modern poets can execute, must probably resemble in its effect, the portrait of a graceful woman, painted by an excellent artist for her lover; the lover, indeed, will acknowledge great merit in the work, and think himself much indebted to the skill of such an artist, but he will never acknowledge, as in truth he never can feel, that the best resemblance exhibits all the graces that he discerns in the beloved original. So fares it with the admirers of Homer; his very translators themselves, feel so perfectly the power of this predominant affection, that they gra-

dually grow discontented with their own labor, however approved in the moment of its supposed completion. This was so remarkably the case with Cowper, that in process of time we shall see him employed upon what may almost be called his second translation, so great were the alterations he made in a deliberate revisal of the work, for a second edition. And in the preface to that edition, he has spoken of his own labor with the most frank and ingenuous veracity. Yet of his first edition it may, I think, be fairly said, that it accomplished more than any of his poetical predecessors had achieved before him. It made the nearest approach to that sweet majestic simplicity which forms one of the most attractive features in the great prince and father of poets."

If Cowper had derived no other benefit from his translation, than that of constant employment, for so long a time, when he stood so much in need of it, it would have been to him invaluable, as the best and most effectual remedy for that inordinate sensibility to which he was subject. Besides this, however, it procured him other advantages of paramount importance; it improved the general state of his health; it introduced him to a circle of literary friends, whom he would otherwise never have known, and who, when they once knew him, could not fail to feel affectionately interested in his welfare; it brought him into closer contact with those with whom he had previously been acquainted, by inducing him to avail himself of their kind offers and assistance in the transcribing way,* which to a mind like his could not fail to become a source of almost uninterrupted enjoyment; it established his reputation as a most accomplished scholar, and unquestionably ranked him among the highest class of poets.

A living writer has well remarked, that "to Cowper's translation of Homer, we are beholden, not only for the pleasure which a perusal will be sure to afford to reasonable and patient readers, but we may attribute to its happy possession of his mind all the beautiful and inimitable letters which appear in his correspondence, during the progress of that work. The toil of daily turning over the thoughts of the greatest of poets, in every form of English that his ingenuity could devise, occupied, for many years, that very portion of his time which, with a person of no profession, and having no stated duties to perform, lies heaviest upon the spirit. The salutary exercise of his morning studies made him relish with keener zest, the relaxation of his social hours, or those welcome opportunities of epistolary converse with the absent, in which it is evident that much of the little happiness allowed to him lay; he is never more at home, consequently never more amiable, sprightly, and entertaining, and even poetical, than in his correspondence, when he pours out all the treasures of his mind and the affections of his heart, upon the paper which is to be the speaking representative of himself to those he loves. It has often been regretted that instead of this labor in vain, as the translation of Homer has sometimes seemed to many, he had not spent an equal portion of time and talent on original composition. The regret is at least as much bestowed in vain, as was that labor, for there is no well-founded reason to suppose, from the momentary jeopardy in which he lived, of being plunged into sudden, irretrievable despondence, that if he had been otherwise employed, he could have maintained even that small share of health and cheerfulness which he enjoyed.

It is not to be expected that a mind like Cowper's could remain for any lengthened period unemployed. Accustomed as he had long been to intense application, when he had completed his great work, he immediately felt the want of some other engagement. To a mind less active than his, replying to his correspondents, which had now become most extensive, would have been employment amply sufficient—especially as he was considerably in arrears with them, owing to his previous labors. This, however, was not enough for Cowper. He wanted something more worthy of his powers; something that required more vigor of thought, and demanded more severe application. Several of his friends again urged him for original composition, and in all probability they would have been successful, had he not, about this time, received a letter from his publisher, of whose judgment and integrity he had always entertained a high opinion, recommending him to prepare materials for a splendid edition of Milton. To this proposal Cowper immediately assented. He had always expressed himself delighted with Milton's poetry, and on one occasion, in a letter to his friend Mr. Unwin, had thus ventured to defend his character from the severe censures cast upon him by Johnson, in his "Lives of the Poets." "I have been well entertained with Johnson's biography, for which I thank you; with one exception, and that a swinging one, I think he has acquitted himself with his usual good sense and sufficiency. His treatment of Milton is unmerciful, to the last degree. He has belabored that great poet's character with the most industrious cruelty. As a man, he has hardly left him the shadow of one good quality. Churlishness in his private life, and a rancorous hatred of every thing royal in his public, are the two colors with which he has smeared all the canvas. If he had any virtues, they are not to be found in the Doctor's picture of him, and it is well for Milton, that some sourness in his temper is the only vice with which his memory has been charged: it is evident enough, that if his biographer could have discovered more, he would not have spared him. As a poet he has treated him with severity enough, and has plucked one or two of the most beautiful feathers out of his muse's wing, and trampled them under his great foot. He has passed sentence of condemnation upon Lycidas, and has taken occasion from that charming poem, to expose to ridicule (what is indeed ridiculous enough) the childish prattlings of pastoral compositions, as if Lycidas was the prototype and pattern of them all. The liveliness of the description, the sweetness of the numbers, the classical spirit of antiquity that prevails in it, go for nothing. I am convinced by the way, that he has no ear for poetical numbers, or that it was stopped by prejudice against the harmony of Milton's. Was there ever any thing so delightful as the music of the Paradise Lost? It is like that of a fine organ; has the fullest and the deepest tones of majesty, with all the softness and elegance of the Dorian flute. Variety without end, and never equalled, unless perhaps by Virgil. Yet the Doctor has little or nothing to say upon this copious theme, but talks something about the unfitness of the English language for blank verse, and how apt it is, in the mouth of some readers, to degenerate into declamation."

Cowper had no sooner made up his mind on the subject of his new engagement, than he communicated it to his correspondents. To one he writes, "I am deep in a new literary engagement, being retained by my bookseller as editor of an intended most magnificent edition of Milton's Poetical Works. This will occupy me as much as Homer

* It is said that Broome assisted Pope very largely in his *translation* of Homer; but Cowper had no assistant in that way. All the Throckmorton family, Lady Hesketh, Mrs. Johnson, and many others, helped him ■■ transcribers, and only as such.

did, for a year or two to come; and when I have finished it, I shall have run through all the degrees of my profession, as author, translator, and editor. I know not that a fourth could be found; but if a fourth can be found, I dare say I shall find it. I am now translating Milton's Latin poems. I give them, as opportunity offers, all the variety of measure that I can. Some I render in heroic rhymes, some in stanzas, some in seven, some in eight syllable measure, and some in blank verse. They will altogether, I hope, make an agreeable miscellany for the English reader. They are certainly good in themselves, and cannot fail to please, but by the fault of their translator."

One of his most esteemed correspondents, the Rev. Walter Bagot, attempted to dissuade him from entering upon his new engagement, and urged him to publish in a third volume, what original pieces he had already composed, added to a translation of Milton's Latin and Italian poems. Had this plan been suggested to him earlier, he would, in all probability, have pursued it, as he thus writes to his friend on the subject:—"As to Milton, the die is cast. I am engaged, have bargained with Johnson, and cannot recede. I should otherwise have been glad to do as you advise, to make the translation of his Latin and Italian poems part of another volume, for with such an addition, I have nearly as much verse in my budget as would be required for the purpose."

From some expressions in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Hurdis, the author of the Village Curate, with whom Cowper had entered into a correspondence, a few months previous to this, and to whom he had written several most interesting letters, it would appear as if he entered upon his new engagement rather precipitately, and without due consideration. "I am much obliged to you for wishing that I were employed in some original work, rather than in translation. To tell the truth, I am of your mind; and unless I could find another Homer, I shall promise (I believe) and vow, when I have done with Milton, never to translate again. But my veneration for our great countryman is equal to what I feel for the Grecian; and consequently I am happy, and feel myself honorably employed, whatever I do for Milton. I am now translating his *Epitaphium Damonis*; a pastoral, in my judgment, equal to any of Virgil's Bucolics, but of which Dr. Johnson (so it pleased him) speaks, as I remember, contemptuously. But he who never saw any beauty in a rural scene, was not likely to have much taste for a pastoral. *In pace quiescat!*"

Among other consequences resulting from his new undertaking, one of the most gratifying to himself was, its becoming the means of introducing him to an acquaintance with his esteemed friend, and future biographer, Mr. Hayley. This important event in Cowper's life—so it afterwards proved—is related with so much beauty and simplicity by Mr. Hayley, in his life of Cowper, and reflects a lustre so bright on both the biographer and the poet, that we cannot do better than give it in his own words. Mr. Hayley thus relates the circumstance: "As it is to Milton that I am in a great measure indebted for what I must ever regard as a signal blessing, the friendship of Cowper, the reader will pardon me for dwelling a little on the circumstances that produced it—circumstances which often lead me to repeat those sweet verses of my friend, on the casual origin of our valuable attachments—

> 'Mysterious are His ways whose power
> Brings forth that unexpected hour,
> When minds that never met before
> Shall meet, unite, and part no more:
> It is the allotment of the skies,
> The hand of the supremely wise,
> That guides and governs our affections,
> And plans and orders our connections.'

"These charming lines strike with peculiar force on my mind, when I recollect that it was an idle endeavor to make us enemies which gave rise to our intimacy, and that I was providentially conducted to Weston at a season when my presence there afforded peculiar comfort to my affectionate friend, under the pressure of a very heavy domestic affliction which threatened to overwhelm his very tender spirits. The entreaty of many persons whom I wished to oblige, had engaged me to write a life of Milton, before I had the slightest suspicion that my work could interfere with the projects of any man; but I was soon surprised and concerned in hearing that I was represented in a newspaper as an antagonist of Cowper. I immediately wrote to him on the subject, and our correspondence soon endeared us to each other in no common degree. The series of his letters to me I value, not only as memorials of a most dear and honorable friendship, but as exquisite examples of epistolary excellence."

The above interesting extract will have informed the reader that Mr. Hayley paid Cowper a visit at Weston; this visit, however, so gratifying to both parties, did not take place till the beginning of May, 1792. In the December previous, Cowper met with one of the heaviest domestic calamities he had ever experienced. Mrs. Unwin, his affectionate companion, who had watched over him with so much tenderness and anxiety, for so many years, was suddenly attacked with strong symptoms of paralysis. In a letter to his friend, Mr. Rose, dated 21st December, 1791, Cowper thus relates this painful event:—"On Saturday last, while I was at my desk, near the window, and Mrs. Unwin at the fire-side opposite to it, I heard her suddenly exclaim, 'Oh! Mr. Cowper, don't let me fall!' I turned, and saw her actually falling, and started to her side just in time to prevent her. She was seized with a violent giddiness, which lasted, though with some abatement, the whole day, and was attended with some other very, very alarming symptoms. At present, however, she is relieved from the vertigo, and seems, in all respects, better. She has been my faithful and affectionate nurse for many years, and consequently has a claim on all my attentions. She has them, and will have them, as long as she wants them, which will probably be, at the least, a considerable time to come. I feel the shock, as you may suppose, in every nerve. God grant that there may be no repetition of it. Another such a stroke upon her would, I think, overset me completely; but, at present, I hold up bravely."

Notwithstanding the interruption of Cowper's studies, occasioned by Mrs. Unwin's indisposition, and by the extreme slowness of her recovery, he had now become so much accustomed to regular employment, and had derived from it so many advantages, that he could not possibly remain inactive. In the month of February we find him thus employed:—"Milton, at present, engrosses me altogether. His Latin pieces I have translated, and have begun with the Italian. These are few, and will not detain me long. I shall proceed immediately to deliberate upon, and to settle the plan of my commentary, which I have hitherto had but little time to consider. I look forward to it, for this reason, with some anxiety. I trust, at least, that this anxiety will cease, when I have once satisfied myself about the best manner of conducting it. But, after all, I seem to fear more the labor to which it calls, than any great difficulty with which it is likely to be attended.

To the labors of versifying I have no objection, but to the labors of criticism I am new, and apprehend that I shall find them wearisome. Should that be the case, I shall be dull, but must be contented to share the censure of being so, with almost all the commentators that have ever existed. I will, however, have no *horrida bella*, if I can help it. It is, at least, my present purpose to avoid them if possible; for which reason, I shall confine myself merely to the business of an annotator, which is my proper province, and shall sift out of Warton's notes every tittle that relates to the private character, political or religious principles of my author. These are properly subjects for a biographer's handling, but by no means, as it seems to me, for a commentator's."

In reply to a pressing letter from his friend, Mr. Newton, for original composition, written about this time, Cowper thus expresses himself:—"Your demand for more original composition from me will, if I live, and it please God to afford me health, in all probability, be sooner or later gratified. In the mean time you need not, and if you turn the matter over in your thoughts a little you will perceive that you need not, think me unworthily employed in preparing a new edition of Milton. His two principal poems are of a kind that call for an editor who believes the gospel, and is well grounded in evangelical doctrine. Such an editor they have never had, though only such an one can be qualified for the office."

The peculiarity of Cowper's religious feelings still continued to exist; and it seemed impossible for him to divest himself entirely of those gloomy apprehensions of his own personal interest in the blessings of the gospel, which had harrassed and distressed him for so many years. On every other subject he could write and converse, with ease to himself and with pleasure to others; but the morbid tendency of his mind to despondency, tinged all his remarks with midnight gloom whenever he adverted to this. An instance of this occurred in one of his letters to Mr. Newton about this time. After describing, in his own playful manner, some changes that had recently taken place in the circle of his immediate acquaintance, he thus closes his letter, which, notwithstanding the excellence of the remarks, evinces the existence of considerable depression:—"Such is this variable scene, so variable, that had the reflections I sometimes make upon it a permanent influence, I should tremble at the thought of a new connection, and to be out of the reach of its mutability, lead almost the life of a hermit. It is well with those, who, like you, have God for their companion; death cannot deprive them of *him*, and *he* changes not the place of his abode. Other changes, therefore, to them are all supportable; and what you say of your own experience is the strongest possible proof of it. Had you lived without God, *you* could not have endured the loss you mention. May he preserve *me* from a similar one, at least till he shall be pleased to draw me to himself again! Then, *if ever that day come*, it will make *me* equal to my burden; at present, I can bear nothing *well*. I, however, generally manage to pass my time comfortably, as much so, at least, as Mrs. Unwin's frequent indisposition, and my no less frequent troubles of mind, will permit. When I am much distressed, any company but her's distresses me more, and makes me doubly sensible of my sufferings, though sometimes, I confess, it falls out otherwise; and by the help of more general conversation, I recover that elasticity of mind which is able to resist the pressure. On the whole, I believe I am situated exactly as I should wish to be, were my situation determined by my own election; and am denied no comfort that is compatible with the *total absence* of the chief of all. I rejoiced, and had great reason to do so, in your coming to Weston, for I think the Lord came with you. Not, indeed, to *abide* with me, nor to restore me to that intercourse which I had with him, and which I enjoyed twenty years ago, but to awaken in me, however, more spiritual feeling than I have experienced, except in two instances, all that time. The comforts that I had received under your ministry in better days, all rushed upon my recollection; and, during two or three transient moments, seemed to be in a degree renewed. You will tell me that, transient as they were, they were yet evidences of a love that is not so; and I am desirous to believe it."

We have already informed our readers that Cowper's engagement as the editor of Milton became the means of introducing him to Mr. Hayley. He received the first letter from that gentleman in March, 1792. An incident occurred respecting this letter which ought not to go unrecorded; as it might have proved fatal to that friendship, which became to both the poets a source of the purest enjoyment. Neither of these talented individuals had, at that time, any knowledge of each other. Mr. Hayley had read Cowper's productions with no ordinary emotions of delight, and had consequently conceived the highest respect for their unknown author; and nothing could have occasioned him greater surprise, as well as uneasiness, than to be represented as the opponent of one whom he so highly respected. No sooner was he apprized of it than he wrote to Cowper, generously offering him any materials that he had collected, with as much assistance as it was in his power to afford, and being unacquainted with his address, directed his letter to the care of Johnson, his publisher. Either through the carelessness or inadvertence of Johnson, this letter remained in his hands for a considerable time, and was not delivered to Cowper till six weeks after it had been written. Immediately on receiving it, Cowper wrote to Mr. Hayley, explaining the cause of his long-delayed reply; and from that time, an interchange of many most interesting letters took place, which subsequently led to a friendship the most cordial and ardent, which it was only in the power of death to dissolve. In a letter to Lady Hesketh, Cowper thus adverts to this circumstance:—"Mr. Hayley's friendly and complimentary letter, from some unknown cause, at least to me, slept six weeks in Johnson's custody. It was necessary I should answer it without delay: accordingly I answered it the very evening on which I received it, giving him to understand, among other things, how much vexation the bookseller's folly had cost me, who had detained it so long, especially on account of the distress that I knew it must have occasioned to him also. From his reply, which the return of the post brought me, I learn that in the long interval of my non-correspondence he had suffered anxiety and mortification enough; so much so that I dare say he made twenty vows never to hazard again either letter or compliment to an unknown author. What, indeed, could he imagine less, than that I meant by such obstinate silence to tell him that I valued neither him nor his praises, nor his proffered friendship; in short, that I considered him as a rival, and, therefore, like a true author, hated and despised him. He is now, however, convinced that I love him, as indeed I do, and I account him the chief acquisition that my verse has ever procured me. Brute should I be if I did not, for he promises me every assistance in his power."

To Mr. Hayley, at the commencement of Cowper's correspondence with him, and after the above unpleasant occurrence had been satisfactorily accounted for, and amicably settled, he thus expresses his anxiety that the friendship thus formed might

be lasting:—"God grant that this friendship of ours may be a comfort to us all the rest of our days, in a world where true friendships are rarities, and especially where, suddenly formed, they are apt soon to terminate. But, as I said before, I feel a disposition of heart towards you that I never felt for one whom I had never seen; and that shall prove itself, I trust, in that event, a propitious omen. It gives me the sincerest pleasure that I hope to see you at Weston: for as to any migrations of mine, they must, I fear, notwithstanding the joy I should feel in being a guest of yours, be still considered in the light of impossibilities. Come, then, my friend, and be welcome, as the country people say here, as the flowers in May. I am happy, I say, in the expectation, but the fear or rather the consciousness, that I shall not answer on a nearer view, makes a trembling kind of happiness, and invests it with many doubts. Bring with you any books that you think may be useful to my commentatorship, for with you for an interpreter, I shall be afraid of none of them. And in truth if you think you shall want them, you must bring books for your own use also, for they are an article with which I am *heinously unprovided*; being much in the condition of the man whose library Pope describes, as—

"No mighty store!
His own works neatly bound, and little more."

Mr. Hayley's projected visit, anticipated so fondly, both by himself and by Cowper, took place in May, 1792. The interview between these talented individuals proved reciprocally delightful. Though Cowper was now in his sixty-first year, he felt none of the infirmities of advanced life, but was as active and vigorous, both in mind and body, as his best friends could wish him. Mrs. Unwin had nearly recovered from her late severe attack, and as her health was every day progressively improving, there seemed every probability of their enjoying a long continuance of domestic comfort. Mr. Hayley thus describes the manner in which he was received, and his sensations on the occasion:—"Their reception of me was kindness itself; I was enchanted to find that the manners and conversation of Cowper resembled his poetry, charming by unaffected elegance, and the graces of a benevolent spirit. I looked with affectionate veneration and pleasure on the lady, who, having devoted her life and fortune to the service of this tender and sublime genius, in watching over him with maternal vigilance, through so many years of the darkest calamity, appeared to be now enjoying a reward justly due to the noblest exertions of friendship, in contemplating the health, and the renown of the poet, whom she had the happiness to preserve. It seemed hardly possible to survey human nature in a more touching, and a more satisfactory point of view. Their tender affection to each other, their simple, devout gratitude for the mercies which they had experienced together, and their constant but unaffected propensity to impress on the mind and heart of a new friend, the deep sense which they incessantly felt, of their mutual obligations to each other; afforded me very singular gratification."

This scene of exquisite enjoyment to all parties, as is frequently the case in a world like ours, was suddenly exchanged for one of the deepest melancholy and distress. Mr. Hayley has related the painful event with so much tenderness and simplicity, that we cannot do better than to present it to our readers in his own words:—"After passing our morning in social study, we usually walked out together at noon; in returning from one of our rambles round the pleasant village of Weston, we were met by Mr. Greathead, an accomplished minister of the gospel, who resides at Newport Pagnel, and whom Cowper described to me in terms of cordial esteem. He came forth to meet us, as we drew near the house, and it was soon visible from his countenance and manner, that he had ill news to impart. After the most tender preparation that humanity could devise, he informed Cowper that Mrs. Unwin was under the immediate pressure of a paralytic attack. My agitated friend rushed to the sight of the sufferer; he returned to me in a state that alarmed me in the highest degree for his faculties: his first speech was wild in the extreme; my answer would appear little less so, but it was addressed to the predominant fancy of my unhappy friend, and with the blessing of heaven, it produced an instantaneous calm in his troubled mind. From that moment he rested on my friendship with such mild and cheerful confidence, that his affectionate spirit regarded me as sent providentially to support him in a season of the severest affliction."

The best means to promote the recovery of Mrs. Unwin, that could have been used under similar circumstances, were resorted to. Happily, they proved to a considerable degree successful, and she gradually recovered both her strength and the use of her faculties. The effect of this attack, however, upon Cowper's tender mind, was in the highest degree painful. This will not perhaps be surprising, when it is recollected how sincerely he was attached to his afflicted inmate, and how deeply he interested himself in every thing that related to her welfare. The following beautiful lines will convey to the reader some idea of the exalted opinion he had formed of her character:

"Mary! I want a lyre with other strings,
Such aid from heaven as some have feigned they drew,
An eloquence scarce give to mortals, new
And undebased by meaner things!
That ere through age or wo I shed my wings,
I may record thy worth, with honor due
In verse as musical as thou art true—
Verse that immortalizes whom it sings!
But thou hast little need: there is a book,
By seraphs writ, with beams of heavenly light,
On which the eyes of God not rarely look!
A chronicle of actions just and bright!
There all thy deeds, my faithful Mary, shine,
And since thou own'st that praise, I spare thee mine."

The following extracts from Cowper's correspondence, immediately after this painful event, describe satisfactorily the state of his mind:—"I wish with all my heart, my dearest cousin, that I had not ill news for the subject of this letter: my friend, my Mary, has again been attacked by the same disorder that threatened me last year with the loss of her, of which you were yourself a witness. The present attack has been much the severest. Her speech has been almost unintelligible from the moment that she was struck: it is with difficulty she can open her eyes; and she cannot keep them open, the muscles necessary for that purpose being contracted; and as to self-moving powers from place to place, and the right use of her hand and arm, she has entirely lost them. I hope, however, she is beginning to recover: her amendment is indeed but very slow, as must be expected at her time of life. I am as well myself, and indeed better than you have ever known me in such trouble. It has happened well for me that, of all men living, the man best qualified to assist and comfort me, is here; though, till within these few days, I never saw him, and a few weeks since had no expectation that I ever should. You have already guessed that I mean Hayley—Hayley, who loves me as if he had known me from my cradle. When

he returns to town, as he must, alas! he will pay his respects to you. He has, I assure you, been all and all to us, on this very afflictive occasion. Love him, I charge you, dearly, for my sake. Where could I have found a man, except himself, so necessary to me, in so short a time, that I absolutely know not how to live without him?"

Mr. Hayley left Weston early in June, at which time many pleasing symptoms of Mrs. Unwin's ultimate recovery began to appear. Cowper's letters to his friend after his departure, which were written almost daily, afford ample proofs of the warmth of his affection for him, and of the deep interest he took in promoting Mrs. Unwin's recovery. He thus commences his first letter to Mr. Hayley:—"ALL'S WELL! which words I place as conspicuously as possible, and prefix them to my letter, to save you the pain, my friend and brother, of a moment's anxious speculation. Poor Mary proceeds in her amendment, and improves, I think, even at a swifter rate than when you left her. The stronger she grows, the faster she gathers strength, which is perhaps the natural course of recovery. Yesterday was a noble day with her; speech, almost perfect—eyes, open almost the whole day, without any effort to keep them so—and her step, wonderfully improved! Can I ever honor you enough for your zeal to serve me? Truly I think not. I am, however, so sensible of the love I owe to you on this account, that I every day regret the acuteness of your feelings for me, convinced that they expose you to so much trouble, mortification, and disappointment. I have, in short, a poor opinion of my destiny, as I told you when you were here; and though I believe, if any man here can do me good, you will, I cannot yet persuade myself that even you will be successful in attempting it. But it is no matter: you are yourself a good which I can never value enough; and, whether rich or poor in other respects, I shall always account myself better provided for than I deserve, with such a friend as you, that I can call my own. Let it please God to continue to me my William and Mary, and I shall be more reasonable than to grumble. I rose this morning, wrapt around with a cloud of melancholy, and with a heart full of fears; but if I see my Mary's amendment a little advanced, I shall be better."

"Of what materials can you suppose me made, if, after all the rapid proofs you have given me of your friendship, I do not love you with all my heart, and regret your absence continually. But you must permit me to be melancholy now and then; or, if you will not, I must be so without permission; for that sable thread is so interwoven with the very thread of my existence as to be inseparable from it, at least while I exist in the body. Be content, therefore: let me sigh and groan, but always be sure that I love you. You will be well assured that I should not have indulged myself in this rhapsody about myself and my melancholy, had my present state of mind been of that complexion, or had not our poor Mary seemed still to advance in her recovery. It is a great blessing to us both, that, feeble as she is, she has a most invincible courage, and a trust in God's goodness that nothing shakes. She is certainly, in some degree, better than she was yesterday; but how to measure the degree I know not, except by saying—that it is just perceptible."

In a letter dated 11th June, 1792, Cowper thus discloses his state of mind to Lady Hesketh:—"My dearest cousin, thou art ever in my thoughts, whether I am writing to thee or not, and my correspondence seems to grow upon me at such a rate, that I am not able to address thee so often as I would. In fact, I live only to write letters. Hayley is, as you see, added to the number of my correspondents, and to him I write almost as duly as I rise in the morning. Since I wrote last, Mrs. Unwin has been continually improving in strength, but at so gradual a rate, that I can only mark it by saying that she moves every day with less support than the former. On the whole, I believe she goes on as well as can be expected, though not quite so well as to satisfy me."

"During the last two months I seem to myself to have been in a dream. It has been a most eventful period, and fruitful to an uncommon degree, both in good and in evil. I have been very ill, and suffered excruciating pain: I recovered, and became quite well again. I received within my doors a man, but lately an entire stranger, and who now loves me as his brother, and forgets himself to serve me. Mrs. Unwin has been seized with an illness, that for many days threatened to deprive me of her, and to cast a gloom, an impenetrable one, on all my future prospects. She is now granted to me again. A few days since I should have thought the moon might have descended into my purse as likely as any emolument, and now it seems not impossible. All this has come to pass with such rapidity as events move with in romance indeed, but not often in real life. Events of all sorts creep or fly, exactly as God pleases."

While Mr. Hayley was at Weston, he had persuaded Cowper and Mrs. Unwin to promise him a visit at Eartham, some time in the summer; believing that it would greatly improve Mrs. Unwin's health, and be an agreeable relaxation to Cowper, after the anxiety of mind he had felt respecting his esteemed invalid. Mr. Hayley wrote several pressing invitations to induce them to come as early as possible. The following extracts will show the state of Cowper's mind respecting it. To Mr. Bull he writes, "We are on the eve of a journey, and a long one. On this very day se'nnight we set out for Eartham, the seat of my brother bard, Mr. Hayley, on the other side of London, nobody knows where, a hundred and twenty miles off. Pray for us, my friend, that we may have a safe going and return. It is a tremendous exploit, and I feel a thousand anxieties when I think of it. But a promise made to him when he was here, that we would go if we could, and a sort of persuasion that we can if we will, oblige us to it. The journey and the change of air, together with the novelty to us of the scene to which we are going, may, I hope, be useful to us both; especially to Mrs. Unwin, who has most need of restoratives."

To Mr. Newton he thus discloses his feelings on the subject. "You may imagine that we, who have been resident in one spot for so many years, do not engage in such an enterprise without some anxiety. Persons accustomed to travel would make themselves merry with mine; it seems so disproportioned to the occasion. Once I have been on the point of determining not to go, and even since we fixed the day, my troubles have been almost insupportable. But it has been made a matter of much prayer, and at last it has pleased God to satisfy me, in some measure, that his will corresponds with our purpose, and that he will afford us his protection. You, I know, will not be unmindful of us during our absence from home; but will obtain for us, if your prayers can do it, all that we would ask for ourselves—the presence and favor of God, a salutary effect of our journey, and a safe return."

Anxious to enjoy the pleasure of Cowper's company at Eartham, Mr. Hayley, in his letters to the poet, urged him, by no means to defer his visit till late in the summer. From Cowper's replies we select the following interesting extracts:—"The weather is sadly against my Mary's recovery; it deprives her of many a good turn in the orchard, and fifty

times have I wished this very day, that Dr. Darwin's scheme of giving rudders and sails to the icelands, that spoil all our summers, were actually put into practice. So should we have gentle airs instead of churlish blasts, and those everlasting sources of bad weather, being once navigated into the southern hemisphere, my Mary would recover as fast again. We are both of your mind respecting the journey to Eartham, and think that July, if by that time she have strength for the journey, will be better than August. This, however, must be left to the Giver of all Good. If our visit to you be according to his will, he will smooth our way before us, and appoint the time of it; and I thus speak, not because I wish to seem a saint in your eyes, but because my poor Mary actually is one, and would not set her foot over the threshold, unless she had, or thought she had, God's free permission. With that she would go through floods and fire, though without it she would be afraid of every thing—afraid even to visit you, dearly as she loves, and much as she longs to see you."

In another letter to Mr. Hayley, he writes, "The progress of the old nurse in Terence is very much like the progress of my poor patient in the road to recovery. I cannot indeed say that she moves but advances not, for advances are certainly made, but the progress of a week is hardly perceptible. I know not, therefore, at present, what to say about this long postponed journey; the utmost that it is safe for me to say at this moment, is this—you know that you are dear to us both: true it is that you are so, and equally true, that the very instant we feel ourselves at liberty, we will fly to Eartham. You wish me to settle the time, and I wish with all my heart so to do; living in hopes, meanwhile, that I shall be able to do it soon. But some little time must necessarily intervene. Our Mary must be able to walk alone, to cut her own food, and to feed herself, and to wear her own shoes, for at present she wears mine. All these things considered, my friend and brother, you will see the expediency of waiting a little before we set off to Eartham. We mean, indeed, before that day arrives, to make a trial of her strength; how far she may be able to bear the motion of a carriage, a motion that she has not felt these seven years. I grieve that we are thus circumstanced, and that we cannot gratify ourselves in a delightful and innocent project, without all these precautions; but when we have leaf-gold to handle, we must do it tenderly."

The day was at length fixed for this long-intended journey; and the following letter to Mr. Hayley, written a day or two previously, describes Cowper's feelings respecting it:

> "Through floods and flames to your retreat
> I win my desp'rate way,
> And when we meet, if e'er we meet,
> Will echo your huzza!

"You will wonder at the word *desperate* in the second line, and at the *if* in the third; but could you have any conception of the fears that I have had to bustle with, of the dejection of spirits I have suffered concerning this journey, you would wonder much that I still courageously persevere in my resolution to undertake it. Fortunately for my intention, it happens that as the day approaches my terrors abate; for had they continued to be what they were a week ago, I must, after all, have disappointed you; and was actually once on the verge of doing it. I have told you something of my nocturnal experiences, and assure you now, that they were hardly ever more terrific than on this occasion. Prayer has, however, opened my passage at last, and obtained for me a degree of confidence, that I trust will prove a comfortable viaticum to me all the way. The terrors that I have spoken of, would appear ridiculous to most, but to you they will not, for you are a reasonable creature, and know well that to whatever cause it be owing, (whether to constitution or God's express appointment,) I am hunted by spiritual hounds in the night season. I cannot help it. You will pity me, and wish it were otherwise, and though you may think there is much of the imaginary in it, will not deem it, for that reason, an evil less to be lamented. So much for fears and distresses. Soon I hope they will all have a joyful termination, and I and my Mary be skipping with delight at Eartham."

The protracted indisposition of Mrs. Unwin, and the preparation which Cowper thought it necessary to make for his journey, had entirely diverted his mind from his literary undertaking. To Mr. Hayley, on this point, he thus writes:—"I know not how you proceed in your Life of Milton, but I suppose not very rapidly, for while you were here, and since you left us, you have had no other theme but me. As for myself, except my letters, and the nuptial song I sent you in my last, I have literally done nothing, since I saw you. Nothing, I mean, in the writing way, though a great deal in another; that is to say, in attending my poor Mary, and endeavoring to nurse her up for a journey to Eartham. In this I have hitherto succeeded tolerably well, and I had rather carry this point completely, than be the most famous editor of Milton the world has ever seen, or shall see. As to this affair, I know not what will become of it. I wrote to Johnson a week since, to tell him that the interruption of Mrs. Unwin's illness still continued, and being likely to continue, I knew not when I should be able to proceed The translations I said were finished, except the revisal of a part. I hope, or rather wish, that at Eartham I may recover that habit of study, which, inveterate as it once seemed, I now seem to have lost—lost to such a degree, that it is even painful for me to think of what it will cost me to acquire it again."

About this time, at the request of a much esteemed relative, Cowper sat to Abbot, the painter, for his portrait; and the following playful manner in which he adverts to the circumstance, exhibits the peculiarity of his case, and shows, that though he was almost invariably suffering under the influence of deep depression, he frequently wrote to his correspondents in a strain the most sprightly and cheerful:—"How do you imagine I have been occupied these last ten days? In sitting, not on cockatrice eggs, nor yet to gratify a mere idle humor, nor because I was too sick to move, but because my cousin Johnson has an aunt who has a longing desire of my picture, and because he would, therefore, bring a painter from London to draw it. For this purpose I have been sitting, as I say, these ten days; and am heartily glad that my sitting time is over. The likeness is so strong, that when my friends enter the room where the picture is, they start, astonished to see me where they know I am not.

> Abbot is painting me so true,
> That (trust me) you would stare,
> And hardly know, at the first view,
> If I were here, or there.

Miserable man that you are, to be at Brighton, instead of being here to contemplate this prodigy of art, which, therefore, you can never see, for it goes to London next Monday to be suspended awhile at Abbot's and then proceeds to Norfolk, where it will be suspended for ever."

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey to Eartham. Incidents of it. Safe arrival. Description of its beauties. Employment there. Reply to a letter from Mr. Hurdis, on the death of his sister. State of Cowper's mind at Eartham. His great attention to Mrs. Unwin. Return to Weston. Interview with General Cowper. Safe arrival at their beloved retreat. Violence of his depressive malady. Regrets the loss of his studious habit. Ineffectual efforts to obtain it. Warmth of his affection for Mr. Hayley. Dread of January. Prepares for a second edition of Homer. Commences writing notes upon it. Labor it occasioned him. His close application. Continuance of his depression. Judicious consolatory advice he gives to his friends. Letter to Rev. J. Johnson on his taking orders. Pleasure it afforded him to find that his relative entered upon the work with suitable feelings. Reply to Mr. Hayley respecting a joint literary undertaking.

Cowper and Mrs. Unwin set out for Eartham in the beginning of August, 1792. It pleased God to conduct them thither in safety; and though considerably fatigued with their journey, they were much less so than they had anticipated. Cowper's letters to his friends after his arrival describe his feelings on the occasion, in a manner the most pleasing:—"Here we are, at Eartham, in the most elegant mansion that I have ever inhabited, and surrounded by the most beautiful pleasure-grounds that I have ever seen; but which, dissipated as my powers of thought are at present, I will not undertake to describe. It shall suffice me to say, that they occupy three sides of a hill, which in Buckinghamshire might well pass for a mountain, and from the summit of which is beheld a most magnificent landscape, bounded by the sea, and in one part by the Isle of Wight, which may also be seen plainly from the window of the library, in which I am writing. It pleased God to carry us both through the journey with far less difficulty and inconvenience than I expected; I began it indeed with a thousand fears, and when we arrived the first evening at Barnet, found myself oppressed in spirit to a degree that could hardly be exceeded. I saw Mrs. Unwin weary, as well she might be, and heard such noises, both within the house and without, that I concluded she would get no rest. But I was mercifully disappointed. She rested, though not well, yet sufficiently. Here we found our friend Rose, who had walked from his house in Chancery-lane, to meet us, and to greet us with his best wishes. At Kingston, where we dined the second day, I found my old and much valued friend, General Cowper, whom I had not seen for thirty years, and but for this journey should never have seen again. When we arrived at Ripley, where we slept the second night, we were both in a better condition of body and of mind than on the day preceding. Here we found a quiet inn, that housed, as it happened, that night, no company but ourselves: we slept well and rose perfectly refreshed, and, except some terrors that I felt at passing over the Sussex Hills at moonlight, met with little to complain of, till we arrived, about ten o'clock, at Eartham. Here we are as happy as it is in the power of earthly good to make us. It is almost a paradise in which we dwell; and our reception has been the kindest that it was possible for friendship and hospitality to contrive."

While at Eartham, Cowper and Mr. Hayley employed the morning hours that they could bestow upon books, in revising and correcting Cowper's translation of Milton's Latin and Italian poems. In the afternoon, they occasionally amused themselves by forming together a rapid metrical version of Andreini's Adamo. Cowper's tender solicitude for Mrs. Unwin, however, rendered it impossible for them to be very attentive to these studies. Adverting to the anxiety of Cowper respecting Mrs. Unwin, Mr. Hayley thus writes:—"I have myself no language sufficiently strong or sufficiently tender, to express my just admiration of that angelic, compassionate sensibility with which Cowper watched over his aged invalid. With the most singular and most exemplary tenderness of attention, he incessantly labored to counteract every infirmity, bodily and mental, with which sickness and age had conspired to load the interesting guardian of his afflicted life."

Cowper had been at Eartham but a few days, when he received a letter from his friend, Mr. Hurdis, informing him of the loss he had sustained by the death of a beloved sister. His compassionate heart immediately prompted him to write the following reply:—"Your kind, but very affecting letter, found me not at Weston, to which place it was directed, but in a bower of my friend Hayley's garden, at Eartham, where I was sitting with Mrs. Unwin. We both knew, the moment we saw it, from whom it came, and observing a red seal, both comforted ourselves that all was well at Burwash; but we soon felt that we were called not to rejoice, but to mourn with you: we do, indeed, sincerely mourn with you; and, if it will afford you any consolation to know it, you may be assured that every eye here has testified what our hearts have suffered for you. Your loss is great, and your disposition, I perceive, such as exposes you to feel the whole weight of it. I will not add to your sorrow by a vain attempt to assuage it; your own good sense, and the piety of your principles, will, of course, suggest to you the most powerful motives of acquiescence in the will of God. You will be sure to recollect, that the stroke, severe as it is, is not the stroke of an enemy, but of a Friend and a Father; and will find, I trust, hereafter, that like a Father he has done you good by it. Thousands have been able to say, and myself as loud as any of them, it has been good for me that I have been afflicted; but time is necessary to work us to this persuasion, and in due time it will, no doubt, be yours."

The following extracts from letters to Lady Hesketh, dated Eartham, describe his feelings while he remained there:—"I know not how it is, my dearest cousin, but in a new scene like this, surrounded by strange objects, I find my powers of thinking dissipated to a degree that makes it difficult for me even to write a letter, and even a letter to you; but such a letter as I can, I will, and I have the fairest chance to succeed this morning—Hayley, Romney, and Hayley's son, being all gone to the sea for bathing. The sea, you must know, is nine miles off, so that, unless stupidity prevent, I shall have opportunity to write, not only to you, but to poor Hurdis also, who is broken-hearted for the loss of his favorite sister, lately dead. I am, without the least dissimulation, in good health; my spirits are about as good as you have ever seen them; and if increase of appetite, and a double portion of sleep, be advantageous, such are the benefits I have received from this migration. As to that gloominess of mind which I have felt these twenty years, it cleaves to me even here; and could I be translated to paradise, unless I left my body behind me, would cleave to me even there also. It is my companion for life, and nothing will ever divorce us. Mrs. Unwin is evidently the better for her jaunt, though by no means as she was before her last attack, still wanting help when she would rise from her seat, and a support in walking, but she is able to take more exercise than when at home, and move with rather a less tottering step. God knows what he designs for me; but when I see those who are dearer to me than myself, distempered and enfeebled, and myself as strong as in the days of my youth, I tremble for the solitude in which a few years may place *me*."

"This is, as I have already told you, a delightful place: more beautiful scenery I have never beheld, nor expect to behold: but the charms of it, uncom-

mon as they are, have not, in the least, alienated my affections from Weston. The genius of that place suits me better; it has an air of snug concealment, in which a disposition like mine feels peculiarly gratified; whereas here, I see from every window woods like forests, and hills like mountains, a wilderness in short that rather increases my natural melancholy, and which, were it not for the agreeables I find within, would convince me that mere change of place can avail but little."

On the 17th September, 1792, Cowper and Mrs. Unwin left Eartham for their beloved retreat at Weston. Their parting interview with their friends at Eartham, who had heaped upon them every thing that the most affectionate kindness could invent, was deeply interesting to all parties, but particularly affecting to the sensitive mind of Cowper. According to a previous arrangement, the poet and Mrs. Unwin dined, and spent the day with General Cowper, at Kingston, who had come there on purpose to have the pleasure of Cowper's company, probably for the last time. A recollection of this so powerfully affected the poet's mind, that the pleasure of the interview was hardly greater than the pain he felt at parting with his venerable and beloved kinsman. The peculiar and burdened state of Cowper's mind respecting this visit, he thus describes:—"The struggles that I had with my own spirit, laboring as I did, under the most dreadful dejection, are never to be told. I would have given the world to have been excused. I went, however, and carried the point against myself, with a heart riven asunder. I have reasons for all this anxiety, which I cannot relate now; the visit, however, passed off well, and I returned with a lighter heart than I have known since my departure from Eartham, and we both enjoyed a good night's rest afterwards."

The good providence of God conducted these interesting travellers in safety to their home, where they arrived in the evening of the second day after they set out from Eartham. The unusual excitement occasioned by so long a journey, and by such a profusion of interesting objects, would in ordinary cases, and in minds of almost any form, who had been so long confined to one spot, be very likely to be succeeded by considerable depression. Such was, however, much more likely to be the case on a mind like Cowper's. Accordingly we find, that when he arrived at Weston, he was for a considerable time, subject to an unusual degree of depression. The following extracts from his letters to his friend Hayley, describe the state of his mind, and show how much he was then under the influence of his depressive malady:—"Chaos, himself, even the chaos of Milton, is not surrounded with more confusion, nor has a mind more completely in a hubbub, than I experience at the present moment. A bad night, succeeded by an east wind, and a sky all in sables, have such an effect on my spirits, that if I did not consult my own comfort more than yours, I should not write to-day, for I shall not entertain you much: yet your letter, though containing no very pleasant tidings, has afforded me some relief. It tells me, indeed, that you have been dispirited yourself; all this grieves me, but then there is a warmth of heart, and a kindness in it, that do me good. I will endeavor to repay you in notes of sorrow and despondence, though all my sprightly chords seem broken. In truth, one day excepted, I have not seen the day when I have been cheerful since I left you. My spirits, I think, are almost constantly lower than they were; the approach of winter is perhaps the cause, and if it be, I have nothing better to expect for a long time to come. I began a long letter to you yesterday, and proceeded through two sides of the sheet, but so much of my nervous fever found its way into it, that, looking over it this morning, I determined not to send it. Your wishes to disperse my melancholy would, I am sure, prevail, did that event depend on the warmth and sincerity with which you frame them; but it has baffled both wishes and prayers, and those the most fervent that could be made, so many years, that the case seems hopeless."

These frequent, and, indeed, almost continual attacks of depression, combined with the attention that Cowper paid to promote the comfort, and facilitate the recovery of Mrs. Unwin, prevented him entirely from persevering in his literary undertaking. In his letters he makes this a subject of particular regret. The benefits he had derived from his regular habits of study during his translation of Homer, made him anxious to be again regularly employed. To his friend Mr. Rose he thus describes the state of his mind in this respect:—"I wish that I were as industrious, and as much occupied as you, though in a different way, but it is not so with me. Mrs. Unwin's great debility is of itself a hinderance, such as would effectually disable me. Till she can work and read, and fill up her time as usual, (all which is at present entirely out of her power,) I may now and then find time to write a letter, but I shall write nothing more. I cannot sit, with my pen in my hand, and my books before me, while she is in effect, in solitude, silent, and looking at the fire. To this hinderance that other has been added, of which you are aware, a want of spirits, such as I have never known when I was not absolutely laid by, since I commenced an author. How long I shall be continued in these uncomfortable circumstances is known only to Him, who, as he will, disposes of us all.

"I may yet be able, perhaps, to prepare the first book of Paradise Lost for the press, before it will be wanted, and Johnson himself seems to think there will be no haste for the second. But poetry is my favorite employment, and my poetical operations are in the meantime suspended; for while a work, to which I have bound myself, remains unaccomplished, I can do nothing else. Johnson's plan of prefixing my phiz to the edition of my poems is by no means a pleasant one to me, and so I told him in a letter I sent him from Eartham, in which I assured him that my objections to it would not be easily surmounted. But, if you judge that it may really have an effect in advancing the sale, I would not be so squeamish as to suffer the spirit of prudery to prevail on me to his disadvantage. Somebody told an author, I forget whom, that there was more vanity in refusing his picture than in granting it, on which he instantly complied. I do not perfectly feel all the force of the argument, but it shall content me that he did."

To his kinsman he writes:—"The successor of the clerk defunct, for whom I used to write, arrived here this morning, with a recommendatory letter from Joe Rye, and an humble petition of his own, entreating me to assist him, as I had assisted his predecessor. I have undertaken the service, although with no little reluctance, being involved in many arrears on other subjects, and very little dependence at present on my ability to write at all. I proceed exactly as when you were here—a letter now and then before breakfast, and the rest of my time all holiday, if holiday it may be called, that is spent chiefly in moping and musing, and '*forecasting the fashion of uncertain evils.*' The fever on my spirits has harassed me much, and I have never had so good a night, nor so quiet a rising, since you went, as on this very morning. A relief that I account particularly seasonable and propitious, because I had, in my intentions, devoted this morning to you, and could not have fulfilled those intentions,

had I been as spiritless as I generally am. I am glad that Johnson is in no haste for Milton, for I seem myself not likely to address myself presently to that concern with any prospect of success, yet something, now and then, like a secret whisper, assures and encourages me that it will yet be done."

To his friend Hayley he thus writes:—"Yesterday was a day of assignation with myself, a day of which I had said, some days before it came, when that day comes, I will, if possible, begin my dissertations. Accordingly, when it came, I prepared to do so; filled a letter case with fresh paper, furnished myself with a pretty good pen, and replenished my ink bottle; but partly from one cause, and partly from another, chiefly, however, from distress and dejection, after writing and obliterating about six lines, in the composition of which I spent near an hour, I was obliged to relinquish the attempt. An attempt so unsuccessful could have no other effect than to dishearten me, and it has had that effect to such a degree, that I know not when I shall find courage to make another. At present I shall certainly abstain from it, since I cannot well afford to expose myself to the danger of a fresh mortification."

Adverting to this subject, he thus again writes to Mr. Hayley, 25th November, 1792:—"How shall I thank you enough for the interest you take in my future Miltonic labors, and the assistance you promise me in the performance of them? I will some time or other, if I live, and live a poet, acknowledge your friendship in some of my best verses—the most suitable return one poet can make another; in the mean time, I love you, and am sensible of all your kindness. You wish me warm in my work, and I ardently wish the same, but when I shall be so, God only knows. My melancholy, which seemed a little alleviated for a few days, has gathered about me again, with as black a cloud as ever; the consequence is, absolute incapacity to begin. Yet I purpose, in a day or two, to make another attempt, to which, however, I shall address myself with fear and trembling, like a man, who having sprained his wrist, dreads to use it. I have not, indeed, like such a man, injured myself by any extraordinary exertion, but seem as much enfeebled as if I had. The consciousness that there is so much to do, and nothing done, is a burden I am not able to bear. Milton, especially, is my grievance, and I might almost as well be haunted by his ghost, as goaded with continual reproaches for neglecting him. I will therefore begin; I will do my best, and if, after all, that best prove good for nothing, I will even send the notes, worthless as they are, that I have already—a measure very disagreeable to myself, and to which nothing but necessity shall compel me."

To his friend, Mr. Newton, who had ventured to express his apprehension lest his Miltonic labors should become too severe, he thus writes, 9th December, 1792:—"You need not be uneasy on the subject of Milton; I shall not find that labor too heavy for me, if I have health and leisure. The season of the year is unfavorable to me respecting the former, and Mrs. Unwin's present weakness allows me less of the latter than the occasion seems to call for. But the business is in no haste: the artists employed to furnish the embellishments are not likely to be very expeditious: and a small portion only of the work will be wanted from me at once, for the intention is to deal it out to the public piece-meal. I am, therefore, under no great anxiety on that account. It is not, indeed, an employment that I should have chosen for myself, because poetry pleases and amuses me more, and would cost me less labor, properly so called. All this I felt before I engaged with Johnson, and did, in the first instance, actually decline the service, but he was urgent, and at last I suffered myself to be persuaded. The season of the year, as I have already said, is particularly adverse to me, yet not in itself, perhaps, more adverse than any other; but the approach of it always reminds me of the same season in the dreadful seventy-three, and the more dreadful eighty-six. I cannot help terrifying myself with doleful misgivings and apprehensions; nor is the enemy negligent to seize all the advantage that the occasion gives him. Thus, hearing much from him, and having little or no sensible support from God, I suffer inexpressible things till January is over. And even then—whether increasing years have made me more liable to it; or despair, the longer it lasts, grows naturally darker—I find myself more inclined to melancholy than I was a few years since. God only knows where this will end; but where it is likely to end, unless he interpose powerfully in my favor, all may know."

On another occasion, to the same correspondent, he again writes:—"Oh, for the day when your expectations of my final deliverance shall be verified! At present it seems very remote—so distant, indeed, that hardly the faintest streak of it is visible in my horizon. The glimpse with which I was favored about a month ago, has never been repeated, but the depression of my spirits has. The future appears as gloomy as ever, and I seem to myself to be scrambling always in the dark, among rocks and precipices, without a guide, but with an enemy ever at my heels, prepared to push me headlong. Thus I have spent twenty years, but thus I shall not spend twenty years more: long before that period arrives, the grand question concerning my everlasting weal or wo will be decided."

To a lady, with whom he occasionally corresponded, he thus discloses his feelings:—"I would give you consolation, madam, were I not disqualified for that delightful service by a great dearth of it in my own experience. I too often seek, but cannot find it. I know, however, there are seasons when, look which way we will, we see the same dismal gloom enveloping all objects. This is itself an affliction; and the worse, because it makes us think ourselves more unhappy than we are. I was struck by an expression in your letter to Hayley, where you say that you 'will endeavor to take an interest in green leaves again.' This seems the sound of my own voice reflected to me from a distance; I have so often had the same thought and desire. A day scarcely passes, at this season of the year, when I do not contemplate the trees as soon to be stript, and say, 'perhaps I shall never see you clothed again.' Every year, as it passes, makes this expectation more reasonable; and the year with me cannot be very distant, when the event will verify it. Well, may God grant us a good hope of arriving, in due time, where the leaves never fall, and all will be right!"

Notwithstanding his gloomy forebodings, Cowper escaped any very severe attack of depression in his dreaded month of the ensuing January, and as the spring advanced, he became as busily engaged as he had ever been, partly in his Miltonic labors, but chiefly in preparing materials for a second edition of Homer. He had long been carefully revising the work, and had judiciously availed himself of the remarks of his friends, as well as of the criticisms of the reviewers. As soon, therefore, as it was determined to republish it, he made the best use of these materials, and in a few weeks prepared the work a second time for the press, in its new and much improved form. It was, however, thought advisable, in the second edition, to publish notes for the assistance of unlearned readers; and the labor

and research required to furnish these, occasioned Cowper much severe application, as the following extracts will show:—19th March, 1793. "I am so busy every morning before breakfast, strutting and stalking in Homeric stilts, that you must account it an instance of marvellous grace and favor that I write even to you. Sometimes I am seriously almost crazed with the multiplicity of matters before me, and the little or no time that I have for them; and sometimes I repose myself after the fatigue of that distraction, on the pillow of despair—a pillow which has often served me in time of need, and is become, by frequent use, if not very comfortable, at least convenient. So reposed, I laugh at the world and say—Yes, you may gape, and expect both Homer and Milton from me, but I'll be hanged if ever you get them. In Homer, however, you must know I am advanced as far as the fifteenth book of the Iliad, leaving nothing behind that can reasonably offend the most fastidious; and I design him for a new dress as soon as possible, for a reason which any poet may guess if he will but thrust his hand into his pocket. My time, therefore, the little that I have, is now so entirely engrossed by Homer, that I have at this time a bundle of unanswered letters by me, and letters likely to be so. Thou knowest, I dare say, what it is to have a head weary with thinking: mine is so fatigued by breakfast-time, three days out of four, that I am utterly incapable of sitting down to my desk again for any purpose whatever. I rise at six every morning, and fag till near eleven, when I breakfast; the consequence is, that I am so exhausted as to be unable to write when the opportunity offers. You will say, breakfast before you work, and then your work will not fatigue you. I answer, perhaps I might, and your counsel would probably prove beneficial; but I cannot spare a moment for eating in the early part of the morning, having no other time for study: all this time is constantly given to Homer, not to correcting and amending him, for that is all over, but in writing notes. Johnson has expressed a wish for some, that the unlearned may be a little illuminated concerning classical story, and the mythology of the ancients; and his behavior to me has been so liberal, that I can refuse him nothing. Poking into the old Greek commentators, however, blinds me. But it is no matter, I am the more like Homer. I avail myself of Clarke's excellent annotations, from which I select such as I think likely to be useful, or that recommend themselves by the amusement they afford, of which sorts there are not a few. Barnes also affords me some of both kinds, but not so many, his notes being chiefly paraphrastical or grammatical. My only fear is, lest between them both, I should make my work too voluminous."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, written 12th June, 1793, Cowper thus expresses himself respecting the state of his own mind, and that of Mrs. Unwin:—"You promise to be contented with a short line, and a short one you must have, hurried over in the little interval I have happened to find, between the conclusion of my morning task and breakfast. Study has this good effect, at least—it makes me an early riser, a wholesome practice from which I have never swerved since March. The scanty opportunity I have, I shall employ in telling you what you principally wish to be told, the present state of mine and Mrs. Unwin's health. In her I cannot perceive any alteration for the better; and must be satisfied, I believe, as indeed I have great reason to be, if she does not alter for the worse. She uses the orchard-walk daily, but always supported between two, and is still unable to employ herself as formerly. But she is cheerful, seldom in much pain, and has always strong confidence in the mercy and faithfulness of God. As to myself, I have invariably the same song to sing—well in body, but sick in spirit; sick nigh unto death.

> 'Seasons return, but not to me returns
> God, or the sweet approach of heavenly day,
> Or sight of cheering truth, or pardon seal'd,
> Or joy, or hope, or Jesus' face divine,
> But clouds or ——.'

I could easily set my complaint to Milton's tone, and accompany him through the whole passage on the subject of a blindness more deplorable than his; but time fails me."

During this year, several of Cowper's correspondents were visited either with domestic affliction, or with painful bereavements. On such occasions, all the sensibility and sympathy of his peculiarly tender mind never failed to be called into lively exercise. The deep depression of his own mind did not deter him from attempting, at least, to alleviate the distress of others. To Mr. Hayley, who had recently lost a friend, he thus writes:—"I truly sympathize with you under your weight of sorrow, for the loss of our good Samaritan. But be not broken-hearted my friend: remember, the loss of those we love is the condition on which we live ourselves; and that he who chooses his friends wisely, from among the excellent of the earth, has a sure ground to hope concerning them when they die, that a merciful God will make them far happier than they could be here, and that we shall join them soon again: this is solid comfort, could we but avail ourselves of it, but I confess the difficulty of doing so always. Sorrow is like the deaf adder, that hears not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely: and I feel so myself for the death of Austen, that my own chief consolation is that I had never seen him. Live yourself, I beseech you, for I have seen so much of you, that I can by no means spare you, and I will live as long as it shall please God to permit. I know you set some value upon me, therefore let that promise comfort you, and give you not reason to say, like David's servants, 'We know that it would have pleased thee more if all we had died, than this one, for whom thou art inconsolable.' You have still Romney, and Carwardine, and Grey, and me, and my poor Mary, and I know not how many beside—as many I suppose as ever had an opportunity of spending a day with you. He who has the most friends, must necessarily lose the most; and he whose friends are numerous as yours, may the better spare a part of them. It is a changing, transient scene: yet a little while and this poor dream of life will be over with all of us. The living, and they who live unhappy, they are indeed the subjects of sorrow."

To his esteemed friend, Rev. Mr. Hurdis, who, as above related, had lost one beloved sister, and was in great danger of losing another, he thus writes, June, 1793:—"I seize a passing moment, merely to say that I feel for your distresses, and sincerely pity you, and I shall be happy to learn from your next that your sister's amendment has superseded the necessity you feared of a journey to London. Your candid account that your afflictions have broken your spirits and temper, I can perfectly understand, having labored much in that fire myself, and perhaps more than any man. It is in such a school that we must learn, if we ever truly learn it, the natural depravity of the human heart, and of our own in particular, together with the consequence that necessarily follows such wretched premises—our indispensable need of the atonement, and our inexpressible obligations to Him who made it. This reflection cannot escape a thinking mind, looking back on those ebullitions of fretfulness and impatience to which it has yielded in a season of great affliction."

Early in the spring of this year, 1793, Cowper's esteemed relative, Rev. John Johnson, after much mature and solemn deliberation, had resolved to take holy orders. Cowper had always regarded him with the most paternal affection, and had wished that he should enter upon the important office of a Christian minister, with a high sense of the greatness of the work, and with suitable qualifications for a proper discharge of its solemn duties. In accordance with these wishes, when Mr. Johnson, in a previous year, had relinquished his intentions of taking orders at that time, Cowper had thus addressed him :—"My dearest of all Johnnys, I am not sorry that your ordination is postponed. A year's learning and wisdom, added to your present stock, will not be more than enough to satisfy the demands of your function. Neither am I sorry that you find it difficult to fix your thoughts to the serious point at all times. It proves, at least, that you attempt, and wish to do it, and these are good symptoms. Wo to those who enter on the ministry of the gospel without having previously asked, at least, from God, a mind and spirit suited to their occupation, and whose experience never differs from itself, because they are always alike vain, light, and inconsiderate. It is therefore matter of great joy to me to hear you complain of levity, as it indicates the existence of anxiety of mind to be freed from it."

The gratification it afforded Cowper to find that his beloved relative entered into the ministry with scriptural views and feelings is thus expressed :—"What you say of your determined purpose, with God's help, to take up the cross, and despise the shame, gives us both great pleasure : in our pedigree is found one, at least, who did it before you. Do you the like, and you will meet him in heaven, as sure as the Scripture is the word of God. The quarrel that the world has with evangelical men and doctrines, they would have with a host of angels in human form, for it is the quarrel of owls with sunshine ; of ignorance with divine illumination. The Bishop of Norwich has won my heart by his kind and liberal behavior to you, and if I knew him I would tell him so. I am glad that your auditors find your voice strong, and your utterance distinct ; glad, too, that your doctrine has hitherto made you no enemies. You have a gracious Master, who, it seems, will not suffer you to see war in the beginning. It will be a wonder, however, if you do not find out, sooner or later, that sore place in every heart, which can ill endure the touch of apostolic doctrine. Somebody will smart in his conscience, and you will hear of it. I say not this to terrify you, but to prepare you for what is likely to happen, and which, troublesome as it may prove, is yet devoutly to be wished ; for, in general, there is little good done by preachers till the world begins to abuse them. But understand me right. I do not mean that you should give them unnecessary provocation, by scolding and railing at them, as some, more zealous than wise, are apt to do. That were to deserve their anger. No: there is no need of it. The self-abasing doctrines of the gospel will, of themselves, create you enemies ; but remember this for your comfort—they will also, in due time, transform them into friends, and make them love you as if they were your own children. God give you many such : as, if you are faithful to his cause, I trust he will."

About this time, Mr. Hayley appears to have applied to Cowper for his assistance, in a joint literary undertaking of some magnitude, with himself and two other distinguished literary characters. Anxious, however, as Cowper was on all occasions to oblige his friend, he could not give his consent to this measure. His reply, given partly in poetry and partly in prose while it shows the peculiar state of his mind, exhibits, at the same time, so much of that amiable modesty by which he was always distinguished, that it cannot be read without interest.

"Dear architect of fine *chateaux* in air,
Worthier to stand for ever if they could,
Than any built of stone, or yet of wood,
For back of royal elephant to bear!
Oh, for permission from the skies to share,
Much to my own, though little to thy good,
With thee (not subject to the jealous mood!)
A partnership of literary ware!
But I am bankrupt now, and doomed henceforth
To drudge in descant dry, on other's lays—
Bards, I acknowledge, of unequall'd worth!
But what is commentator's happiest praise?
That he has furnished lights for other eyes,
Which they who need them use, and then despise.

"What remains for me to say on this subject, my dear brother, I will say in prose. There are other impediments to the plan you propose, which I could not comprise within the bounds of a sonnet. My poor Mary's infirm condition makes it impossible for me, at present, to engage in a work such as you propose. My thoughts are not sufficiently free; nor have I, nor can I, by any means find opportunity; added to it, comes a difficulty which, though you are not at all aware of it, presents itself to me under a most forbidding appearance. Can you guess it? No, not you: neither, perhaps, will you be able to imagine that such a difficulty can possibly exist. If your hair begins to bristle, stroke it down again; for there is no need why it should erect itself. It concerns me, not you. I know myself too well not to know that I am nobody in verse, unless in a corner and alone, and unconnected in my operations. This is not owing to want of love to you, my brother, or the most consummate confidence in you —I have both in a degree that has not been exceeded in the experience of any friend you have or ever had. But I am so made up—I will not enter into a philosophical analysis of my strange constitution, in order to detect the true cause of the evil; but, on a general view of the matter, I suspect that it proceeds from that shyness which has been my effectual and almost total hinderance on many other important occasions, and which I should feel, I well know, on this, to a degree that would perfectly cripple me. No! I shall neither do nor attempt any thing of consequence more, unless my poor Mary get better; nor even then, unless it should please God to give me another nature. I could not thus act in concert with any man, not even with my own father or brother, were they now alive! Small game must serve me at present, and till I have done with Homer and Milton. The utmost that I aspire to, and Heaven knows with how feeble a hope, is to write, at some future and better opportunity, when my hands are free, *The Four Ages*. Thus I have opened my heart unto thee." On another occasion he thus plaintively writes:—"I find that much study fatigues me, which is a proof that I am somewhat stricken in years. Certain it is, that ten or sixteen years ago I could have done as much, and did actually do much more, without suffering the least fatigue, than I can possibly accomplish now. How insensibly old age steals on us, and how often it is actually arrived before we suspect it! Accident alone; some occurrence that suggests a comparison of our former with our present selves, affords the discovery. Well, it is always good to be undeceived, especially in an article of such importance."

To a person less intimately acquainted with Cowper than Mr. Hayley was, the above reply would have been amply sufficient to have prevented him from making any further application of a similar nature. He, however, was not to be thus easily di-

verted from his purpose. Of the talents of Cowper he had justly formed the highest opinion, and had wisely concluded, that if they could only be again brought fairly and fully into exercise, in the composition of original poetry, the result would be every thing that could be wished. Immediately, therefore, on receiving the above letter, he proffered Cowper his own assistance, and the assistance of two other esteemed friends, in composing the projected poem, "The Four Ages," and proposed that it should be their joint production. His principal object was, unquestionably, to induce Cowper to employ his unrivalled talents. The pleasure he anticipated in having such a coadjutor, gratifying as it must have been to his feelings, was only a secondary consideration. Averse as Cowper was to the former proposal, he immediately consented to this, and the following extract will show what were his feelings on the occasion:—"I am in haste to tell you how much I am delighted with your projected quadruple alliance, and to assure you that, if it please God to afford me health, spirits, ability, and leisure, I will not fail to devote them all to the production of my quota in "The Four Ages." You are very kind to humor me as you do, and had need be a little touched yourself with all my oddities, that you may know how to administer to mine. All whom I love do so, and I believe it to be impossible to love heartily those who do not. People must not do me good in *their* way, but in my *own*, and then they do me good indeed. My pride, my ambition, and my friendship for you, and the interest I take in my own dear self, will all be consulted and gratified, by an arm-in-arm appearance with you in public; and I shall work with more zeal and assiduity at Homer; and when Homer is finished, at Milton, with the prospect of such a coalition before me. I am at this moment, with all the imprudence natural to poets, expending nobody knows what, in embellishing my premises, or rather the premises of my neighbor Courtenay, which is more poetical still. Your project, therefore, is most opportune, as any project must needs be, that has so direct a tendency to put money into the pocket of one so likely to want it.

"Ah, brother poet! send me of your shade,
And bid the zephyrs hasten to my aid;
Or, like a worm unearthed at noon, I go,
Despatched by sunshine to the shades below."

It is deeply to be regretted that the pleasing anticipations of both Mr. Hayley and Cowper, respecting this joint production, were never realized. Had this poem been written, it would in all probability, have been equal to any that had ever been published. Cowper was, however, at this time, rapidly sinking into that deep and settled melancholy which it now becomes our painful duty to relate, and in which he continued during the remaining period of his life, notwithstanding the united and indefatigable exertions of his friends to afford him relief.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Hayley's second visit to Weston. Finds Cowper busily engaged. Great apprehensions respecting him. Mrs. Unwin's increasing infirmities. Cowper's feelings on account of it. Vigor of his own mind at this period. Severe attack of depression. Deplorable condition to which he was now reduced. Management of his affairs kindly undertaken by Lady Hesketh. Mr. Hayley's anxieties respecting him. Is invited by Mr. Greathead to pay Cowper another visit. Complies with the invitation. Arrival at Weston. How he is received by Cowper. Inefficiency of the means employed to remove his depression. Handsome pension allowed him by His Majesty. His removal from Weston to Norfolk, under the care of the Rev. J. Johnson. Death of Mrs. Unwin. How it affected Cowper. Recovers sufficiently to resume his application to Homer. Finishes his notes. Letter to Lady Hesketh descriptive of his feelings. Composes some original poems. Translates some of Gay's fables into Latin. Rapid decay of his strength. Last illness. Death.

In the beginning of November, 1793, Mr. Hayley made his second visit to Weston. He found Cowper in the enjoyment of apparent health; and though incessantly employed, either on Homer or Milton, pleasing himself with the society of his young kinsman, from Norfolk, and his esteemed friend Mr. Rose, who had arrived from the seat of Lord Spencer, in Northamptonshire, with an invitation from his Lordship to Cowper and his guests, to pay him a visit. All Cowper's friends strongly recommended him to avail himself of this mark of respect from an accomplished nobleman whom he cordially respected. Their entreaties, however, were entirely in vain; his constitutional shyness again prevailed, and he commissioned his friends, Rose and Hayley, to make an apology to his Lordship, for declining so honorable an invitation.

The manner in which Cowper employed his time during the continuance of his friend Mr. Hayley at Weston, is pleasingly described in the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Courtenay, 4th November, 1793:—"I am a most busy man, busy to a degree that sometimes half distracts me; but if complete distraction be occasioned by having the thoughts too much and too long attached to any single point, I am in no danger of it, with such perpetual whirl are mine whisked about from one subject to another. When two poets meet, there are fine doings, I can assure you. My 'Homer' finds work for Hayley, and his 'Life of Milton' work for me; so that we are neither of us one moment idle. Poor Mrs. Unwin in the mean time sits quiet in her corner, occasionally laughing at us both, and not seldom interrupting us with some question or remark, for which she is continually rewarded by me with a 'hush!' Bless yourself, my dear Catherina, that you are not connected with a poet, especially that you have not two to deal with!"

During Mr. Hayley's visit, he saw, with great concern, that the infirmities of Mrs. Unwin were rapidly sinking her into a state of the most pitiable imbecility. Unable any longer to watch over the tender health of him whom she had guarded for so many years, and unwilling to relinquish her authority, her conduct at this period presented that painful spectacle, which we are occasionally called to witness, of declining nature seeking to retain that power which it knows not how to use nor how to resign. The effect of these increasing infirmities on her whom Cowper justly regarded as the guardian of his life, added to apprehensions which he now began to feel that his increasing expenses, occasioned by Mrs. Unwin's protracted illness, would involve him in difficulties, filled him with the greatest uneasiness; and the depressing influence it had upon his mind, became painfully evident to all his friends. So visibly was such the case, that Mr. Hayley felt fully persuaded that, unless some speedy and important change took place in Cowper's circumstances, his tender mind would inevitably sink under the multiplicity of its cares. To effect this desirable object, as far as was in his power, he embraced the earliest opportunity, after leaving Weston, of having an interview with Lord Spencer, and of stating to him the undisguised condition of the afflicted poet. His lordship entered feelingly into the case, and shortly afterwards mentioned it to his majesty. It was owing to this that his majesty, some time afterwards, granted to Cowper such a pension as was sufficient to secure to him a comfortable competence for the remainder of his life. It is, however, deeply to be regretted that this seasonable and well-merited bounty was not received till the poet's mind was enveloped in that midnight gloom from which it never afterwards wholly emerged.

The increasing infirmities of Mrs. Unwin did not, in the slightest degree, diminish Cowper's regard for her; on the contrary, they seemed rather

to augment it, as the following beautiful poem, written about this time, will show:—

TO MARY.

"The twentieth year is well nigh past
Since first our sky was overcast,
And would that this might be the last,
My Mary!

Thy spirits have a fainter glow;
I see thee daily weaker grow;
'Twas my distress that brought thee low,
My Mary!

Thy needles, once a shining store,
For my sake restless heretofore;
Now rust disused, and shine no more,
My Mary!

For though thou gladly wouldst fulfil
The same kind office for me still,
Thy sight now seconds not thy will
My Mary!

But well thou play'dst the huswife's part,
And all thy threads, with magic art,
Have wound themselves about my heart,
My Mary!

Thy indistinct expressions seem
Like language uttered in a dream;
Yet me they charm whate'er the theme,
My Mary!

Thy silver locks, once auburn bright,
Are still more lovely in my sight
Than golden beams of orient light,
My Mary!

For could I view nor them nor thee,
What sight worth seeing could I see!
The sun would rise in vain for me,
My Mary!

Partakers of thy sad decline,
Thy hands their little force resign,
Yet gently prest, press gently mine,
My Mary!

Such feebleness of limbs thou prov'st,
That now, at every step thou mov'st,
Upheld by two, yet still thou lov'st,
My Mary!

And still to love, though prest with ill,
In wintry age to feel no chill,
With me is to be lovely still,
My Mary!

But, ah! by constant heed I know
How oft the sadness that I show
Transforms thy smiles to looks of wo,
My Mary!

And should my future lot be cast
With much resemblance of the past,
Thy worn-out heart will break at last,
My Mary!"

Cowper retained his admirable powers in their full vigor, during the whole of 1793, and till the middle of January, of the following year. His letters, written subsequently to Mr. Hayley's visit, though but few, afford unquestionable proofs, that his talents had not suffered the slightest diminution. The following extract, in reply to some remarks on a disputed passage in his Homer, will show that his faculties were then unimpaired. To Mr. Hayley, 5th January, 1794, he writes:—"If my old friend would look into my preface, he would find a principle laid down there which perhaps it would not be easy to invalidate, and which, properly attended to, would equally secure a translation from stiffness, and from wildness. The principle I mean is this —'Close, but not so close as to be servile! free, but not so free as to be licentious! A superstitious fidelity loses the spirit, and a loose deviation the sense of the translated author—a happy moderation in either case is the only possible way of preserving both.'

"Imlac, in Rasselas, says—I forget to whom, 'You have convinced me that it is impossible to be a poet.' In like manner, I might say to his Lordship, you have convinced me that it is impossible to be a translator—to be one, on his terms at least, is, I am sure, impossible. On his terms, I would defy Homer himself, were he alive, to translate the Paradise Lost into Greek. Yet Milton had Homer much in his eye when he composed that poem. Whereas, Homer never thought of me, or my translation. There are minutiæ in every language, which, translated into another, would spoil the version. Such extreme fidelity is, in fact, unfaithful. Such close resemblance takes away all likeness. The original is elegant, easy, natural; the copy is clumsy, constrained, and unnatural. To what is this owing? To the adoption of terms not congenial to your purpose, and of a context, such as no man writing an original would make use of. Homer is every thing that a poet should be. A translation of him, so made, will be every thing a translation of Homer should not be; because it will be written in no language under heaven. It will be English, and it will be Greek, and therefore it will be neither. He is the man, whoever he may be, (I do not pretend to be that man myself)—he is the man best qualified as a translator of Homer, who has drenched, and steeped, and soaked himself in the effusions of his genius, till he has imbibed their color to the bone, and who, when he is thus dyed, through and through, distinguishing what is essentially Greek, from what may be habited in English, rejects the former, and is faithful to the latter, as far as the purposes of fine poetry will permit, and no farther; this, I think, may be easily proved. Homer is every where remarkable for ease, dignity, energy of expression, grandeur of conception, and a majestic flow of numbers. If we copy him so closely as to make every one of these excellent properties of his absolutely unattainable, which will certainly be the effect of too close a copy, instead of translating him, we murder him. Therefore, after all that his Lordship has said, I still hold freedom to be an indispensable. Freedom, I mean, with respect to the expression; freedom so limited as never to leave behind the *matter*, but at the same time indulged with a sufficient scope, to secure the spirit, and as much as possible of the manner; I say as much as possible, because an English manner must differ from a Greek one, in order to be graceful, and for this there is no remedy. Can an ungraceful, awkward translator of Homer be a good one? No: but a graceful, easy, natural, faithful version of him—will not that be a good one? Yes. Allow me but this, and I insist upon it, that such a one may be produced on my principles, and can be produced on no other. Reading his Lordship's sentiments over again, I am inclined to think that in all I have said, I have only given him back the same in other terms. He disallows both the absolute *free*, and the absolute *close*; so do I, and if I understand myself, have said so in my preface. He wishes to recommend a medium, though he will not call it so; so do I; only we express it differently. What is it then that we dispute about? I confess my head is not good enough today to discover."

This was almost the last letter Cowper wrote to Mr. Hayley, and, with a very few exceptions, the last that he ever wrote at all. Shortly after he had forwarded this, he experienced a more severe attack of depression than he had ever before felt, which paralyzed all his powers, and continued almost wholly unmitigated, through the remaining period of his life. The situation to which he was now reduced, was deeply affecting; imagination can scarcely picture to itself a scene of wretchedness more truly deplorable. Mrs. Unwin's infirmi-

ties had reduced her to a state of second childhood; a deep-seated melancholy, which nothing could remove, preyed upon Cowper's mind, and caused him to shun the sight of all except the individual who was utterly incapable of rendering him any assistance; his domestic expenses were daily increasing, and as his capabilities of preventing it were now entirely suspended, there was every probability of his being involved in considerable embarrassment. The providence of God, however, which had watched over, and preserved him during the whole of his life, and had appeared on his behalf in several instances of peculiar distress, in a manner truly striking and affecting, did not abandon him in his present painful emergency. Lady Hesketh, his amiable cousin, and favorite correspondent, now generously undertook the arduous task of watching over the melancholy poet and his feeble associate. The painful duties of this important office, which every one who is at all acquainted with the great anxiety of mind required in all cases of mental aberration, will admit to be in no ordinary degree arduous, she discharged with the utmost Christian tenderness and affection. Nor did she discover any disposition to relinquish her charge, though it made considerable inroads upon her health, owing to the confinement and exertion it required, until an opportunity offered of placing these interesting invalids under the care of those whom she knew would feel the greatest pleasure in laying themselves out for their comfort.

Hearing nothing from Cowper for several days beyond the time when he was accustomed to write, Mr. Hayley began to fear that his apprehensions respecting his friend's health were realized. He did not, however, receive the painful intelligence of his relapse until some time afterwards, when he was informed of it by a letter from Lady Hesketh, detailing the particulars of his distressing case. About this time the Rev. Mr. Greathead, with whom Cowper had long been on terms of intimacy, and whom he very highly esteemed, paid him a visit. Such, however, was the distressing state to which Cowper was now reduced, that he refused to see any one, but his own domestics, on whatever friendly terms he might have been with them formerly. The hopes that his friends had cherished of his recovery, in some degree, at least, as the summer advanced, were now entirely cut off; and they were all fully persuaded that unless some improvement took place in the state of his mind, the worst consequences were to be apprehended. The best advice had been taken without the slightest benefit, and the case began to appear altogether hopeless. It occurred to Lady Hesketh that probably the presence of Mr. Hayley would cheer the poet's mind, and rouse him from his present state of almost absolute despair. She suggested this to Mr. Greathead, but said she could not venture to mention the subject in her letters to Mr. Hayley, as it appeared unreasonable to request a person to come so great a distance with so little real chance of success. Mr. Greathead immediately wrote the following letter to Mr. Hayley, on the subject, which describes the melancholy condition to which Cowper was then reduced, and the great anxiety of mind manifested by his friends on his behalf:—

"Dear Sir, Lady Hesketh's correspondence has acquainted you with the melancholy relapse of our dear friend at Weston; but I am uncertain whether you know that within the last fortnight, he has refused food of every kind, except now and then a very small piece of toasted bread, dipped generally in water, sometimes mixed with a little wine. This, her Ladyship informs me, was the case till last Saturday; since then he has eaten a little at each family meal. He persists in refusing to take such medicines as are indispensable to his state of body. In such circumstances his long continuance in life cannot be expected. How devoutly to be wished is the alleviation of his sufferings and distress! You, dear sir, who know so well the worth of our beloved and admired friend, sympathize with us in this affliction, and deprecate his loss doubtless in no ordinary degree. You have already most effectually expressed and proved the warmth of your friendship. I cannot think that any thing but your society would have been sufficient, during the infirmity under which his mind has long been oppressed, to have supported him against the shock of Mrs. Unwin's paralytic attack. I am certain that nothing else could have prevailed upon him to undertake the journey to Eartham. You have succeeded where his other friends knew they could not, and where they apprehended no one could. How natural, therefore, is it, for them to look to you, as most likely to be instrumental, under the blessing of God, to bring him relief in the present distressing and alarming crisis! It is, indeed, not a little unreasonable to ask any person to take such a journey, to witness so melancholy a scene, with an uncertainty of the desired success, increased as the present difficulty is, by dear Mr. Cowper's aversion to all company. On these accounts, Lady Hesketh does not ask it of you, rejoiced as she would be at your arrival. Am not I, dear sir, a very presumptuous person, who, in the face of all opposition, dare do this? I am emboldened by these two powerful supporters —conscience, and experience. Were I at Eartham, I would certainly undertake the journey I have presumed to recommend, for the bare possibility of restoring Mr. Cowper to himself, to his friends, and to the public."

Mr. Hayley was too affectionately attached to Cowper, to hesitate for a moment, what steps he should take on the receipt of this letter. The remotest probability of his being useful to his afflicted friend, was amply sufficient to have induced him to undertake a much longer journey than this, to whatever dangers and inconveniences it might have exposed him. He accordingly made immediate arrangements for a visit to Weston, where he arrived a few days afterwards, with his talented son, a youth of great promise, to whom Cowper was most affectionately attached. Little or no benefit, however, resulted from this visit. The suffering invalid was too deeply overwhelmed by his depressive malady to show even the slightest symptoms of satisfaction at the appearance of one whom he had ever been accustomed to welcome with such affectionate delight. His acute anguish had nearly extinguished all the finest faculties of his mind, and annihilated, at least for a time, all the best affections of his heart. He seemed to shrink from every human creature, and if he allowed any one, except his own domestics, to approach him, it was with so much obvious reluctance and aversion, that no benefit could be expected to arise from the interview. The only exception was in the case of Mr. Hayley's son, in whose company he would occasionally, for a short time, seem pleased; which Mr. Hayley "attributed partly to the peculiar charm which is generally found in the manners of tender ingenuous children; and partly to that uncommon sweetness of character which had inspired Cowper with a degree of parental partiality towards this highly promising youth." The united efforts, however, of both father and son, could not produce the slightest alleviation of Cowper's sufferings.

Shortly after Mr. Hayley's arrival at Weston, Lady Hesketh embraced the opportunity of leaving her interesting invalids for a few days in his charge, that she might, by a personal interview, consult the eminent Dr. Willis, who had prescribed so successfully in the case of his Majesty George the Third,

on the subject of Cowper's malady. Lord Thurlow had written to the doctor in Cowper's behalf, and at his and Lady Hesketh's request, he was induced to visit the interesting sufferer at Weston. Here again, however, the expectations of his friends were greatly disappointed; as the doctor's skill on this occasion proved wholly unsuccessful.

Mr. Hayley remained at Weston for some weeks, exerting all the means that ingenuity could invent, or that affection could dictate, to afford some relief to his suffering friend; he had, however, the mortification to perceive that his well-directed efforts were entirely useless. The circumstances in which Cowper was now placed, were exceedingly unfavorable to mental relief. Associated with one whose daily increasing infirmities were rapidly reducing her to a state of the most affecting imbecility; the constant sight of which was of itself almost sufficient to have produced melancholy in a tender mind like Cowper's, it was hardly probable that, under such circumstances, he should recover from his most depressive malady. And yet to have separated him from the being with whom he had been so long associated, would have been an act of cruelty, which he would not, in all probability, have survived. All that could be done was to mitigate, as much as possible, the sufferings of each individual, and to persevere in the use of such means, as would be most likely, under such circumstances, to promote the poet's recovery, leaving the event at His disposal who, in a manner altogether unexpected, had formerly appeared for him on several distressing occasions.

One morning in April, 1794, while Mr. Hayley was at Weston, musing, as he and Lady Hesketh were sometimes accustomed to do, over the melancholy scene of Cowper's sufferings, with aching and almost broken hearts, at the utter inefficacy of every measure that had been taken to afford him relief, they were suddenly almost overjoyed at the receipt of a letter from Lord Spencer, announcing it to be his Majesty's gracious intention to allow Cowper the grant of such a pension for life as would secure to him an honorable competence. The only subject of regret, at this pleasing circumstance, was that he whom it was chiefly intended to benefit, and who, if he had been free from his depressive malady, would have been gratified in the highest degree at this instance of royal generosity, was in a condition that rendered it impossible for him to receive, even the faintest glimmering of joy on the occasion. It was, however, fondly hoped by his friends, that he would ultimately recover, and that the day would at length arrive, when he would be able gratefully to acknowledge this princely beneficence. Well was it, indeed, for his friends, that they supported their minds by indulging these hopes of amendment. Had they known that he was doomed to pass six years in the same depressed and melancholy condition, with scarcely a single alleviation, and was, at the expiration of that lengthened period, to leave the world under the influence of this midnight gloom, they would themselves have almost become the subjects of despair. Such, however, was the case; and it is doubtful, though Cowper subsequently recovered in some slight degree from his depression, whether he was ever in a condition fully to appreciate the value of his Majesty's grant.

Mr. Hayley's departure from Weston, which was now become to him as much a scene of suffering, as it had formerly been of enjoyment, he thus affectingly records:—"After devoting a few weeks at Weston, I was under the painful necessity of forcing myself away from my unhappy friend, who, though he appeared to take no pleasure in my society, expressed extreme reluctance to let me depart. I hardly ever endured an hour more dreadfully distressing than the hour in which I left him. Yet the anguish of it would have been greatly increased, had I been conscious that he was destined to years of this dark depression, and that I should see him no more. I still indulged the hope, from the native vigor of his frame, that as he had formerly struggled through longer fits of the depressive malady, his darkened mind would yet emerge from this calamitous eclipse, and shine forth again with new lustre. These hopes were considerably increased at a subsequent period: but, alas! they were delusive! for though he recovered sufficient command of his faculties to write a few occasional poems, and to retouch his 'Homer,' yet the prospect of his perfect recovery was never realized; and I had beheld the poet of unrivalled genius, the sympathetic friend, and the delightful companion, for the last time!"

Cowper remained in the same most distressing state, from the time of Mr. Hayley's departure, which was in the spring of 1794, till the summer of 1795. During the whole of this time, he was most affectionately watched over by his amiable cousin; she procured for him the best medical advice, and employed every means that promised the slightest chance of proving beneficial. All these, however, were ineffectual to lighten that ponderous burden which incessantly pressed upon and weighed down his spirits. He had now been eighteen months in this deplorable state, and, instead of becoming better, if any alteration had taken place at all, it was evidently for the worse. Lady Hesketh's health was beginning to fail, owing to the intense anxiety of mind she had experienced for so long a period; and it became at length desirable to try what effect a change of air and of scene would have upon him. Almost all his friends recommended this measure, which was no sooner determined upon, than his highly esteemed relative of Norfolk, the Reverend J. Johnson, who had been several weeks at Weston, assisting Lady Hesketh, voluntarily and generously undertook the charge of both these suffering but interesting individuals. Their removal from Weston to North Tuddenham, in Norfolk, took place under the immediate guidance of Mr. Johnson, on the 28th of July, 1795. They performed their journey in safety and ease in three days. Here they were accommodated with a commodious parsonage-house, by the kindness of the Rev. Leonard Shelford, with whom Mr. Johnson had previously made arrangements for their reception, fearing lest the activity and bustle that occasionally prevailed in the vicinity of his own house, situated in the market-place at East-Dereham, should harass and perplex the tender mind of Cowper.

They continued in their new residence only a very short time. In the following August Mr. Johnson conducted them to Mundesley, a village on the Norfolk coast, hoping that a situation by the sea-side might prove amusing to Cowper, and become ultimately the means of reviving his spirits. Here they remained till the following October, without appearing to derive any benefit whatever. While in this situation Cowper, who had long discontinued all correspondence with his friends, ventured to write the following letter to the Reverend Mr. Buchanan, which, while it shows the melancholy depression under which he still labored, proves that he was not without some occasional intermissions of pleasure:—"I will forget for a moment that, to whomsoever I may address myself, a letter from me can no otherwise be welcome than as a curiosity. To you, Sir, I address this, urged to it by extreme penury of employment, and the desire I feel to learn something of what is doing, and has been done, at Weston (my beloved Weston,) since I left it.

"The coldness of these blasts, even in the hottest days, has been such, that, added to the irritation of the salt spray, with which they are always charged, they have occasioned me an inflammation of the eyelids, which threatened, a few days since, to confine me entirely; but by absenting myself as much as possible from the beach, and guarding my face with an umbrella, that inconvenience is in some degree abated. My chamber commands a very near view of the ocean, and the ships, at high water, approach the coast so closely, that a man, furnished with better eyes than mine, might, I doubt not, discern the sailors from the window. No situation, at least when the weather is clear, can be more pleasant; which you will easily credit, when I add, that it imparts something a little resembling pleasure, even to me. Gratify me with news of Weston! If Mr. Gregor, and your neighbors the Courtenays, are there, mention me to them in such terms as you see good. Tell me, if my poor birds are living? I never see the herbs I used to give them, without a recollection of them, and sometimes am ready to gather them, forgetting that I am not at home."

In the beginning of October, 1795, Mr. Johnson took the two interesting invalids to his own residence at Dereham, where they remained about a month, when they removed to Dunham Lodge, which was then unoccupied, and was pleasantly situated in a park, a few miles from Swaffham, and which from that time became their settled residence. Here they were constantly attended by two of the most interesting females that could possibly have been selected, Miss Johnson and Miss Perowne. The latter took so lively an interest in Cowper's welfare, and exerted so much ingenuity, in attempting to produce some alleviation of his sufferings, that he ever afterwards honored her with his peculiar regard, and preferred her attendance to that of every other individual by whom he was surrounded; and she continued her kind attention to him to the close of his life. The providence of God (as Mr. Hayley justly remarks) was strikingly displayed towards Cowper, in supplying him with attendants, during the whole of his life, peculiarly suited to the exigencies of mental dejection.

Cowper's melancholy depression still remained unalleviated. In June, 1795, however, an incident occurred, which for a time, though it removed not his dejection, revived the spirits of his friends, and cheered them with the hope of his ultimate recovery. Mr. Johnson invariably procured copies of all such new publications as were likely to interest the mind of Cowper; and as Cowper had discontinued the use of his pen, and manifested considerable disinclination to read himself, Mr. Johnson kindly undertook to read these publications to his relative whenever suitable opportunities offered. About this time, Mr. Wakefield published his edition of Pope's Homer. It occurred to Mr. Johnson, who always readily embraced the slightest incident that seemed likely to diminish the anguish of his afflicted relative, that this work might probably excite the poet's attention sufficiently to rouse him, in some degree, from his dejection. He immediately, therefore, procured a copy, and ingeniously placed it in a conspicuous part of a large unfrequented room, through which he knew Cowper would have to pass, in his way from Mrs. Unwin's apartments, and in which, he was aware, it was Cowper's practice, daily, to take some turns, observing previously to his afflicted relative, that the work contained some occasional comparison of Pope with Cowper. The plan succeeded far beyond Mr. Johnson's expectation: to his agreeable surprise, he discovered, the next day, that Cowper had not only found the passages to which he had adverted, but had corrected his translation at the suggestion of some of them. Perceiving that the poet's attention was arrested, it was vigilantly cherished by the utmost efforts of Mr. Johnson; and from that time Cowper regularly engaged in a revisal of his own version, and for some weeks produced almost sixty new lines a-day. He continued this occupation so steadily, and with so much deliberation, that all his friends began to rejoice at the prospect of his almost immediate recovery. Their hopes, however, were of short duration. In a few weeks he again relapsed into the same state of hopeless depression. In the ensuing autumn, Mr. Johnson again made trial of a change of air and scene, and removed the family to the delightful village of Mundesley. No apparent benefit, however, resulted from this change, and towards the close of October, 1796, it was thought desirable to remove the family to Mr. Johnson's house at Dereham, and to remain there during the winter, as the Lodge was at too great a distance from Mr. Johnson's churches.

In the following December, it became evident that Mrs. Unwin's life was rapidly drawing to a close; she had been gradually sinking for a considerable time; and on the seventeenth day of this month, in the 72d year of her age, she peacefully, and without a groan, or a sigh, resigned her happy spirit into the hands of God. Her life had been eminently distinguished by the most fervent and unaffected piety, which she had displayed in circumstances the most trying and afflicting, and her end was peace. The day before she expired, Cowper, as he had long been accustomed to do at regular periods, spent a short time with his afflicted and long-tried friend; and though to his inmates he appeared so absorbed in his own mental anguish, as to take little, if any, notice of her condition, it was evident afterwards that he clearly perceived how fast she was sinking; for, as a faithful servant of himself and his afflicted friend, was opening the window of his chamber the following morning, he addressed her in a tone the most plaintive and affecting, "Sally, is there life above stairs?" a convincing proof that the acuteness of his own anguish had not prevented him from bestowing great attention to the sufferings of his aged friend. He saw her, for the last time, about an hour before she expired; and, notwithstanding the intensity of his own distress, he was much affected, though he clearly perceived that she enjoyed the utmost tranquillity. He saw the corpse once after her decease; and after looking at it attentively for a short time, he suddenly withdrew, under the influence of the strongest emotions. She was buried in Dereham church, on the 23d December, 1796, and a marble tablet was raised to her memory, with the following inscription:

"IN MEMORY OF
MARY,
WIDOW OF THE REV. MORLEY UNWIN,
AND
MOTHER OF THE REV. WILLIAM CAWTHORN UNWIN,
BORN AT ELY, 1724.
BURIED IN THIS CHURCH, 1796.

Trusting in God with all her heart and mind,
This woman proved magnanimously kind,
Endured affliction's desolating hail,
And watched a poet through misfortune's vale,
Her spotless dust, angelic guards defend!
It is the dust of Unwin, Cowper's friend!
That single title in itself is fame,
For all who read his verse revere her name."

Had Cowper been in the enjoyment of health, and had his mind been entirely free from his gloomy forebodings at the time of Mrs. Unwin's decease, so tender and lively were his feelings, that it

would undoubtedly have proved to him one of the severest shocks he had ever experienced. Such, however, was the influence of his melancholy depression, that he never afterwards adverted to the event, even in the most distant way, nor did he even make the slightest inquiries respecting her funeral. A more striking proof of the intense anguish of his own sufferings cannot possibly be given. Dreadful, indeed, must have been those feelings that could have produced an insensibility so great in his tender mind, for the loss of such a friend!

In the summer of 1797, Cowper's health appeared in some measure to improve, and in the following September, at the earnest entreaty of his kinsman, he again resumed the revisal of his Homer; and, notwithstanding the severity of his mental anguish, he persevered in it, with some occasional interruption, till the eighth of May, 1799, on which day he completed the work. It was evidently owing to the rare talents exerted by Mr. Johnson on the mind of Cowper, that he was induced to bring this great work to a successful close. And it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not utterly impossible, to have found an individual who could, with so much tenderness, have exerted an influence so beneficial over the distressed mind of the poet. He was, however, indefatigable in his efforts to divert his mind from the melancholy depression which spread its pernicious influence over his soul. And, during the whole of the summer of 1798, he endeavored, by frequent change of scene, sometimes residing for a week or two at Mundesley, and then returning to Dereham, to restore the mind of his revered relative to its proper tone. And though he had not the satisfaction to see his efforts crowned with complete success, yet he was pleased to perceive them prove in some degree, at least, beneficial to the interesting sufferer. In his sketch of Cowper's life, published in the last edition of the poet's works, he "records it as a subject of much gratitude, that a merciful providence should again have appointed his afflicted relative to the employment alluded to, as, more than any thing else, it diverted his mind from a contemplation of its miseries, and seemed to extend his breathing, which was at other times short, to a depth of respiration more compatible with ease."

The happy means pursued by Mr. Johnson to induce Cowper to complete the revisal of his Homer, and its successful result, ought not to go unrecorded. He thus relates it in the excellent sketch above referred to:—"His kinsman resolved, if it were possible, to reinstate him in the revisal of his Homer. One morning, therefore, after breakfast, in the month of September, 1797, he placed the commentaries on the table one by one, namely, Villoison, Barnes, and Clarke, opening them all, together with the poet's translation, at the place where he had left off a twelvemonth before; but, talking with him as he paced the room, upon a very different subject, namely, the impossibility of the things befalling him, which his imagination had represented; when, as his companion had wished, Cowper said to him, 'And are you sure that I shall be here till the book you are reading is finished.' Quite sure, replied his kinsman, and that you will also be here to complete the revisal of your Homer, pointing to the books, if you will resume it to-day. As he repeated these words, he left the room, rejoicing in the well-known token of their having sunk deep into the poet's mind, namely, his seating himself on the sofa, taking up one of the books, and saying, in a low and plaintive voice, 'I may as well do this, for I can do nothing else.'"

In July, 1798, the Dowager Lady Spencer paid the afflicted poet a visit. Had he been in the enjoyment of health, he would undoubtedly have received her with the greatest respect and affection, and the conversation between them would have been equally pleasing to both parties; such, however, was his melancholy depression, that he seemed not to derive any pleasure from the visit, and on no occasion could he be prevailed upon to converse with his distinguished visitor with any apparent pleasure.

While residing at Mundesley, in October, 1798, Cowper felt himself so far relieved from his depressive malady as to undertake, without solicitation, to write to Lady Hesketh. The following extract from this letter, will show the severity of his mental anguish, even at that period:—"You describe delightful scenes, but you describe them to one, who, if he even saw them, could receive no delight from them, who has a faint recollection, and so faint as to be like an almost forgotten dream, that once he was susceptible of pleasure from such causes. The country that you have had in prospect, has been always famed for its beauties; but the wretch who can derive no gratification from a view of nature, even under the disadvantage of her most ordinary dress, will have no eyes to admire her in any. In one day—in one minute, I should rather have said—she became an universal blank to me, and though from a different cause, yet with an effect as difficult to remove as blindness itself."

Mr. Johnson again removed from Mundesley to Dereham, towards the end of October, and pursuing their journey, on this occasion, with himself, Miss Perowne, and Cowper, in the post-chaise, they were overturned. Cowper discovered no particular alarm on the occasion, and through the blessing of Providence, they all escaped unhurt.

As soon as Cowper had finished the revisal of his Homer, Mr. Johnson laid before him the papers containing the commencement of his projected poem—*The Four Ages*. He, however, declined undertaking it, as a work far too important for him to attempt in his present situation. Several other literary projects, of easier accomplishment, were then suggested to him by his kinsman, who was aware of the great benefit he had derived from employment, and was seriously apprehensive that the want of it would add to his depression: all of them, however, were objected to by the poet, who at length replied, that he had just thought of six Latin verses, and if he could do any thing, it must be in pursuing something of that description. He, however, gratified his friends by occasionally employing the powers of his astonishing mind, which still remained in full vigor, in the composition of some short original poems. In this way he produced the poem entitled Montes Glaciales, founded upon an incident, which he had heard read from a Norwich paper, several months previous; to which, at the time, owing to his depression, he appeared to pay no attention. This poem he afterwards, at the request of Miss Perowne, translated into Latin. Translation was his principal amusement; sometimes from Latin and Greek into English, and occasionally from English into Latin. In this way he translated several of Gay's Fables, and communicated to them, in their new dress, all that ease and vivacity which they have in the original. Thus elegantly employed, he continued, with some intermissions, almost to the close of his life.

The last original poem he composed was entitled *The Cast-away*, and was founded upon an incident, related in Anson's Voyage, of a mariner who was washed overboard in the Atlantic, and lost, which he remembered to have read in that work many years ago, and which, according to the following stanzas, selected from it, he appears to have regarded as an illustration of his own case:—

"Obscurest night involved the sky,
The Atlantic billows roared,
When such a destined wretch as I,
Washed headlong from on board,
Of friends, of hope, of all bereft,
His floating home for ever left.

He long survives who lives an hour
In ocean self-upheld,
And so long he, with unspent power,
His destiny repelled;
And ever, as the minutes flew,
Entreated help, or cry'd 'Adieu!'

No poet wept him, but the page
Of narrative sincere,
That tells his name, his worth, his age,
Is wet with Anson's tear:
And tears, by bards or heroes shed,
Alike immortalize the dead.

I therefore purpose not, or dream,
Descanting on his fate!
To give the melancholy theme
A more enduring date.
But misery still delights to trace
Its semblance in another's case.

No voice divine the storm allay'd,
No light propitious shone,
When snatched from all effectual aid,
We perished, each alone;
But I beneath a rougher sea,
And whelmed in deeper gulfs than he!"

Anxious as all his friends now were, that he should be constantly employed, as this proved the best remedy for his depression, they were frequently pained to see him reduced to a state of hopeless inactivity, owing to the severity of his mental anguish. At these seasons, what suited him best was Mr. Johnson's reading to him, which he was accustomed to do, almost invariably for a length of time, every day. And so industriously had he persevered in this method of relieving the poet's mind, that after having exhausted numerous works of fiction which had the power of attracting his attention, he began to read to his afflicted relative the poet's own works. Cowper evinced no disapprobation to this till the reader arrived at the history of John Gilpin, when he entreated his relative to desist.

It became evident towards the close of 1799, that his bodily strength was rapidly declining, though his mental powers, notwithstanding the unmitigated severity of his depression, remained unimpaired. In January, 1800, Mr. Johnson observed in him many symptoms which he thought very unfavorable. This induced him to call in additional medical advice. His complaint was pronounced to be, not as has been generally stated, dropsical, but a breaking up of the constitution. Remedies however were tried, and he was recommended to take as much gentle exercise as he could bear. To this recommendation he discovered no particular aversion, and Mr. Johnson took him for a ride in a post-chaise as often as circumstances would permit; it was, however, with considerable difficulty he could be prevailed upon to use such medicines as it was thought necessary to employ.

About this time his friend Mr. Hayley wrote to him, expressing a wish that he would new-model a passage in his translation of the Iliad, where mention is made of the very ancient sculpture in which Dædalus had represented the Cretan dance for Ariadne. "On the 31st January," says Mr. Hayley, "I received from him his improved version of the lines in question, written in a firm and delicate hand. The sight of such writing from my long silent friend, inspired me with a lively, but too sanguine hope, that I might see him once more restored. Alas! the verses which I surveyed as a delightful omen of future letters from a correspondent so inexpressibly dear to me, proved the last effort of his pen."

Cowper's weakness now very rapidly increased, and by the end of February it had become so great as to render him incapable of enduring the fatigue of his usual ride, which was hence discontinued. In a few days he ceased to come down stairs, though he was still able, after breakfasting in bed, to adjourn to another room, and to remain there till the evening. By the end of the ensuing March, he was compelled to forego even this trifling exercise. He was now entirely confined to his bed-room; he was, however, still able to sit up to every meal except breakfast.

His friend, Mr. Rose, about this time, paid him a visit. Such, however, was the melancholy change which his complicated maladies had produced upon his mind, that he expressed no pleasure at the arrival of one whom he had previously been accustomed to greet with the most cordial reception. Mr. Rose remained with him till the first week in April, witnessing with much sorrow the sufferings of the afflicted poet, and kindly sympathizing with his distressed relations and friends. Little as Cowper had appeared to enjoy his company, he evinced symptoms of considerable regret at his departure.

Both Lady Hesketh and Mr. Hayley would have followed the humane example of Mr. Rose, in visiting the dying poet, had they not been prevented by circumstances over which they had no control. The health of the former had suffered considerably by her long confinement with Cowper, at the commencement of his last attack, and the latter was detained by the impending death of a darling child.

Mr. Johnson informs us, in his sketch of the poet's life, that, "on the 19th April the weakness of this truly pitiable sufferer had so much increased that his kinsman apprehended his death to be near. Adverting, therefore, to the affliction, as well of body as of mind, which his beloved inmate was then enduring, he ventured to speak of his approaching dissolution as the signal of his deliverance from both these miseries. After a pause of a few moments, which was less interrupted by the objections of his desponding relative than he had dared to hope, he proceeded to an observation more consolatory still—namely, that in the world to which he was hastening, a merciful Redeemer, who had prepared unspeakable happiness for all his children, and therefore for *him* ——. To the first part of this sentence he had listened with composure, but the concluding words were no sooner uttered than his passionately expressed entreaties that his companion would desist from any further observations of a similar kind, clearly proved that though he was on the eve of being invested with angelic light, the darkness of delusion still veiled his spirit."

On the following day, which was Sunday, he revived a little. Mr. Johnson, on repairing to his room, after he had discharged his clerical duties, found him in bed and asleep. He did not, however, leave the room, but remained watching him, expecting he might, on awaking, require his assistance. Whilst engaged in this melancholy office, and endeavoring to reconcile his mind to the loss of so dear a friend, by considering the gain which that friend would experience, his reflections were suddenly interrupted by the singularly varied tone in which Cowper then began to breathe. Imagining it to be the sound of his immediate summons, after listening to it for several minutes, he arose from the foot of the bed on which he was sitting, to take a nearer, and, as he supposed, a last view of

his departing relative, commending his soul to that gracious Saviour, whom, in the fulness of mental health, he had delighted to honor. As he put aside the curtains, Cowper opened his eyes, but closed them again without speaking, and breathed as usual. On Monday he was much worse; though, towards the close of the day, he revived sufficiently to take a little refreshment. The two following days he evidently continued to sink rapidly. He revived a little on Thursday, but, in the course of the night, he appeared exceedingly exhausted: some refreshment was presented to him by Miss Perowne, but, owing to a persuasion that nothing could afford him relief, though without any apparent impression that the hand of death was already upon him, he mildly rejected the cordial with these words, the last he was heard to utter—"*What can it signify?*"

Early on Friday morning, the 25th, a decided alteration for the worse was perceived to have taken place. A deadly change appeared in his countenance. In this insensible state he remained till a few minutes before five in the afternoon, when he gently, and without the slightest apparent pain, ceased to breathe, and his happy spirit escaped from his body, in which, amidst the thickest gloom of darkness, it had so long been imprisoned, and took its flight to the regions of perfect purity and bliss. In a manner so mild and gentle did death make its approach, that though his kinsman, his medical attendant, and three others, were standing at the foot of the bed, with their eyes fixed upon his dying countenance, the precise moment of his departure was unobserved by any.

"From this mournful period," writes Mr. Johnson, "till the features of his deceased friend were closed from his view, the expression which the kinsman of Cowper observed in them, and which he was affectionately delighted to suppose an index of the last thoughts and enjoyments of his soul in its gradual escape from the depths of despondence, was that of calmness and composure, mingled, as it were, with holy surprise."

He was buried in that part of Dereham church, called St. Edmund's Chapel, on Saturday, the 2d May, 1800; and his funeral was attended by several of his relatives. In a literary point of view, his long and painful affliction had ever been regarded as a national calamity; a deep and almost universal sympathy was felt in his behalf; and by all men of learning and of piety, his death was looked upon as an event of no common importance.

As he died without a will, his amiable and beloved relation, Lady Hesketh, kindly undertook to become his administratrix. She raised a tablet monument to his memory, with the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
WILLIAM COWPER, Esq.,
BORN IN HERTFORDSHIRE,
1731.
BURIED IN THIS CHURCH,
1800.

Ye who with warmth the public triumph feel
Of talents, dignified by sacred zeal,
Here, to devotion's bard, devoutly just,
Pay your fond tribute, due to Cowper's dust!
England, exulting in his spotless fame,
Ranks with her dearest sons his favorite name!
Sense, fancy, wit, suffice not all to raise
So clear a title to affection's praise:
His highest honors to the heart belong—
His virtues formed the magic of his song.

The following lines have been kindly handed to the author by a friend, in manuscript. He is not sure they have never been in print, though he rather inclines to think such is the case.

And is the spirit of the Poet fled?
Yes, from its earthly tenement 'tis flown;
And death at length hath added to the dead
The sweetest minstrel that the world has known.

Too nice, too great, his sympathy of soul;
For, oh! his feelings were so much refined,
That sense became impatient of control,
And darkness seized the empire of his mind.

But when Reflection threw her eagle eye
Athwart the gloom of unpropitious fate,
Faith op'd a splendid vista to the sky,
And gave an earnest of a happier state:

To see, whilst sceptics to the effects of chance
Ascribe creation's ever-varying form;
To see distinctly, at the first slight glance,
Who wings the lightning, and who drives the storm

To brush the cobweb follies from the great,
Which Art, with all her sophistry, has spread;
Uphold the honor of a sinking state,
And bid Religion raise her drooping head.

Such were the objects of the enraptured bard,
In such his lucid intervals he passed;
And knowing Virtue was her own reward,
Wooed, and revered, and loved her to the last.

Know, then, that Death has added to his list
As sweet a bard as ever swept a lyre;
In Death's despite his memory shall exist
In numbers pregnant with celestial fire.

Yes, Cowper! with thy own expressive lays,
Lays which have haply many a mind illum'd,
Thy name shall triumph o'er the lapse of days,
And only perish when the world 's consumed!

CHAPTER XVIII.

Description of his person, his manners, his disposition, his piety. His attachment to the Established Church. His attainments. Originality of his poetry. His religious sentiments. The warmth of his friendship. His attachment to the British constitution. His industry and perseverance. Happy manner in which he could console the afflicted. His occasional intervals of enjoyment. Character as a writer. Powers of description. Beauty of his letters. His aversion to flattery, to affectation, to cruelty. His love of liberty, and dread of its abuse. Strong attachment to, and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures. Pleasure with which he sometimes viewed the works of creation. Contentment of his mind. Extract from an anonymous critic. Poetic tribute to his memory.

It is scarcely necessary to add any thing on the subject of Cowper's character, after the ample delineation that has already been given of it in this memoir: we shall, however, subjoin the following brief remarks, which could not so conveniently be introduced in any other part of the narrative.

Cowper was of the middle stature; he had a fine, open, and expressive countenance; that indicated much thoughtfulness, and almost excessive sensibility. His eyes were more remarkable for the expression of tenderness than of penetration. The general expression of his countenance partook of that sedate cheerfulness, which so strikingly characterizes all his original productions, and which never failed to impart a peculiar charm to his conversation. His limbs were more remarkable for strength than for delicacy of form. He possessed a warm temperament; and he says of himself, in a letter to his cousin Mrs. Bodham, dated February 27, 1790, that he was naturally "somewhat irritable," but, if he was, his religious principles had so subdued that tendency, that a near relation, who was intimately acquainted with him the last ten years of his life, never saw his temper ruffled in a single instance.

His manners were generally somewhat shy and reserved, particularly to strangers: when, however, he was in perfect health, and in such society as was quite congenial to his taste, they were perfectly free and unembarrassed; his conversation was unrestrained and

cheerful, and his whole deportment was the most polite and graceful, especially to females, towards whom he conducted himself, on all occasions, with the strictest delicacy and propriety.

Much as Cowper was admired by those who knew him only as a writer, or as an occasional correspondent, he was infinitely more esteemed by his more intimate friends; indeed, the more intimately he was known, the more he was beloved and revered. Nor was this affectionate attachment so much the result of his brilliant talents, as it was of the real goodness of his disposition, and gentleness of his conduct.

Cowper was emphatically, in the strictest and most scriptural sense of the term, *a good man*. His goodness, however, was not the result of mere effort, unconnected with Christian principles, nor did it arise from the absence of those evil dispositions of which all have reason, more or less, to complain; on the contrary, all his writings prove that he felt and deplored the existence of evil affections, and was only able to suppress them by a cordial reception of the gospel of Christ, and the diligent use of those means enforced under that pure and self-denying dispensation. Nor was the goodness of Cowper a mere negative goodness, inducing him only to avoid doing evil; it is evident, from many passages, both from his poetic and prose productions, that he ever looked upon his talents, not as his own, but as belonging to Him from whom he had received them. Under the influence of this impression, all his best and most important original productions were unquestionably written. Desirous of communicating to his fellow-men the same invaluable benefits which he had himself received from the simple yet sublime truths of Christianity, and incapable of attempting it in any other way than that of becoming an author, he took up his pen and produced those unrivalled poems, which, while they delight the mere literary reader for their elegance, beauty, and sublimity, are no less interesting to the Christian for the accurate and striking delineations of real religion, with which they abound. As long as the English language exists, they will most eagerly be sought after, both by the scholar and by the Christian.

Cowper was warmly attached to the religion of the established church, in which he had been trained up, and which, like his friend Mr. Newton, he calmly and deliberately preferred to any other. His attachment, however, was not that of the narrow-minded bigot which blinds the mind to the excellencies of every other religious community; on the contrary, it was the attachment of the firm and steady friend of religious liberty, in the most liberal sense of the term. Of a sectarian spirit he was ever the open and avowed opponent. He sincerely and very highly respected the conscientious of all parties. In one of his letters to Mr. Newton, adverting to a passage in his writings that was likely to expose him to the charge of illiberality, he thus writes. "When I wrote the passage in question, I was not at all aware of any impropriety in it. I am however, glad you have condemned it; and though I do not feel as if I could presently supply its place, shall be willing to attempt the task, whatever labor it may cost me; and rejoice that it will not be in the power of the critics, whatever else they may charge me with, to accuse me of bigotry, or a design to make a certain denomination odious at the hazard of the public peace. I had rather my book should be burnt, than a single line guilty of such tendency should escape me."

Cowper's attainments as a scholar were highly respectable; he was master of four languages, besides his own: Greek, Latin, Italian, and French; and though his reading was by no means so extensive as that of some, it was turned to better account, as he was a most thoughtful and attentive reader, and it was undoubtedly amply sufficient for every purpose, with a genius so brilliant, and a mind so original as his.

The productions of Cowper were eminently and entirely his own; he had neither borrowed from, nor imitated any one. He copied from none, either as to his subjects, or the manner of treating them. All was the creation of his own inventive genius. Adverting to this circumstance, in one of his letters, he thus writes:—"I reckon it among my principal advantages as a composer of verses, that I have not read an English poet these thirteen years, and but one these twenty years. Imitation even of the best models is my aversion; it is a servile and mechanical trick, that has enabled many to usurp the name of author, who could not have written at all, if they had not written upon the pattern of some original. But when the ear and the taste have been much accustomed to the style and manner of others, it is almost impossible to avoid it, and we imitate, in spite of ourselves, just in the same proportion as we admire." Cowper's mode of expressing his thoughts is entirely original: his blank verse is not the blank verse of Milton, or of any other poet. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are all of his own growth, without transcription, and without imitation. If he thinks in a peculiar train, it is always as a man of genius, and what is better still, as a man of ardent and unaffected piety. His predecessors had circumscribed themselves, both in the choice and management of their subjects, by the observance of a limited number of models, who were thought to have exhausted all the legitimate resources of the art. "But Cowper," says a great modern critic, "at once ventured to cross this enchanted circle, and thus regained the natural liberty of invention, and walked abroad in the open field of observation as freely as those by whom it was originally trodden. He passed from the imitation of poets to the imitation of nature, and ventured boldly upon the representation of objects that none before him had imagined could be employed in poetic imagery. In the ordinary occupations, occurrences, and duties of domestic life, he found a multitude of subjects for ridicule and reflection, for pathetic and picturesque description, for moral declamation and devotional rapture, that would have been looked upon with disdain or despair by all his predecessors. He took as wide a range in language too, as in matter; and shaking off the tawdry encumbrance of that poetical diction which had nearly reduced poetry to a skilful collection of a set of appropriated phrases, he made no scruple to set down in verse every expression that would have been admitted in prose; and to take advantage of all the varieties and changes of which our language is susceptible."

It has been justly remarked, "that between the poetry of Cowper and that of Dryden and Pope, and some of their successors, there is an immense difference. It would be easy to show how little he owed to his immediate forerunners, and how much his immediate followers have been indebted to him. All the cant phrases, all the technicalities of the former school, he utterly threw away; and by his rejection of them, they became obsolete. He boldly adopted cadences of verse unattempted before, which, though frequently uncouth, and sometimes scarcely reducible to rhyme, were not seldom ingeniously significant, and signally energetic. He feared not to employ colloquial, philosophical, judicial idioms, and forms of argument and illustration, which enlarged the vocabulary of poetical terms, less by recurring to obsolete ones, than by hazardous, and generally happy innovations of his own invention, which have since become dignified by usage; but which Pope and his imitators durst not have touched. The eminent adventurous revivers of English poetry, about thirty years ago, Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, in their blank verse, trod directly in the steps of Cowper; and, in their early productions at least, were each in a measure what he had made them. Cowper may be legitimately styled the father of this triumvirate, who are, in truth, the living fathers of an innumerable company of modern poets, whom no ingenuity can well classify and arrange."

The poetry of Cowper is in the highest degree deserving the honorable appellation of *Christian poetry*. He consecrated his muse to the service of that pure and self-denying religion, taught by Christ and his apostles. In this respect his poems differed from the productions of any writers that had then appeared, with the exception of Milton and Young. Both these individuals, though they wrote on religious subjects, yet in all probability wrote principally for fame: with Cowper, however, the desire of doing good predominated over every other feeling; and the hope of emolument, nay, even the love of fame itself, was looked upon as subordinate to this great object, the last to which poets generally pay any consideration. To Young, Cowper was evidently superior, in every thing that constitutes real poetic excellence: and equal to Milton in the ease and elegance of his compositions, and in the vivacity and beauty of his imagery, though seldom, and perhaps never, rising to that majestic sublimity to which the author of Paradise Lost sometimes soared, and in which he stands unrivalled among modern, if not among ancient poets. Milton's matchless poem is a most sublime description of the great facts of the Christian system; every line of it fills the reader with surprise. Hurried on through a profusion of imagery splendid and grand, and never inelegant, tawdry, or ungraceful, the mind be-

comes astonished, and is much more powerfully affected than the heart. We look in vain for those touching appeals to the affections with which Cowper's poetry abounds, which come home to the bosoms and hearts of all.

"Poet and Saint, to him is justly given,
The two most sacred names of earth and heaven."

In the productions of Milton and Young, there is not much of practical, and still less of experimental, piety. They confined themselves chiefly to the theory of religion. Cowper, on the contrary, whose views of the great leading truths of Christianity were equally, if not more comprehensive, describes, with unequalled simplicity and beauty, those less splendid, but not less useful, parts of religion, which his predecessors had left almost untouched: hence the superiority of his muse to theirs in these respects. No uninspired orator ever so happily and so strikingly described the operations of Divine grace upon the human soul. The gospel had come home to him, not in word only, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and in power. He not only possessed a comprehensive knowledge of the Christian system, which enabled him, whenever he had occasion for it, to describe and illustrate, with all the force and beauty of poetic enchantment, that solid foundation on which the Christian builds his hopes, but he had himself felt the astonishing efficacy of these truths on the heart, when truly and cordially received. This accounts for the unrivalled felicity with which he describes the happy influence of Christianity in all cases where it is rightly embraced, unless, as in his own case, its influence be prevented by some unaccountable bodily distemper. Treating the great peculiarities of the Christian system—the depravity of man—the necessity of regeneration—the efficacy of the atonement—access to God, through the Divine Spirit—justification by faith, with others of a like kind, not merely as subjects of inquiry, but as things which had been to him matters of actual experience, it is no wonder that his muse sometimes carried him to a depth of Christian feeling, unsung, and even unattempted before. As he himself, in his poem on Charity, beautifully sings—

"When one that holds communion with the skies
Has fill'd his urn, where these pure waters rise,
And once more mingles with us meaner things,
'Tis e'en as if an angel shook his wings;
Immortal fragrance fills the circuit wide,
That tells us whence his treasures are supplied."

"Cowper," as Mr. Hayley justly observes, "accomplished as a poet, the sublimest object of poetic ambition—he has dissipated the general prejudice that held it hardly possible for a modern author to succeed in sacred poetry. He has proved that verse and devotion are natural allies. He has shown that true poetical genius cannot be more honorably or more delightfully employed than in diffusing through the heart and mind of man a filial affection for his Maker, with a firm and cheerful trust in his word. He has sung in a strain, in some degree at least equal to the great subject, the blessed advent of the Messiah; and perhaps it will not be saying too much, to assert that his poetry will have no inconsiderable influence in preparing the world for the cordial reception of all the rich blessings which this event was intended to introduce."

Up to the period when Cowper's productions were given to the world, it was foolishly imagined impossible successfully to employ the graces and beauties of poetry on the side of virtue. A great modern critic had inconsiderately declared that "contemplative piety cannot be poetical." Had he asserted only, that it had very rarely been so, the assertion would not have been unjust. It would, indeed, have coincided with the views entertained by Cowper himself; for, of his predecessors' productions, with few exceptions, no one could have formed a more correct opinion, as will appear by the following lines:

"Pity religion has so seldom found
A skilful guide into poetic ground!
The flowers would spring where'er she deigned to stray,
And every muse attend her in her way.
Virtue indeed meets many a rhyming friend,
And many a compliment politely penned;
But unattired in that becoming vest
Religion weaves for her, and half undressed,
Stands in the desert, shivering and forlorn,
A wintry figure, like a withered thorn."

This censure, severely as it may fall on most of Cowper's predecessors, is not unjust. His muse, however, was the first to show that poetry may be made the handmaid to religion. When he gave to the world the productions of his unrivalled pen, they saw, indeed,

———"a bard all fire,
Touched with a coal from heaven, assume the lyre,
And tell the world, still kindling as he sung,
With more than mortal music on his tongue,
That he who died below, and reigns above,
Inspires the song, and that his name was love."

Cowper's religious sentiments were undoubtedly Calvinistic, and though his views of divine truth were generally unexceptionable, they were sometimes rather strongly tinged with the peculiarities of that system. On no occasion, however, that comes within our recollection, do we find him speaking of the character of God in such terms as would lead any, who were sincerely desirous of approaching Him in the way of his own appointment, to doubt of gracious reception at his hands. His own case, indeed, must be excepted, as his melancholy depression ever led him to regard himself as a solitary instance of the rejection of God and of the reversal of his decree. It could seldom, if ever, be inferred from any of his representations, that he thought the Divine Being, by the mere excercise of his sovereignty, continued any of his creatures, except, indeed, it were himself, in a state of suffering in the present life, or placed them beyond the means of escaping from misery in the future. His views of the atonement, and of the infinite extent of its efficacy, were such as led him, whenever he had occasion to advert to it, to represent it truly, as a solid ground of hope and comfort, to every converted sinner, whatever might have been his character. He felt an entire conviction that he whose infinite compassion had prompted him to make provision for the restoration of fallen man to his favor, intended it to be universally beneficial; and that the perverseness and obstinacy of men were the only reasons why it was not so. That he should have regarded his own case as an exception, and should, consequently, have passed the greater part of his life in the bitterness of despair, is a difficulty which we are persuaded will, in the present life, for ever remain unaccounted for. To assert, as some have done, on no other foundation than that of mere opinion, that had he not been religious he would never have been melancholy, is utterly at variance with all the leading facts of his history. To every well regulated mind, it will be abundantly evident, that, whatever reasons may be assigned for the affecting peculiarity of his case, the deep concern he felt for religion could never have been the cause. On the contrary, it will appear clearly to have been much more likely to become the best preventive, as, in fact, the events of his life prove it to have been, though, owing to some unaccountable organic conformation, much less completely than might have been hoped.

No person was ever more alive to the benefits of real friendship, or had ever formed more correct conceptions of its obligations and delights. His inimitable stanzas, on this most interesting subject, which are perhaps superior to any thing that has ever been written upon it, prove incontestibly that he understood what were its indispensable prerequisites, and his whole conduct through life shows that he felt the full force of that friendship which he so admirably described. It is difficult to make extracts from a poem, every line of which is almost alike excellent: we cannot, however, deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting our readers with the following admirable lines:

Who hopes a friend, should have a heart
Himself, well furnished for the part,
And ready on occasion,
To show the virtue that he seeks;
For 'tis a union that bespeaks
A just reciprocation.

A man renowned for repartee
Will seldom scruple to make free
With friendship's finest feeling;
Will thrust a dagger at your breast,
And tell you 'twas a special jest,
By way of balm for healing.

Beware of tattlers! keep your ear
Close stopt against the tales they bear,
Fruits of their own invention!
The separation of chief friends,
Is what their business most intends,
Their sport is your dissension.

Religion should extinguish strife,
And make a calm of human life:
But even those who differ
Only on topics left at large,
How fiercely will they meet, and charge;
No combatants are stiffer.

Then judge, before you choose your man,
As circumspectly as you can;
And having made election,
See that no disrespect of yours,
Such as a friend but ill endures,
Enfeeble his affection

As similarity of mind,
Or something not to be defined,
First rivets our attention;
So manners decent and polite,
The same we practised at first sight,
Must save it from declension.

The man who hails you Tom, or Jack,
And proves, by thumping on your back.
His sense of your great merit;
Is such a friend, that one had need
Be very much his friend indeed,
To pardon, or to bear it.

Some friends make this their prudent plan—
Say little, and hear all you can;
Safe policy, but hateful!
So barren sands imbibe the shower,
But render neither fruit nor flower,
Unpleasant and ungrateful.

They whisper trivial things, and small;
But to communicate at all
Things serious, deem improper.
Their feculence and froth they show,
But keep their best contents below,
Just like a simmering copper.

Pursue the theme, and you will find
A disciplin'd and furnish'd mind
To be at least expedient;
And, after summing all the rest,
Religion ruling in the breast,
A principal ingredient.

True friendship has, in short, a grace,
More than terrestrial, in its face,
That proves it heaven-descended:
Man's love of woman not so pure,
Nor when sincerest, so secure,
To last till life is ended."

Cowper was, through life, the warm, though not the blind admirer of the British constitution; and though he made no pretensions to the character of a politician, yet he took the liveliest interest in all that related to the honor and prosperity of his country. In one of his letters to Mr. Newton he thus writes:—"I learned when I was a boy, being the son of a staunch Whig, and a man that loved his country, to glow with that patriotic enthusiasm which is apt to break forth into poetry, or at least to prompt a person, if he has any inclination that way, to poetical endeavors. After I was grown up, and while I lived in the Temple, I produced several half-penny ballads, two or three of which had the honor of being popular. But unhappily, the ardor I felt upon the occasion, disdaining to be confined within the bounds of fact, pushed me upon uniting the prophetical with the poetical character, and defeated its own purpose. I am glad it did. The less there is of this sort in my productions the better. The stage of national affairs is such a fluctuating scene, that an event which seems probable to-day becomes impossible to-morrow; and unless a man were indeed a prophet, he cannot, but with the greatest hazard of losing his labor, bestow his rhymes upon future contingencies, which perhaps are never to take place, but in his own wishes and in the reveries of his own fancy."

The time which Cowper bestowed upon his translation of Homer, and the indefatigable diligence with which he labored in this great work, notwithstanding his melancholy depression, until he had completed it, prove that he was not easily to be diverted from what he had once undertaken; and that few men were equal and perhaps none superior, to him, in those essential qualities of a truly great mind—industry and perseverance.

It might be imagined that Cowper's very retired manner of life, had deprived him of that manly independence of mind, which is a prime constituent in the character of every great man. Several incidents, however, are related of him, which go to prove that such was very far from being the case. His conduct to Mr. Unwin and Mr. Newton, who both in their turns, at different times, thought themselves entitled to complain of some neglect, proves that he allowed not the affection of friendship to intrench upon his right to judge at all times for himself. Alluding to Mr. Newton's displeasure, he remarks to another friend:—"If he says more on the subject I shall speak freely, and perhaps please him less than I have already done." Almost in the same breath, however, evincing his deep knowledge of human nature, he adds:—"But we shall jumble together again, as people, who have an affection for each other at the bottom, never fail to do." On one occasion, some friend having remarked to Cowper, that he knew a person who wished to see a sample of his verse, before subscribing for his edition of Homer, he replied—"that when he dealt in wine, or cloth, or cheese, he would give samples, but of verse never." The same independence he evinced on another occasion, writing to the friend whom he had employed to negotiate for the publication of his second volume of poetry, he remarks—"If Johnson should stroke his chin, look up to the ceiling, and cry nymph! anticipate him, I beseech you, at once, by saying, that you know I should be very sorry he should undertake for me to his own disadvantage, or that my volume should be in any degree pressed upon him."

The depressive malady under which Cowper labored through the greatest part of his life, might naturally be supposed to have disqualified him entirely for the kind office of comforting those who were in distress: in truth, however, no one had better learned the divine skill of strengthening the weak mind, of encouraging the timid and trembling believer, of lifting up the weak hands that were hanging down, wiping the tear of sorrow from the mournful eye, and directing the Christian to look alone to heaven for support in all his difficulties. His poems abound with passages the most tender and consolatory; enforcing with an eloquence, persuasive and almost irresistible, humble submission to the Divine will, in circumstances the most discouraging. The following lines, forming part of a poetic epistle to a lady in France, show how admirably he could pour the healing oil of comfort into the wounded spirits of others, though he was unable to assuage the grief of his own:—

"The path of sorrow, and that path alone,
Leads to the land where sorrow is unknown:
No trav'ller ever reached that blessed abode,
Who found not thorns and briers on the road.
The world may dance along the flowery plain,
Cheer'd as they go by many a sprightly strain.
* * * * *
But He, who knew what human hearts would prove,
How slow to learn the dictates of his love;
That hard by nature, and of stubborn will,
A life of ease would make them harder still;
In pity to a chosen few, designed
To escape the common ruin of their kind,
And said—Go spend them in the vale of tears!
Oh balmy gales of soul-reviving air,
Oh salutary streams that murmur there,
These flowing from the fount of grace above!
Those breathed from lips of everlasting love!
The flinty soil indeed their feet annoys,
Chill blasts of trouble nip their springing joys.
An envious world will interpose its frown,
To mar delights superior to its own,
And many a pang, experienced still within,
Reminds them of their hated inmate, sin!
But ills of every shape, of every name,
Transformed to blessings, miss their cruel aim,
And every moment's calm that soothes the breast,
Is given in earnest of eternal rest.
Ah! be not sad! although thy lot be cast
Far from the flock, and in a boundless waste;
No shepherd's tents within thy view appear,
But the Chief Shepherd even there is near.
Thy tender sorrows and thy plaintive strain
Flow in a foreign land, but not in vain;
Thy tears all issue from a source divine,
And every drop bespeaks a Saviour thine.

Notwithstanding the almost unmitigated severity of Cowper's sufferings, there were seasons in which he enjoyed some internal tranquillity, and was enabled to

exercise a trembling, if not an unshaken confidence in the Almighty. It was undoubtedly on one of these occasions that he penned the following lines—

"I see, or think I see,
A glimmering from afar—
A beam of day that shines for me
To save me from despair.
Forerunner of the sun,
It marks the pilgrim's way;
I'll gaze upon it while I run,
And watch the rising day."

Had it not been for Cowper's depressive malady, he would certainly have been, on all occasions, the most lively and agreeable companion. Even as it was, it must not be imagined that in his conversation he was never sprightly and cheerful. Frequently, when his own heart was suffused with grief, arising from the severity and peculiarity of his malady, such an air of innocent pleasantry and humor, delicate and perfectly natural, ran through his conversation and correspondence, as could not fail to delight all who happened to be in his company, or who were occasionally favored with the productions of his pen. It would be easy to produce proofs of this, both from his poetic and prose productions. His rhyming letter, to Mr. Newton, in which there is such a happy mixture of the grave and the gay, as no other writer could produce, evinces the occasional sprightliness of his mind. "My very dear friend, I am going to send, what, when you have read, you may scratch your head, and say, I suppose there's nobody knows, whether what I have got, be verse or not; by the tune and the time, it ought to be rhyme, but if it be, did ever you see, of late or yore, such a ditty before?

"If I have writ charity, not for popularity, but as well as I could, in hopes to do good; and if the reviewer, should say, to be sure, the gentleman's muse, wears Methodist shoes, you may know by her pace, and talk about grace, that she and her bard, have little regard for taste and fashions, and ruling passions, and hoydening play, of the modern day; and though she assume a borrowed plume, and now and then wear a tittering air, 'tis only her plan, to catch if she can, the giddy and gay, as they go that way, by a production on a new construction; she has baited her trap, in hopes to snap, all that may come, with a sugar-plum. His opinion in this will not be amiss; 'tis what I intend, my principal end, and if I succeed, and folks should read till a few are brought to a serious thought, I shall think I am paid, for all I have said, and all I have done, though I have run, many a time, after a rhyme, as far from hence, to the end of my sense, and by hook or by crook, write another book, if I live and am here another year.

"I have heard before, of a room with a floor, laid upon springs, and such like things, with so much art, in every part, that when you went in, you were forced to begin a minute pace, with an air and a grace, swimming about, now in and now out, with a deal of state, in a figure of eight, without pipe or string, or any such thing; and now I have writ, in a rhyming fit, what will make you dance, and as you advance, will keep you still, though against your will, dancing away, alert and gay, till you come to the end, of what I have penned, which that you may do, ere madam and you, are quite worn out, with jigling about, I take my leave, and here you receive, a bow profound, down to the ground, from your humble me, W. C."

The following jeu d' esprit, written by the poet, as descriptive of one of his rural excursions, through the whole of which runs a strain of pleasantry, innocent, and perfectly natural, shows that his life was not one unbroken series of despair, but that he enjoyed, occasionally, at least, some lucid intervals, when, to gratify his friends, he would trifle in rhyme with an affectionate and endearing gaiety. As it has never been published in any of his works, the reader will not regret its having a place here.

I sing of a journey to Clifton,*
We would have performed if we could;
Without cart or barrow to lift on
Poor Mary or me through the mud.
Sle, sla, slud,
Stuck in the mud,
Oh, it is pretty to wade through a flood.

So away we went slipping and sliding,
Hop, hop—a la mode de deux frogs;
'Tis near as good walking as riding,
When ladies are dressed in their clogs.
Wheels, no doubt,
Go briskly about,
But they clatter and rattle, and make such a rout.

DIALOGUE.

SHE.—"Well—now I protest it is charming,
How finely the weather improves;
That *cloud*, though, is rather alarming,
How slowly and stately it moves."

HE.—"Pshaw, never mind,
'Tis not in the wind,
We are travelling south and shall leave it behind.'

SHE.—"I am glad we are come for an airing,
For folks may be pounded and penn'd,
Until they grow rusty, not caring
To stir half a mile to an end."

HE.—"The longer we stay,
The longer we may;
It 's a folly to think about weather or way."

SHE.—"But now I begin to be frighted,
If I fall, what a way I shall roll
I am glad the bridge was indicted,
Stay! stop! I am sunk in a hole."

HE.—"Nay, never care,
'Tis a common affair;
You'll not be the last that will set a foot there."

SHE.—"Let me breathe now a little, and ponder
On what it were better to do;
That terrible lane I see yonder,
I think we shall never get through."

HE.—"So think I,—
But by the by,
We never shall know, if we never should try."

SHE.—"But should we get there, how shall we get home?
What a terrible deal of bad road we have passed,
Slipping and sliding; and if we should come
To a difficult state, I am ruined at last.
Oh, this lane!
Now it is plain,
That struggling and striving is labor in vain."

HE.—"Stick fast there, while I go and look."

SHE.—"Don't go away, for fear I should fall."

HE.—"I have examined it every nook,
And what you have here is a sample of all:
Come wheel around,
The dirt we have found,
Would buy an estate at a farthing a pound."

Now sister Ann,* the guitar you must take,
Set it and sing it, and make it a song;
I have varied the verse for variety's sake,
And cut it off short because it was long.
'Tis hobbling and lame,
Which critics won't blame,
For the sense and the sound they say should be the same.

As a writer, Cowper's powers of description, both in poetry and prose, were of the highest order; equalled by few, and excelled by none. His richly cultivated mind, united to an imagination as brilliant as it was chaste, enabled him to paint the visible beauties of the material, as well as the ideal charms of the moral world, with an ease and felicity equally delightful. No one could describe the feelings of the heart with more vivid force, or knew better how to levy contributions on the rich and varied scenes of nature. He possessed all the requisite qualifications for a poet of the highest class;—a familiar acquaintance with the ancient classics; a comprehensive mind, well stored with accurate information on almost every subject; a fertile genius; a rich fancy; an excursive but *chaste* imagination; to all which were added an extensive knowledge of the varied feelings of the human heart, and a most devout regard to the solemn claims of religion.

* A village near Olney.

* Lady Austin.

To take a comprehensive review of the poet's original productions, in the order in which they appeared, would require a much greater space than it would be prudent to devote to it here. TABLE TALK is a dialogue, carried on with uncommon spirit and vivacity, in which a variety of most interesting topics are happily introduced and descanted on with great force and beauty. The PROGRESS OF ERROR is much more serious than its predecessor; and though it contains passages of unrivalled excellence, it exhibits occasional marks of weakness, and is less beautiful than any other in the volume.

TRUTH exhibits a wonderful combination of different powers; in which passages, humorous and affecting, are scattered with delightful profusion.

EXPOSTULATION, founded on a sermon by Mr. Newton, is an impassioned appeal to men, in almost all conditions, on behalf of religion; it abounds with imagery, grand, impressive, and awful, exhibiting proofs of the poet's deep acquaintance with the inspired prophetic records. HOPE is less impassioned than its predecessor, but not less beautiful. It is written throughout with great elegance, beauty, and force, and the sentiments it breathes are purely evangelical. CHARITY is a poem of less vigor, but equally instructive, admonitory, and delightful.

In CONVERSATION, the poet appears in the character of a teacher of manners, as well as of morals, and delineates with exquisite and unerring skill, many of the follies and frailties of life. The loquacious—the incommunicative—the noisy and tumultuous—the disputatious—the scrupulous and irresolute—the furious and intractable—the ludicrous—the censorious—the peevish—the bashful—with others of similar kind, may here find their character drawn by the pen of a master, in the liveliest colors, and with striking accuracy.

Many excellent and judicious remarks are to be found in this admirable poem, on the manner in which conversation, to make it really edifying, must be carried on; and the certain benefits resulting from it, where it is so conducted, are forcibly and clearly pointed out.

RETIREMENT, will be read with delight by all, but especially by those who are looking forward to that season when—

"Hackney'd in business, wearied at that oar,
Which thousands, once fast chain'd to, quit no more,
But which, when life at ebb runs weak and low,
All wish, or seem to wish, they could forego."

The poet happily ridicules the fallacy of supposing it impossible to be pious while following the active pursuits of life—

"Truth is not local, God alike pervades
And fills the world of traffic and the shades,
And may be fear'd amidst the busiest scenes,
Or scorn'd where business never intervenes."

In the same happy strain he exposes the absurdity of seeking retirement as an excuse for indolence.

"An idler is a watch that wants both hands,
As useless if it goes as when it stands.
* * * * *
Absence of occupation is not rest;
A mind quite vacant is a mind distrest."

The TASK, however, is by far the poet's greatest production, and had he written nothing else, would have immortalized his name, and given him a place among the highest class of poets. Here his muse kindled into its happiest inspirations, and burst forth into its sublimest strains. Commencing with objects the most familiar, and in a manner inimitably playful, the poet touches on a vast variety of subjects, many of them unsung, and unattempted before, scattering, wherever he goes,

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

an exuberance of beauty and elegance, that enchains the reader, carrying him through the muse's adventurous track, without the least restraint, and without feeling a moment's uneasiness. The transitions are the happiest imaginable; after delineating one object with matchless felicity and force, presenting it in shapes almost endlessly diversified, ere he is aware of it, another and another starts up before the reader, with magical effect, but without the slightest confusion, or the least violation of perspicuity. This admirable poem may be repeatedly read with increasing delight. It yields an almost inexhaustible source of pleasure and instruction. The reader rises from its perusal, not only filled with astonishment at the mighty powers of its author, but what is of equal, and perhaps of greater importance, with feelings of the most unfeigned esteem for the poet, and with sentiments of benevolence towards all mankind.

The letters of Cowper are unquestionably among the best productions of this interesting class of writings that are to be found in the English language. Easy and natural, and every where simple and elegant, without the slightest affectation of formality, or the most distant approach to that studied and artificial style, which invariably destroys the beauty of such productions, they never fail to interest and delight the reader; and will ever be regarded as perfect models of epistolary correspondence. Their peculiar charm is, perhaps, to be attributed chiefly, if not entirely, to that affectionate glow of pure friendship, by which they are so pre-eminently distinguished. Fascinating as they are to every reader of taste, for the chaste, yet unornamented style in which they are composed; for their easy and natural transitions; and for their concise, yet sufficiently copious descriptions, it is to that sprightly and genuine affection which runs through the whole of them, causing the reader to peruse them with almost as much interest as if they were addressed to him personally, that they are principally indebted for their claim to superiority.

To the above remarks on Cowper's letters, we have great pleasure in adding the following testimony of the late distinguished scholar and writer, the Rev. Robert Hall, of Bristol, whose eloquence was unrivalled, and whose powers being all consecrated to the cause of religion, rendered him an ornament to the age in which he lived. In a letter to Rev. J. Johnson, Cowper's justly esteemed relative, he thus writes:—"It is quite unnecessary to say that I perused the letters with great admiration and delight. I have always considered the letters of Mr. Cowper as the finest specimens of the epistolary style in our language. To an air of inimitable ease and carelessness, they unite a high degree of correctness, such as could result only from the clearest intellect, combined with the most finished taste. I have scarcely found a single word which is capable of being exchanged for a better. Literary errors I can discern none. The selection of the words, and the structure of the periods, are inimitable; they present as striking a contrast as can well be conceived, to the turgid verbosity which passes at present for fine writing, and which bears a great resemblance to the degeneracy which marks the style of Ammianus Marcellinus, as compared to that of Cicero or Livy. A perpetual effort and struggle is made to supply the place of vigor; garish and dazzling colors are substituted for chaste ornament; and the hideous distortions of weakness, for native strength. In my humble opinion, the study of Cowper's prose may, on this account, be as useful in forming the taste of young people as his poetry."

Poets have almost invariably been charged with adulation, whenever they have ventured to eulogize an individual, however much he may have been distinguished by his virtues and his talents. In many cases, they have undoubtedly richly merited this censure; but there are some honorable exceptions, and amongst this class Cowper is pre-eminently distinguished. Of this wicked and foolish practice he had the utmost abhorrence; and in some instances it may be doubted whether he did not carry his aversion to flattery, almost to an opposite extreme; withholding praise where he knew it was due. The following lines occur almost at the commencement of his Table Talk. After painting the portrait of that most virtuous monarch, George the Third, in language as just as it is beautiful, he abruptly exclaims—

"Guard what you say; the patriotic tribe
Will sneer, and charge you with a bribe—a bribe!
The worth of his three kingdoms I defy
To lure me to the baseness of a lie:
And of all lies, (be that one poet's boast,)
The lie that flatters, I abhor the most."

In the character of Cowper there was not the slightest particle of ostentation; on no occasion did he assume any airs of consequence; he never aimed, or wished to be what he was not. Every thing in the shape of affectation was the object of his disgust. He loved simplicity without rudeness, and detested that squeamish mimicry of fine feeling which not unfrequently, either under the assumed garb of superior sanctity, or of ardent friendship, conceals the most pitiable imbecility and ignorance.

It must be acknowledged that Cowper sometimes dipped his pen in gall. Some expressions the most bitterly sarcastic are to be found in his poems. Of his first volume it was said, by one of his friends, "There are many passages delicate, many sublime, many beautiful, many tender, many sweet, and many acrimonious." Cowper's satire, however, though keen and powerful as a whip of scorpions, was employed only to expose and punish the openly profligate, and the hypocritical professors of religion. Every thing in the shape of deception he ever held in perfect detestation. The castigation of vice, of ignorance, or of dissimulation, was his object, when he became a satirist. If he held up philosophy to ridicule, it was that glare of false philosophy, which, instead of being beneficial to men, only led them from the plain and beaten track of truth, into paths of error and misery. He never wantonly, for the sake only of his own gratification, inflicted his satiric lash on a single individual. He became a satirist, not to give vent to a waspish, revengeful, and malicious disposition, (to feelings of this kind he was an entire stranger,) but for the same purpose as the holy prophets of old were satirists, to expose, in mercy to mankind, the hideous deformity of those vices, which have ever been the fruitful parents of misery to mankind.

The exquisite sensibility of Cowper, and the real goodness of his disposition, with his entire abhorrence of cruelty, whether practised by man towards his own species, or towards any part of the Creator's works, are evinced by the following striking lines—

"I would not enter on my list of friends,
Though graced with polished manners and fine sense,
Yet wanting sensibility, the man
Who needlessly sets foot upon a worm.
An inadvertent step may crush the snail
That crawls at evening in the public path;
But he that has humanity, forewarned,
Will tread aside, and let the reptile live.
Ye, therefore, who love mercy, teach your sons
To love it too. The spring-time of our years
Is soon dishonored and defiled in most
By budding ills, that ask a prudent hand
To check them. But, alas! none sooner shoots,
If unrestrained, into luxuriant growth
Than cruelty, most devilish of them all!
Mercy, to him that shows it, is the rule
And righteous limitation of its art,
By which Heaven moves in pardoning guilty man;
And he that shows none, being ripe in years,
And conscious of the outrage he commits,
Shall seek it, and not find it, in his turn.
Distinguished much by reason, and still more
By our capacity of grace divine,
From creatures that exist but for our sake,
Which, having served us, perish, we are held
Accountable: and God, some future day,
Will reckon with us roundly for the abuse
Of what he deems no mean or trivial trust!"

Liberty has always been the soul-inspiring theme of poets. On no subject has the muse sung in sweeter strains, or towered to more sublime heights. Cowper has given ample proofs that his muse felt all the fire of this ennobling theme. In his Table Talk, some beautiful lines will be found on this interesting subject, so dear to the heart of every Englishman; but in his most masterly production, the Task, he thus sings—

"'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All constraint
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil: hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eyesight of discovery; and begets
In those that suffer it a sordid mind,—
Bestial—a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form.
Thee, therefore, still, blameworthy as thou art,
Thee I account still happy, and the chief
Among the nations, seeing thou art free,
My native nook of earth! Thy clime is rude,
Replete with vapors, and disposes much
All hearts to sadness, and none more than mine;
Yet, being free, I love thee for the sake
Of that one feature, can be well content,
Disgraced as thou hast been, poor as thou art,
To seek no sublunary rest beside.
But once enslaved, farewell. I could endure
Chains nowhere patiently; and chains at home,
Where I am free by birthright, not at all!"

The liberty of Cowper was not, however, that lawless restraint which, under the sacred name of liberty, would burst asunder all those bands that hold society together, and introduce confusion infinitely more to be dreaded than the most absolute despotism. It was not the wild and unrestrained liberty of the ferocious mob; it was the liberty that is compatible with wholesome restraint, and with the due administration of law. It was the liberty not of disorder but of discipline, as will be seen by the following beautiful lines—

"Let discipline employ her wholesome arts;
Let magistrates alert perform their parts,
Not skulk, or put on a prudential mask,
As if their duty was a desperate task.
Let active laws apply the needful curb,
To guard the peace that riot would disturb;
And *liberty*, preserved from wild excess,
Shall raise no feuds for armies to suppress.
When Tumult lately burst his prison door,
And set plebeian thousands in a roar,
When he usurped Authority's just place,
And dared to look his master in the face;
When the rude rabble's watch-word was—'Destroy!'
And blazing London seemed a second Troy!
Liberty blushed, and hung her drooping head—
Beheld their progress with the deepest dread;
Blushed that effects like these she could produce,
Worse than the deeds of galley-slaves let loose:
She loses in such storms her very name,
And fierce Licentiousness should bear the blame!"

Powerful as were the charms of subjects like these to Cowper, there were others of a different character which he held as more dear, and ever regarded as more important. Like his great predecessor, Milton, he had made the sacred Scriptures his constant study; not so much because he admired the sublime imagery of the holy penman (alive as he was to their beauties in this respect,) as because he felt the full force of divine truth upon his heart; which, notwithstanding the severe pressure of his malady, would sometimes yield him an interval of pleasure. It was undoubtedly on one of these happy occasions that he penned the following lines, so strikingly descriptive of the refined pleasure with which the Christian can view the works of Nature—

"He looks abroad into the varied field
Of Nature; and though poor, perhaps, compared
With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,
Calls the delightful scenery all his own:
His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
And the resplendent rivers: his to enjoy
With a propriety that none can feel,
But who, with filial confidence inspired,
Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
And smiling say—My father made them all!
Are they not his by a peculiar right?
And by an emphasis of interest his
Whose eyes they fill with tears of holy joy;
Whose heart with praise, and whose exalted mind
With worthy thoughts of that unwearied love
That planned, and built, and still upholds a world
So clothed with beauty, for rebellious man?
Yes! Ye may fill your garners, ye that reap
The loaded soil; and ye may waste much good
In senseless riot; but ye will not find
In feast, or in the chase, in song or dance,
A liberty like his, who, unimpeached
Of usurpation, and to no man's wrong
Appropriates nature as his Father's work,
And has a richer use of yours than you."

Although Cowper, towards the close of his life, before he received his Majesty's pension, owing to the heavy expenses occasioned by his own and Mrs. Unwin's illness, was scarcely able to keep his expenditure within the limits of his income, yet he was never once heard to complain, nor even to indulge the slightest disposition to be otherwise than contented in the station where Providence had placed him. Writing to his intimate friend, Mr. Hill, on one occasion, whom he appears to have made his treasurer, he remarks:—"Your tidings respecting the slender pittance yet to come, are, as you observe, of a melancholy cast. Not being gifted, however, by nature with the means of acquiring much,

it is well that she has given me a disposition to be contented with little. I have now been so many years habituated to small matters, that I should probably find myself incommoded by greater, and, may I but be enabled to shift, as I have been hitherto, unsatisfied wishes will not trouble me much."

On another occasion, to the same individual he writes:—"I suppose you are sometimes troubled on my account, but you need not. I have no doubt that it will be seen, when my days are closed, that I served a Master who would not suffer me to want any thing that was good for me. He said of Jacob, 'I will surely do thee good;' and this he said not for his sake only, but for ours also, if we trust in him. This thought relieves me from the greatest part of the distress I should else suffer in my present circumstances, and enables me to sit down peacefully upon the wreck of my fortune." The same sentiment is still more forcibly expressed in the following lines:—

"Fair is the lot that's cast for me:
I have an Advocate in Thee:
They whom the world caresses most,
Have no such privilege to boast.
Poor though I am, despised, forgot,
Yet God, my God, forgets me not,
And he is safe, and must succeed,
For whom the Lord vouchsafes to plead."

Perhaps no individual ever felt more fully the power of religion in his heart, or embodied it more completely in his life, than Cowper. The apprehensions, for his ultimate safety, by which he was so continually harassed, depressive as was their influence on his mind, never relaxed, in any degree, that severe watchfulness which religion had taught him to exercise over his thoughts and conduct. On the contrary, they seemed rather to have operated as a continual check upon those corrupt inclinations which are common to our fallen nature; and to which, even Cowper, was not a stranger. It would be ridiculous to say he had no imperfections; he felt them; he often mourned over them, and the vivid perception he had of them, associated, as it invariably was, with a powerful constitutional tendency to melancholy, often filled him with the greatest anxiety and dread. His conceptions of the purity of that sublime religion taught us in the gospel, and of the paramount importance of a holy life in its professors, were such as led him to regard the least deviation from the strict line of Christian duty, in his own case at least, as an entire disqualification for the reception of spiritual comfort. No individual's conscience was ever more tremblingly alive to the importance of habitual watchfulness and uniform consistency of conduct. He could make ample allowances for the imperfections of others, but nothing could prevail upon him to make any for his own.

The notice we have already taken of Cowper's productions, renders it unnecessary that we should view them any further in detail. We cannot, however, suppress the following admirable observations of an anonymous critic, subjoined to Mr. Hayley's Life of Cowper: "The noblest benefits and delights of poetry can be but rarely produced, because all the requisites for producing them so seldom meet. A vivid mind and happy imitative power, may enable a poet to form glowing pictures of virtue, and almost produce in himself a short-lived enthusiasm of goodness. But although even these transient and factitious movements of mind may serve to produce grand and delightful effusions of poetry, yet when the best of these are compared with the poetic productions of a genuine lover of virtue, a discerning judgment will scarcely fail to mark the difference. A simplicity of conception and expression; a conscious and therefore unaffected dignity; an instinctive adherence to sober reason, even amid the highest flights; an uniform justness and consistency of thought; a glowing, yet temperate ardor of feeling; a peculiar felicity, both in the choice and combination of terms, by which even the plainest words acquire the truest character of eloquence, and which is rarely to be found except where a subject is not only intimately known, but cordially loved; these, I conceive, are the features peculiar to a real votary of virtue, and which must of course give to his strains a perfection of effect never to be attained by the poet of inferior moral endowments. I believe it will be granted that all these qualities were never more perfectly combined than in the poetry of Milton. And I think, too, there will be little doubt that the next to him, in every one of these instances, beyond all comparison, is *Cowper*. The genius of the latter did certainly not lead him to emulate the songs of the Seraphim. But though he pursues a lower walk of poetry than his great master, he appears no less the enraptured votary of pure unmixed goodness. Nay, perhaps he may in this one respect possess some peculiar excellences which may make him seem more the bard of Christianity. That divine religion infinitely exalts but it also deeply humbles the mind it inspires. It gives majesty to the thoughts, but it impresses meekness on the manners, and diffuses tenderness through the feelings. It combines sensibility and fortitude, the lowliness of the child, and the magnanimity of the hero."

"The grandest features of the Christian character were never more gloriously exemplified than in that spirit which animates the whole of Milton's poetry. His own Michael does not impress us with the idea of a purer, or more awful virtue than that which we feel in every portion of his majestic verse; and he no less happily indicates the source from which his excellence was derived, by the bright beams which he ever and anon reflects upon us from the sacred Scriptures. But the milder graces of the gospel are certainly less apparent. What we behold is so awful, it might also have inspired a wish, that a spirit, equally pure and heavenly, might be raised to illustate, with like felicity, the more attractive and gentler influences of our divine religion. In Cowper, above any poet that ever lived, would such a wish seem to be fulfilled. In his charming effusions we have the same spotless purity, the same elevated devotion, the same vital exercise of every noble and exalted quality of the mind, the same devotedness to the sacred Scriptures, and to the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. The difference is, that instead of an almost reprehensive dignity, we have the sweetest familiarity; instead of the majestic grandeur of the Old Testament, we have the winning graces of the New; instead of those thunders by which angels were discomfited, we have, as it were, the still small voice of Him who was meek and lowly of heart. May we not then venture to assert, that from that spirit of devoted piety, which has rendered both these great men liable to the charge of religious enthusiasm, but which, in truth, raised the minds of both to a kind of happy residence

'In regions mild, of calm and serene air,
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,
Which men call earth—'

a peculiar character has been derived to the poetry of them both, which distinguishes their compositions from those of almost all the world besides. I have already enumerated some of the superior advantages of a truly virtuous poet, and presumed to state, that these are realized, in an unexampled degree, in Milton and Cowper. That they both owed this eminence to their *vivid sense of religion*, will, I conceive, need no demonstration, except what will arise to every reader of taste and feeling on examining their works. It will here, I think, be seen at once, that that sublimity of conception, that delicacy of virtuous feeling, that majestic independence of mind, that quick relish for all the beauties of nature, at once so pure and so exquisite, which we find ever occurring in them both, could not have existed in the same unrivalled degree, if their devotion had been less intense, and of course their minds more dissipated amongst low and distracting objects."

To the above remarks on the poet's character, we cannot forbear subjoining the following exquisite picture of him, drawn by the Rev. Dr. Randolph, of Bath, on seeing his portrait by Lawrence:

"Sweet Bard, whose mind, thus pictured in thy face,
O'er every feature spreads a nobler grace;
Whose keen but softened eye appears to dart
A look of pity through the human heart:
To search the secrets of man's inward frame,
To weep with sorrow o'er his guilt and shame;
Sweet Bard, with whom in sympathy of choice,
I've oft-times left the world, at Nature's voice,
To join the song that all the creatures raise
To carrol forth their great Creator's praise;
Or, wrapt in visions of immortal day,
Have gazed on Truth in Zion's heavenly way.
Sweet Bard, may this, thine image, all I know,
Or ever may of Cowper's form below,
Teach one who views it with a Christian's love
To seek and find thee in the realms above."

REV. DR. RANDOLPH.

THE END.

THE LIFE

OF THE

REV. THOMAS SPENCER,

OF LIVERPOOL:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A SELECTION FROM HIS PAPERS,

AND

A POEM ON HIS DEATH, BY JAMES MONTGOMERY.

BY THOMAS RAFFLES,
HIS SUCCESSOR IN THE PASTORAL OFFICE.

(CHRISTIAN LIBRARY EDITION.)

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PREFACE.

THE volume now presented to the public, owes its origin to one of those mysterious events in Providence, which seem commissioned, at distant intervals to alarm and admonish the church of God. A loss so sudden, so awful, so universally deplored as that of Mr. Spencer, demanded improvement. Many impressive discourses were delivered on the sad occasion, several of which have issued from the press. But his *life* was not less instructive than his *death*; and the more it was contemplated by his friends, the more deeply they felt the importance of rescuing from oblivion those traits of his character, and circumstances of his history, by which their own private circles had been interested. Upon my acceptance of the solemn office from which he was so unexpectedly removed, his bereaved people, anxious to see some authorized memoirs of their beloved pastor embodied and preserved, committed the mournful duty to my hands. My respect for the honored dead, and attachment to the living, induced me to accept the charge: how I have executed the important trust reposed in me, I must now leave it with a candid public to decide.

Various causes have contributed to create the delay which has attended the publication of the book. It was with considerable difficulty that I collected the materials necessary for my purpose. I had imagined, from the general impression which prevailed, at least among Mr. Spencer's friends, of the propriety of such a publication, that information would have been spontaneously offered from every quarter whence it might be furnished. But in this I was disappointed; and it was some considerable time from the annunciation of my design, before I was sufficiently supplied to commence, with any degree of prudence, the composition of the volume.

In addition to this, the laborious duties of a new and most extensive charge, conspired often to suspend the prosecution of the work, for the appearance of which I knew many to be anxious, but none more so than myself.

Had I at first anticipated the extent of these Memoirs, I should most probably have shrunk from the undertaking. But the volume has grown almost imperceptibly beneath my hand. What I have recorded of the dear departed is strictly true, so far as the veracity of the most excellent men can warrant the assertion; and whatever opportunity the narrative has afforded of administering instruction I have gladly seized, and conscientiously improved, leaving the issue to a higher agent.

I have at length completed the work; and now, with the deepest humility and diffidence, I resign it to the blessing of God—the consideration of friendship—and the candor of the public. If to those who knew and loved him, it shall sometimes recall, with grateful emotions, the image and the excellencies of their departed friend; if it shall induce any to emulate the bright example of his manly virtues, and his Christian graces; or if but one, anticipating or commencing the laborious duties of the Christian ministry, shall derive from the contemplation of Spencer's character, instruction, caution, or encouragement—I am amply recompensed—I have not labored in vain!

THOMAS RAFFLES.

TOXTETH PARK, LIVERPOOL,
February 15, 1813.

LIFE OF THE REV. THOMAS SPENCER.

Seldom has a task so painfully arduous fallen to the lot of a biographer, as that which, in the mysterious providence of God, has unexpectedly devolved on me. The recollection of departed excellence, which a long series of years had developed and matured, is mingled with a melancholy feeling, and not unfrequently excites the tribute of a tear: but the individual who erects a monument to friendship, genius, usefulness, and piety, prematurely wrapt in the oblivion of the grave, must necessarily prosecute his mournful work with trembling hands, and with a bleeding heart. And yet the mind is soothed by the communication of its sorrow; the bosom is relieved of an oppressive burthen, while it tells the virtues of the friend it mourns; and the best feelings of the heart are satisfied with the consciousness, that instead of indulging in solitude, the luxury of unavailing grief, it has employed its powers to portray, in lively colors, for the improvement of the living, the excellencies of the beloved and pious dead. For myself, with mournful pleasure, I hasten to sketch the rude outline of one of the loveliest and most finished characters the present age has known:—pausing only to express my deep regret, that one so ripe for heaven, and yet so eminently useful upon earth, should be called from the important sphere he occupied, so soon; and that to hands so feeble should be committed—together with the solemn trust which he resigned in death, the painful duty of erecting this monument to his worth.

The Reverend Thomas Spencer, was born at Hertford, January 21, 1791. He occupied the third place out of four who surrounded his father's table, but shared equally with them in the tender and affectionate solicitude of parents, who, placed in the middle sphere of human life, were respectable for their piety, and highly esteemed in the circle in which a wise Providence had allotted them to move. It cannot be expected that any thing peculiarly interesting should mark the early childhood of a youth, retired from the observation of the world, and far removed from the presence of any of those circumstances which might be considered as favorable to the excitation of latent talent, or the display of early genius. And yet the years of his infancy and childhood were not undistinguished by some intimations of a superior mind, from which a thoughtful observer might have been induced to augur something of his future eminence, and which his amiable father it appears did with silence watch. He himself observes, in a hasty sketch of his life, which now lies before me—"As far back as I can recollect, my memory was complimented by many as being very retentive, and my progress in knowledge was more considerable than that of my school-fellows; a natural curiosity and desire of knowledge, I think I may say, without vanity, distinguished even the period of my infancy. I now remember questions that I asked when about four years old, which were rather singular, and which were confined chiefly to biblical subjects. No child could be more attached to places of worship, or could be more inquisitive about their concerns than myself; and I may add, more given to imitate the actions of the minister and clerk."*

When he had completed his fifth year, he suffered the severest earthly privation a child can know, in the loss of an affectionate mother. Though then too young correctly to appreciate a parent's worth, he deeply felt the stroke; and in the liveliest manner he recalls the impression which at that early period this melancholy circumstance produced upon his tender mind. "When the funeral sermon was preached I could not help noticing the grief which seemed to pervade every person present. Deeply affected myself, I recollect, that after the service, as I was walking about our little garden with my disconsolate father, I said to him, 'Father, what is the reason that so many people cried at the meeting this afternoon.'—He, adapting his language to my comprehension, said, 'They cried to see little children like you without a mother.'"* This event, which shed so deep a gloom upon his family, seems to have excited emotions of a serious nature in his mind never totally effaced.

From this time he applied himself with diligence and delight to the business of his school. There was at this early age something amiable and engaging in his manners; and this combined with his attention to his learning, soon secured the esteem and approbation of his respective teachers, and gained him, together with the first place and highest honors of his school, the character of "*a good boy.*" It is pleasing to mark the early combination of superior talent and sweetness of disposition in this extraordinary young man; and it would be well, did the patrons of early genius more deeply ponder the reflection, that the graces of a meek and quiet spirit are far more estimable than the rare qualities of a prematurely vigorous mind; and that the talents they cultivate with such anxious care, if unassociated with real excellence of soul, may render the idols of their fond adulation sources of anguish to themselves and incalculable mischief to mankind.

Whilst a school boy, he became passionately fond of novels, histories, adventures, &c. which he devoured with the greatest eagerness in numbers truly astonishing. The perusal of these he always preferred to play and other amusements adapted to his years. He delighted much in solitude; nor did he know a happiness superior to that of being alone, with one of his favorite books. He took no delight in the games of his companions, nor did he ever mingle in their little feuds. His natural levity, however, was excessive; and his wit, fed by the publications he so ardently perused, would often display itself in impurity of language to the laughter and amusement of his fellows. Yet he was not without his moments of serious reflection, and that of a very deep and dreadful kind.—He was often overwhelmed with religious considerations, and the solemn sermons he sometimes heard, filled him with terror and alarm. So intolerable at one period were the horrors of his mind, that in an agony of despair, he was tempted, as many have been before him, to destroy himself. Thus at an early age he became intimately acquainted with the depravity of his nature; and from the deep waters of spiritual distress through which he was called to pass, his soul imbibed an air of humility and a habit of watchfulness, which enabled him to meet with firmness the dangers of popularity, and to maintain a steady course, notwithstanding the press of sail he carried.

To these deep convictions of his early years may perhaps be traced the peculiarly pressing and empassioned manner of his address, when he strove to arouse the slumbering conscience, or direct the weary wanderer to the cross of Christ. The sacred poems and the passages of holy writ, which most

* MS. Memoirs.

* MS. Memoirs.

he loved, were those of a cast similar to that of his own fervent mind; and I have heard many tell, with tears, of the animation and rapture with which he would often repeat from that beautiful hymn of Henry Kirke White, his favorite author, whom in many shades of character he much resembled, and alas! too much in his early and lamented fate—

Once on the stormy seas I rode,
The storm was loud, the night was dark;
The ocean yawn'd, and rudely blow'd
The wind that toss'd my found'ring bark.

Deep horror then my vitals froze;
Death struck, I ceas'd the tide to stem,
When suddenly a star arose,
It was the star of Bethlehem.

It was my guide, my light, my all,
It bade my dark forebodings cease;
And thro' the storm of danger's thrall
It led me to the port of peace.

Now safely moor'd—my perils o'er,
I'll sing, first in night's diadem,
For ever and for ever more,
The star!—the star of Bethlehem.

The bias and inclination of his mind began at this early period to be disclosed; preachers and preaching seemed to occupy all his thoughts, and often he would exercise himself in addressing such domestic congregations as may be supposed to constitute the usual auditories of an infant. Thus in his earliest childhood he displayed his fond attachment to the Christian ministry, and the first efforts of his infant mind were directed to that sublime and dignified profession, in which the capacities of his maturer age were so brilliantly displayed. These infantine compositions were not unfrequently entirely his own; and when they claimed not the merit of originality, they were derived from hints collected from what he had heard or read. But his *Preaching exhibitions* could not long be confined to the narrow circle and scanty congregation his father's house supplied; tidings of his early *pulpit talents* soon circulated through the neighborhood; many were anxious to listen to the instructions of this extraordinary child; and most regarded him, as he himself expresses it, "*a parson in embryo.*"

At this age also he wrote verses. He seems however, to have had but a mean opinion of his talent for poetry. It certainly was not the art in which he most excelled. Though an individual may have a power of rhyming sufficient for throwing his feelings into tolerable easy verse, yet something more than this is required in a production which, under the dignified title of a poem, is to meet the public eye. And while most men of an enlightened mind and cultivated taste, have solicited the muses' aid for purposes of private instruction and amusement, and the domestic and social circle have been privileged to share in both, yet it is not necessary to the perfection of the pulpit orator, that he should be an exquisite poet, nor is it at all a detraction from the greatness of his character, that the world should hesitate to pronounce unqualified praise upon poetical effusions, on which the eye or the ear of friendship might linger with delight.

These observations will serve to account for the circumstance, that none of Mr. Spencer's poetical productions are preserved in these pages. And while some partial friends, who saw with pleasure the pieces which circulated in private, may regret for the moment their entire exclusion here, his biographer hopes, that he shall render a more essential service to the memory of his departed friend, by occupying their place with extracts from his papers of a more solid and interesting kind.

These early displays of talent however introduced him to the notice and friendship of some individuals of wealth and consequence. This was doubtless considered by himself and his fond parent as no inconsiderable circumstance in the history and prospects of a child, who, if he rose into eminence at all, could have no facilities afforded him, by the auspicious omens of his birth, or the rank of his father's family. But alas! the fond anticipations which from this quarter he cherished, and perhaps with some degree of reason, were not all realized, to the full extent to which his sanguine mind had urged them. It was doubtless well for him, however, that they were not. The disappointments of childhood will give a sober cast to the else too glowing pictures and too anxious hopes of youth; and while they excite a caution in respect to the confidence we should place in the prospects that unfold themselves before us, admirably prepare the mind for the event, when the pledges of friendship lie long unredeemed, and the fair blossoms of hope are blasted and destroyed.

In the mean time he applied himself with surprising diligence to the acquisition of knowledge. In his favorite pursuit he met with the most important aid, from the valuable friendship of the late Rev. Ebenezer White, then the pastor of the Independent church, at Hertford. For this amiable and pious man, so early lost to the church of Christ,* Mr. Spencer ever cherished and expressed the warmest affection; whilst he survived but a few weeks the melancholy pleasure of paying the last tribute of respect to his beloved remains, and giving utterance to the warm and authorized feelings of his heart, in a most impressive oration at his grave. From Mr. White he learned the rudiments of the Latin tongue; and though the early removal of that gentleman to Chester deprived him of his kind and valuable assistance, yet his father, who had discernment to perceive, and wisdom to foster the unfolding talents of his son, afforded him the means of more ample instruction, by sending him to the best school his native town supplied. Approbation cannot be expressed in language too unqualified of the conduct, in this respect, pursued by the parents of this amiable youth, who though surrounded by every circumstance of a worldly nature to check its progress, yet nobly determined to afford every degree of culture, which such sacrifices as they might be able to make would yield to a mind which promised to rise superior to the obscurity of its birth, and consecrate at some future period no common share of genius to the noblest and the best of causes. Nor must these expressions pass unmingled by regret, that many important accessions are lost to the interests of religion and literature by the neglect of *ignorant*, or the reluctance of *sordid* parents, who in the one case have not the capacity to discover talent, or in the other a disposition, where their worldly circumstances are narrow and scanty, to make any sacrifice of ease on their part, or expect-

* Mr. White died Sunday, May 5th, 1811. An interesting memoir of his life (together with his select remains) has been published by the Reverend Joseph Fletcher, A. M. of Blackburn; with a recommendatory preface, by the Rev. Dr. Collyer, of London. In the melancholy but pleasing task of selecting these papers for the press, Mr. Fletcher was originally joined by the subject of these memoirs:—but whilst Mr. Spencer was thus engaged in rearing a monument to the memory of his departed friend—he too was suddenly removed, and it devolved upon the hand of friendship to perform the same office for himself.

ed emolument on that of the child, for its cultivation

> Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
> The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
> Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
> And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

At about the age of twelve years, Mr. Spencer considers himself to have become the subject of serious impressions of a deep and permanent kind, and to have felt something experimentally of the power of religion. This most interesting circumstance he simply states in the memoir of his life before referred to, but mentions no particulars respecting the mode in which these impressions were wrought upon his mind, or in what way they operated upon his character, his conduct, and his views. The *general* effect, however, he distinctly records to have been that of heightening his desire of the Christian ministry, for which, it was strongly impressed upon his mind, God had destined him; whilst it reconciled him to his present situation, which was most uncongenial to the bias of his mind, and most unfriendly to the accomplishment of his ardent wishes; for the circumstances of his father's family were at that time of such a nature as to render his assistance necessary between the hours of school, and at length compelled his parent, however reluctantly, entirely to remove him. His removal from school, however, was not in consequence of his father's having abandoned the prospect of his one day entering on the work of the ministry, but an act dictated by prudence, which afforded him an opportunity patiently to wait, and calmly to watch the leadings of Providence, and the occurrence of any circumstances which might tend to fix the future destiny of his son. These prudential arrangements, however, were a source of keenest anguish to the mind of Spencer. He bowed at first with reluctance to the yoke of manual labor when but partially imposed—rapidly performed the appointed task, and leaped with joy from toils so repugnant to the elevated and ardent desires of his soul, to solitude and to books; and when compelled entirely to leave his school and pursue from day to day the *twisting of worsted*, which he calls *the worst part of his father's business*, his grief was poignant and his regret severe. But religion in early life, assumed in him her mildest and most amiable forms. Its characters were those of uncomplaining acquiescence in the will of God, and cheerful resignation to his earthly lot. If, indeed, with patient submission to the arrangements of Providence he occasionally mingled a warm expression of desire, and suffered his imagination to dwell upon the bright visions of better days, and the animating promise of pursuits more congenial to the tone and inclination of his mind, which hope would give, till, for a moment, it seemed reluctant to return;—it was natural;—nor is it incompatible with the most perfect resignation to the divine will thus to dwell on scenes of promised pleasure with delight. Such a combination of light and shade is beautiful in nature; and not unfrequently in the history of a Christian's feelings does the sunshine of resignation break in upon the tears of sorrow, and produce a commixture of indefinable feelings, which, like the bow of heaven, are a pledge not unredeemed, of fairer scenery and happier days.

The writer, in thus recording the mingled feelings of his friend, has participated too deeply in circumstances and emotions similar to his, not to do it with the warmth of sympathy. He knows how hard it is to give a cheerful and undivided attention to one pursuit, though less repugnant than mechanical employ, when the heart is intently fixed upon another. Ill does the mind adapt itself to the narrow rules of business, the drudgery of manual labor, or the habits of commerce, when panting after study, devoted to the love of books, or eager to engage in the noblest work that can occupy the powers of man—the ministry of the gospel:—impressed with a consciousness, that if it is the will of God that the desire enkindled and cherished in the bosom should be fulfilled, some event will transpire to afford facilities and point the way—but day after day expecting that event in vain, till *hope deferred makes the heart sick*, and all the visions with which she has charmed, seem gradually yielding to the influence of despair. Yet even here, religion has a power to sooth; she sheds the mild influence of resignation, when the glare of hope is gone—

> "Gives even affliction a grace,
> And reconciles man to his lot."

He continued working at his father's business and in his father's house, for about a year and a half, anxiously expecting some situation to present itself more congenial to his wishes, but no circumstance arose to interrupt the monotonous sameness of his every day's employ. It seems, however, that he still attended to the cultivation of his mind, and never wholly lost sight of the Christian ministry. Meanwhile business languished, and his father was desirous of seeing him comfortably settled. Their mutual anxiety increasing to impatience, and his father reading on the cover of a magazine an advertisement for a situation which appeared to be suitable, they set out for London, but upon an interview with the advertiser they found insuperable difficulties in the way, and returned, with disappointment, to Hertford.

Some weeks after this fruitless journey, Mr. Spencer was recommended by a friend to place his son with Messrs. Windwood and Thodey, respectable glovers in the Poultry, who also introduced him to Mr. Thodey's notice. The first interview between the parties was satisfactory; every arrangement was made preparatory to his being bound apprentice, and Thomas soon after entered, in a new capacity, this worthy gentleman's house. The services connected with his new situation, the *better* part of which was far from grateful to the wishes of his heart, still panting for the ministry with unconquerable attachment, were some of them such as his spirit, at first, but reluctantly submitted to perform; yet aware that then the providence of God pointed out no other path, he cheerfully acquiesced and exchanged, not without regret, the calm and tranquil enjoyments of an endeared domestic circle, for the bosom of strangers, the drudgery of a shop, and the bustle of the Poultry. But here, as formerly at school, his amiable manners—his modest behavior, and engaging appearance, soon won the affection of the family, (which was large,) whilst his fervent piety and superior talents, excited emotions of a higher order. An extract of a letter, obligingly addressed to me from Mr. Thodey himself, will best record his manner of life, whilst under that gentleman's roof.

"His appearance, his genuine modesty, diligence, and integrity, created an interest in our hearts, so as it were almost to identify him as one of our own children; he shared our privileges; united with us in family devotion; and I occasionally took the same opportunities of conversing with him on divine things, which I had been accustomed to do with all those under my care. I well recollect one Sabbath evening, being thus engaged with him alone, when from his pertinent replies to some questions I put to him about the concerns of his soul and the importance of an interest in the Saviour, I perceived he possessed an uncommon share of ta-

lent and intellect. This conversation gave me an impressive idea of his general knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel, and I saw in him the traits of a very strong and ardent mind."

Whilst at Mr. Thodey's he conscientiously devoted himself to promote the interests of his employers, notwithstanding his natural aversion to business. He even became peculiarly attached to the family, and receiving from them tokens of affectionate attention, superior to any thing he had a right to expect, and of which he always spoke with gratitude, he became as happy as the circumstances of his lot could possibly allow him to be. He formed an acquaintance with several pious young men, who, though rather above his station, did not hesitate to respect genius and religion, even in a lad of inferior rank in life. Several times also, he exercised his preaching talents at the house of a relation of the young man who was then his fellow-servant, but was afterwards a student in the same academy with himself, and is now a useful minister of the gospel.*

He describes the exercises of his mind and the mode in which he passed his time, during his residence in the Poultry, with great simplicity and feeling.

"At this place my time was entirely employed, as it was fit it should be, in executing the will of my two masters; for the young man, who was active and friendly, I formed a great attachment, and was indeed interested in the welfare of the whole family. Marks of respect were shown me, which were I believe unusual to any of my predecessors. I made myself upon the whole tolerably comfortable; some difficulties and disagreeable circumstances of course fell to my lot, yet upon the whole I had many enjoyments. My acquaintance, whilst here, increased: with several young men, who indeed were rather above my station in life, I was particularly intimate, and more than twice or thrice did I give an exhortation at the house of a relative of the young man's, who was my fellow-servant. The opportunities I had of hearing the word were very delightful, and a higher relish was given to them by the toils and business of the week."†

To youth who may be placed in similar circumstances with the amiable subject of these memoirs, his mild and cheerful deportment in scenes so uncongenial to the bias of his mind, should prove a salutary and impressive lesson. Impatience and fretfulness are but ill adapted to the furtherance of any design, and a disposition to murmur, under the arrangements of our present lot, marks a state of mind most unfriendly to the patient sufferance of the toils, the anxieties and the disappointments inseparably connected with the ministerial life; and whilst it is an obvious fact, that every young man possessed of piety cannot be employed as a preacher of the gospel, to such as conceive themselves endowed with talents for that solemn office, and yet are placed in circumstances which seem to forbid the indulgence of a hope they still cherish with an anxious pleasure; to such, the subsequent history of Mr. Spencer, will afford another striking proof in an innumerable series—that where God has actually called and qualified an individual for the ministry, he will, in his own time and by unexpected methods, make the path of duty plain before that individual's feet. Let no one, then, rashly attempt to break the connected chain of opposing circumstances by which his providence may have surrounded him; but rather wait in patience till the hand that has thus encircled him opens up a passage, and by events, which may justly be considered as intimations of the divine will, invites him to advance.

These remarks, the result of frequent observations on the ways of God in cases similar to this, not improperly connect the future scenes of Mr. Spencer's life, with those we have already contemplated. For the time was now arrived, that the cloud which had hovered over his future prospects should be dissipated, and another path—a path to which he had from infancy directed his attention with fond anticipation and intense desire—present its varied and momentous objects of pursuit for the cheerful, but, alas! the short-lived exercise of his superior powers. After a residence of about four months with his employers in the Poultry, circumstances occurred of such a nature as to render his services no longer necessary, on which account he left London and returned for a while to his parents at Hertford; but some time previous to the event which caused his departure from London, he had been introduced to the notice of Thomas Wilson, Esq., the benevolent and indefatigable treasurer of the academy for educating young men for the work of the ministry, at Hoxton. Mr. Wilson perceived in him piety and talents far above his years. His whole appearance and his engaging manners excited in that gentleman's breast, an interest in this amiable youth, which he never lost, and he gave it as his decided opinion, (without elating him with a hope, of the ultimate failure of which, there was still a probability,) that his views should in some way or other be directed towards the ministry.

This revolution in Mr. Spencer's affairs was not unnoticed or unimproved by Mr. Wilson, who wisely regarding it as a favorable opportunity for carrying into effect those generous designs respecting him, which from their first interview he had cherished, sent for him; conversed with him upon the subject, and introduced him to the Rev. William Hordle, of Harwich, a gentleman to whose care some of the young men were committed, whose youth or other circumstances did not allow of their immediate entrance into the academy, though they were considered as proper objects of its patronage. To this gentleman, at length, Mr. Wilson proposed to send Mr. Spencer for trial of his talents and piety, and for preparatory studies; a proposition to which Mr. Spencer acceded with unfeigned gratitude and joy. The time fixed for his entrance into Mr. Hordle's family was January, 1806. The interval between this period and that of his departure from the Poultry, which was in October, 1805, he spent in his father's house, and for the most part in his father's business. Though this was repugnant to his feelings, he had yet learned, by five month's absence, in the bustle of a shop in the city, to appreciate the calm and tranquil pleasures of a domestic circle, to which he became more endeared as the lovely qualities of his mind unfolded, and the dignified and pleasing prospects of his future life were disclosed. But though considerable light was thrown upon his destiny, yet on leaving London it was not finally determined; and this pressed with peculiar weight upon his spirit, which, susceptible of the slightest emotion, must have deeply felt in leaving one scene of action, the uncertainty which as yet partially veiled from him that which should succeed. Of the day of his departure he thus writes:—"I anticipated it with mingled emotions; a strong desire to see my father, mother, brother, and sisters, a sensation of sorrow at parting with my old friends, and the idea of uncertainty

* The Rev. Thomas Heward, of Clare, to whom I cheerfully take this opportunity of publicly rendering my thanks for several interesting letters of Mr. Spencer's, which will appear in these pages.

† MS. Memoirs.

as to my future engagements in life, equally affected me. Although I had been absent from home but five months, the desire I had again to see Hertford was very great, nor do I suppose I shall often spend more pleasant evenings than the first one I spent at home, after the first time of being absent for any considerable season; two or three days were spent in seeing other relations and friends, till—."*

Here the narrative, first referred to, and often quoted, written by his own hand, and evidently for his own use, abruptly closes; and here for a moment his biographer will pause.——It is a charming domestic piece, which the hand of his departed friend, obedient to the warm and vivid recollections of his fervent mind, has sketched; but scarcely has he pictured to himself the countenances of that interesting group which gathered around him again to bid him welcome to his father's house, and committed the rude outline to his paper, than he is suddenly called off, and lays down the recording pen for ever! So did his life abruptly terminate; but the mysterious voice that summoned him from his endeared connections upon earth introduced his emancipated spirit to the bosom of a happier family above—not another family, but one most intimately connected with his own, for which whilst here he cherished such a warm affection. The sentiment this sentence breathes was familiar to himself, and often seen in the energy and fervor with which he would repeat these admirable lines of Kelly:—

One family, we dwell in him;
One church above, beneath,
Though now divided by the stream,
The narrow stream of death.

One army of the living God,
To his command we bow;
Part of the host have cross'd the flood,
And part are crossing now.

Ten thousand to their endless home
This awful moment fly:
And we are to the margin come,
And soon expect to die.

Dear Jesus, be our constant guide;
Then when the word is giv'n,
Bid death's cold stream and flood divide
And land us safe in heav'n.

At Harwich Mr. Spencer was completely in his element. He commenced the year 1806 in Mr. Hordle's family, and was then about completing the fifteenth of his own life. At this interesting age, when the powers of the mind begin rapidly to unfold—when a tone is often given to the future cast of thought, and sentiments and habits are imbibed and formed, which constitute the basis or become the germ of the matured and finished character;—it was a circumstance peculiarly auspicious in the history of this lamented youth, that he was introduced to the pious and enlightened care of such a man as Mr. Hordle. In his preaching, in his lectures, and in his conversation, he saw most admirably applied, those elementary principles of theological science, the scholastic forms of which must else have been unintelligible or insipid to his mind. In the liberal and sacred current of his habitual thought, Mr. Spencer would find a safe channel for the yet infant stream of his own conceptions; whilst he would imperceptibly form his character upon that mild, correct, and amiable model, constantly before him.

* MS. Memoirs.

It must be of incalculable advantage to a young man destined for the Christian ministry, as it evidently was to our departed Spencer, to pass a year or two beneath a faithful and enlightened pastor's roof—to be a spectator of his toil—a daily witness of the varied scenes of duty and of trial which the Christian ministry perpetually presents. It is true, that in academies, lectures on the pastoral care are read, and discourses on the duties of the Christian ministry delivered; but one week of actual observation must impress more deeply on the mind all that such lectures can contain, and unnumbered other circumstances, equally important, but which no general analysis can include, than months or years of the most devoted study. And to the diligent improvement of this peculiar advantage, perhaps, may in part be attributed that early maturity at which Mr. Spencer's capacity for the sacred office had arrived. He had the seriousness, the reflection of the *pastor* while but a *student;* and when he actually entered on that holy office, the exercises of the pulpit, and the habits of his ministerial life, bespoke the knowledge of long experience, rather than of recent theory, and indicated the presence of a *master's*, not a *learner's* hand.

At Harwich his diligence was exemplary: a judicious course of reading was marked out for him by his respected tutor, which he conscientiously and unweariedly pursued; but besides this, he had the use of an excellent library, with rich supplies from which he amply occupied his leisure hours. He had made considerable progress in the Latin; and soon after his introduction to Mr. Hordle, he commenced, under his direction, the study of the Hebrew. With this sacred language he was particularly pleased, and soon demonstrated his attachment and his diligence, by completing, with considerable labor, an abridgment of Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon. This work he accomplished in a small pocket manual, which proved of considerable use to him, and was almost his constant companion.*

Here, too, he first became acquainted with the principles of Moral Philosophy; and whilst from the lectures of Doddridge, and the essays of Locke, his mind derived vigor and energy; from the study of the Latin poets, and the classic authors of our own country, it gained amusement, and his compositions gradually assumed an air of elegance and ease.

But not only in literature and science was his progress conspicuous during his residence at Harwich; but he also made considerable advances in the knowledge and experience of divine things. That in the midst of all his studies, which yet he pursued with diligence and ardor, religion was the object of his chief regard and dearest to his heart, is evident from the uniform strain of his letters to his most intimate and beloved friend Mr. Heward, whose fellow laborer he had been at Mr. Thodey's, and the privation of whose society he seemed deeply to deplore. His views of the Christian ministry became more and more consistent, and the impression of its vast importance more deep and solemn on his mind. The intense desire with which he panted for that sacred and honorable office became tempered, though never checked, by an awe of its vast responsibility, and a consciousness of incapacity for the full discharge of its numerous and laborious duties.

With Mr. Hordle he would sometimes indulge

* Of this manual he made two fair copies, one of which is in possession of his tutor, and the other is amongst the papers from which these Memoirs are supplied. The design is honorable to his judgment, and the execution to his perseverance and his accuracy at that early age.

in the most free and unreserved converse on the state of his heart, and his private walk with God. In such conversations he was always much affected, and susceptible, from the constitution of his nature, of the most delicate impressions and the keenest feelings, it may be well supposed that in religion he would *deeply* feel. Hence the tenderness of his conscience, and the susceptibility of his mind, would often overwhelm his bosom with convictions of guilt, and agitate him with unnumbered inward conflicts. Yet in the midst of all he evidently grew in spiritual strength—his mind acquired confidence—his principles became daily more and more confirmed—and he had advanced far in a deep and experimental acquaintance with the ways of God at an age when such advancement is rarely to be found.

Whilst at Harwich he regularly shared with Mr. H. the pleasing duty of conducting the devotions of the family, and frequently performed the sacred service with an enlargement of heart, a fervor and propriety of expression truly astonishing. But this was a circumstance he particularly wished should be concealed; his modesty and diffidence shrunk from the observation of men, even of his nearest friends; and in one of his letters to his friend* he writes, "My situation is comfortable, more so than ever; I am considered like one of the family; of an evening I generally, by Mr. H.'s desire, engage in family prayer, he in the morning. *O tell it to no body on any account.* When he is out I always do."

To those who knew not the beloved original, the outlines of whose character these pages but imperfectly present, the detail of minute particulars may be uninteresting and insipid; but those who were familiar with him will dwell with pleasure on the faintest lineament that may be here preserved of a dear departed friend, so ardently, so deservedly esteemed; whilst a combination of these varied and retired beauties may form a portrait on which the eye of a stranger may dwell with admiration, and the mind reflect with profit. It is in confidenee of this that his biographer pauses to record another and a pleasing trait in his character at this early age—the peculiar warmth and constancy of his friendship. He seems, indeed, at this period to have had but one bosom friend, except those of his own immediate family; to him his letters breathe an affection the most glowing, spiritual, and pure; and perhaps no little incident more strikingly displays the tender cast of his mind than that which he himself relates, with great simplicity, in a letter to his friend:—

"This morning we read (Mr. H. and myself) the second night of Young's Night Thoughts—the very place that treats of friendship; I was rather affected at the reading of it; and after it was finished, and we were alone, I told him (Mr. H.) I was no stranger to Young's sentiments in that place. He asked me 'If I had lost any friends?' I told him no—not by death. He asked me 'if I had by treachery?' O no, sir. 'How then?' *Only by separation!*"

Thus in pleasant and familiar intercourse with one for whom he mingled veneration with affection, and of whom he never ceased to speak with all the rapturous energy of gratitude and filial love—in exercises and pursuits every way adapted to satisfy his ardent thirst of knowledge—in scenes and in society congenial to the tone and bias of his mind—in conscientious preparation for closer studies and severer labor, previous to his entrance on that sacred office long the object of his choice—and in deep communion with himself and God—did he pass the allotted period of his stay at Harwich.

As the term (a year) fixed for his residence with Mr. Hordle drew towards its close, his anxiety considerably increased; he anticipated, with regret, a departure from scenes and society so much endeared to him; and the trial through which he was to pass previous to his admission into the academy at Hoxton, when viewed in connection with his youth, excited in his mind considerable apprehension and dread. But the hope of success never entirely abandoned him; whilst the pleasing prospect of being again associated with his friend, who had by this time entered as a student in the same academy, tended not a little to gladden and animate his heart.

In November he drew up a statement of his religious experience, his views of theological truth, and his reasons for desiring the Christian ministry, according to a standing order of the academy with respect to young men proposing themselves as candidates for its patronage. These papers, written in a style of dignified simplicity; and disclosing a knowledge and experience of divine things, which in a youth, scarcely sixteen years of age, must have excited the admiration of all to whom they were submitted—were duly presented to the committee, and passed, though not without some difficulty, arising from his age; but the extraordinary qualifications he appeared to possess, and the strong recommendations of his friend and tutor, Mr. Hordle, overcame this obstacle, and the 5th of January following was appointed for his personal appearance before the constituents of that institution, in order to give them a specimen of his talents for public speaking.

Mr. Spencer left Mr. Hordle's family on the 18th of December, and spent the interval of time between his departure from Harwich and the day of his examination at Hoxton (which was postponed to the 7th of January) at his father's house at Hertford.

Whose imagination does not follow this beloved youth into the bosom of his family again; who does not picture to himself the charming scenes of social and domestic joy his presence would inspire. With what tenderness and affection would his venerable father bid him welcome to his paternal home again; with what delight would he gaze upon the animated features of his countenance, smiling in all the ingenuousness of youth; while with nobler feelings of delight he marked the unfolding graces of his mind, saw his improvement in the best of sciences—religion, and beheld him daily growing in favor both with God and man. With what adoring gratitude would they retrace together the scenes of his childhood, and the many alarming obstacles which once almost forbade the indulgence of a hope that the object of their ardent wish would ever be obtained; and how, in the transport of those happy hours, would his family anticipate for him they loved, in the future stages of an honorable ministry, years of usefulness and comfort. Ah! pleasing visions never to be realized! Little did that interesting group conceive that it was his appointed lot but just to taste the joys and sorrows of a pastor's life, and then expire. Already they had seen the bud swelling with fulness—teeming with life; now they beheld the blossom, and admired its beauty; and they thought long to gaze upon the promised charms of the unfolded flower; happy strangers of the melancholy and mysterious fact, that so soon as it had opened it must be suddenly cut down and die! But such and so frail is man—"*In the morning they are like grass that groweth up, in the evening it is cut down and withereth.*" Psalm xc. 5, 6. Such and so uncertain is human life—"*It is even as a vapor, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away.*" James iv. 14.

At this interesting period of Mr. Spencer's life it will be perhaps gratifying to the reader to pause, and gain a more familiar acquaintance with him

* Mr. Heward.

than can be supplied by a narration of events and circumstances in his history, by perusing some extracts from his correspondence and other papers, which will throw much light upon the formation of his character, and afford a pleasing specimen of his early genius.

I have now before me a packet of letters addressed to his friend Mr. Heward, dated at various periods, from October, 1805, to December, 1806. Though at the commencement of this correspondence he had not attained his fifteenth year, these letters breathe a spirit of the purest piety, and often express sentiments by which age would not be dishonored, in a style remarkably correct and vigorous. But the reader shall participate with me in the pleasure which the perusal of this interesting correspondence—this simple and unaffected utterance of early piety and friendship, has afforded me.

I.

Hertford, Oct. 16, 1805.

"——— As for the manner in which I have and do employ my time: my father employs me either in writing or in his business, more than I expected. What leisure time I do have, which is but little, I employ in reading, writing, and meditation. I hope he will not press upon me that employment which I dislike, but which however I have been engaged in.

"Mr. Wilson wrote a letter to my father, the substance of which is as follows: he informs him that if it is possible he will get a minister to take me, in order to see more of my piety and talents; and hopes that it will be agreeable for me to be at home with my father till Christmas.

"These are the circumstances under which I am now placed. I know it is my duty to be submissive and resigned to the will of God, but this is a lesson which, like all others, is to be learned at the cross of Christ: 'tis there alone, my dear friend, we can study all heavenly graces and duties ———."

It is pleasing to observe with what deep seriousness of mind he conducted those favorite exercises in exhortation and in preaching, before referred to,* and with what humility and even thankfulness he listened to the animadversions of any who were disposed to criticise. In another part of the same letter he says: "——— I am not without hope, that I shall praise and adore a blessed God, for the ill opinions those persons formed of me, who heard me preach at Mr. T——'s. Methinks I cannot be thankful enough to you of informing me of it. It has, I trust, made me more watchful and prayerful than before, that I may be accounted righteous not in the sight of men, but in the view of a sin-avenging God. Thus we may see a little of the dealings of Providence with his children. When he distresses them in any way he does it for their good. *All things*, saith the inspired apostle, *work together for good to them that love God, and are the called according to his purpose.* Since that evening I have felt a little more comfort in my own mind respecting eternal things. God forbid it should be a false peace. Hope you keep close to a throne of grace in personal prayer. 'Tis from thence we are to draw all our comfort; 'tis there we can get a soul-transforming spiritual view of Jesus; 'tis from thence we get every necessary weapon, wherewith to combat our spiritual enemies.

"So often called away to attend to different things, like you, I cannot say I have written such a letter as I could wish. If I should be placed under a minister, I think I should have more opportunity for writing long letters. However, let us, whenever an opportunity offers, write to each other. Such love as ours is not easily quenched. Let us then manifest it by writing to each other, so as to stir up one another to the exercise of every Christian grace. Still let us keep our eye upon the Lord Jesus Christ, and be constantly concerned to honor his holy name, by a consistent walk and conversation. Then shall we meet to part no more, and dwell for ever with our Jesus, in upper, better, brighter worlds.

"The soul that on Jesus has lean'd for repose,
He will not, he cannot, desert to his foes:
That soul tho' all hell should endeavor to shake,
He'll *never, no never, no never* forsake."

Soon after it was determined that he should go to Harwich for a twelvemonth, he wrote again to his friend Mr. Heward, and the following extract from his letter, shows the humble, grateful, and devotional habit of his mind:—

II.

Hertford, November 12, 1805.

"——— I join with you in saying, 'how wonderful are God's ways.' We indeed little thought that Mr. H. was the person under whom I should be instructed, when we were at Hoxton, hearing him preach, or I, when I breakfasted with him: at the same time, I cannot forbear adoring that favor which is shown to me from God; ME who am utterly unworthy of the least of all God's mercies. Goodness and mercy have hitherto followed me, and, I doubt not, will through life. May that goodness which was so gloriously displayed in the salvation of sinners, and that mercy which has snatched so many brands from the burning, be our consolation all through life—our joy in death—and the burden of our song to all eternity."

The following observations are worthy of a much older pen, and display a judgment and discretion, rather unusual in a lad, not yet fifteen years of age.

III.

November 13.

"You informed me in your last, that your desires for the work of the ministry had not at all abated. I sincerely wish that they may be fulfilled, and that you and I may be fellow laborers in the Lord's vineyard. God certainly can do this for us; let us pray that he may. You still appear dubious of your own ability for that important work. I would have you consider, that God works by whom he will work He has many ministers in his church, real sent ministers, who have not those great gifts that distinguish many of his servants; and not only so, but these men have often been the means of doing more good than those of great talents—and what is the reason of this? *Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight*—is all that we must say. And you, my worthy friend, should also remember, that as yet, you cannot form any idea of your own abilities. As I have often told you, when I lived with you, I doubt not your abilities, when improved by application to study, &c. will be as fit for that employ, (if the will of God) as any other. God, you know, in every thing acts as a sovereign: '*I will work, and who shall let it*,' is his language—will work by the feeblest means, and the weakest instruments. I hope you will still be kept low in your own eyes, for, that, I am sure, is one quality, or rather property, of a gospel minister. At our best estate we are altogether vanity, and less than nothing. May the Lord keep us all truly humble. Luther used to say, there were three things made a minister—affliction, meditation, and prayer: that is, sanctified affliction, scriptural meditation and earnest prayer; in which last particu-

* See page 198.

lar I hope you are perpetually engaged. Pray, my dear friend, for direction of God—pray for grace, which is of more value, by far, than great gifts, and say in the language of resignation, hope, and faith—*Here am I, Lord, send me to labor in thy vineyard.*' You have appealed to me in saying, 'You well know I shall never rely on my own strength for success and usefulness'—I know you will not, (at least whilst in your present mind) and I pray that God would keep you still so determined. Let us then pray, that we may both of us be able, useful, and humble ministers of the New Testament.

"——— I am glad to find, that you generally hear three times a day. Young men, who wish to be ministers, cannot hear too much of the gospel, provided they are anxious to improve on what they do hear———."

I shall present the reader with nearly the whole of the following letter; and I think, that few will be found, on the perusal, who deem it unworthy of preservation. It contains a pleasing, grateful (and the more pleasing as it is entirely uninfluenced) tribute to the memory of departed worth—discloses the deep attention and care with which its writer was, at that early age, accustomed to hear and reflect upon sermons, and shows how incessant and uniform was the panting of his heart for the Christian ministry.

IV.

Hertford, November 18, 1805.

"My dearest friend—I expected to have heard from you before now, but as I have not, it becomes me to bear the disappointment with fortitude and resolution, hoping that it will not be long before I have a few lines from you. On Saturday last, I heard that that good and worthy man Mr. Winwood was dead. It will, I doubt not, be a great stroke to the family; but I am well assured, that to him death was eternal gain. Truly, *the righteous hath hope in his death.* May you and I both be found at the last day on the right hand of the Judge with our respected master! While he is tuning his harp to the praises of a precious Jesus, we have to combat with many enemies; we have many trials to pass under

Before we reach the heavenly fields,
Or walk the golden streets!*

We shall, I am persuaded, feel our own depravity in many instances here below, ere we join with him in everlasting songs above; but if we are enlisted under the banners—the blood-stained banners of the cross, we shall certainly arrive there. Let us then seek, earnestly seek, after the one thing needful; and whilst earthly objects vanish and decay in our estimation; nay, whilst the world dies daily in our view, and its perishing things appear in their proper light—may we feel our hearts panting after the wells of salvation—our souls, with all their faculties, engaged in the noblest of all undertakings—our feet running in the good ways of God—our tongues making mention of his righteousness, and of his only—in short, may we be crucified to the world—risen with Christ—and transformed into his divine image and likeness. This, I trust, I can say is my desire, and I know it is the earnest wish of my dear friend.

"Sabbath-day, Nov. 15th, I heard Mr. M———, at Cowbridge, in the morning, from 1 Thes. v. 8. '*But let us, who are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love, and for an helmet the hope of salvation.*' He first showed what was implied in Christians being of the day; secondly, enforced the exhortation of the text. To be of the day, he said, implied—1. a state of knowledge; 2. safety; 3. comfort, &c. In enforcing the admonition, he exhorted them to the exercise of faith and love; gave them good grounds for hope; and showed that these three graces had a tendency to comfort and strengthen believers. In the afternoon, from Acts xvii. 30, 31. '*The times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent, because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead!*' He considered—1. the certainty of a future judgment; 2. the person of the judge; 3. the circumstances of the day; 4. the necessity of repentance inferred from the text. He, indeed, is a worthy man, and appears well suited for a missionary. In the evening I heard Mr. L———, at the Chapel, from John iii. 14. '*For as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness,*' &c. He said many good things, and is very earnest in the good cause. Last Lord's day we had Mr. M——— again; text in the morning, Heb. vi. 11. '*And we desire, that every one of you do show the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end.*' He considered—1. the thing mentioned—the full assurance of hope; 2. showed that it might be attained; 3. exhorted them to diligence in aspiring after it. Time and room forbid me to make any remarks upon the sermon (which was a good one) in the afternoon, from Acts xvi. 9. '*And then stood a man of Macedonia and prayed him, saying come over and help us.*' In discoursing on it, he showed—1. that the heathens want help; 2. that it is the duty of ministers and people to give it them; and 3. that men should exert themselves for the purpose. It appeared like a collection sermon; and he went afterwards and got a little money of a few friends at Hertford, for the mission to China.

"In the evening, having been previously invited, I went at six o'clock to Mr. K———'s, to see the minister. I was there during family worship; and after that, Mr. M. and self went up stairs to talk a little together. He asked me about my learning, &c., then how long I had been seriously disposed, &c. He appeared satisfied with my answers, and asked me if I was not going into the country; I told him 'yes.' He asked me if I should have an opportunity of attending to my books there. This naturally led to the whole affair: he seemed glad, and asked me if I designed to be a minister in this country. I told him I wished to be quite resigned to the will of Providence in that matter. He gave me some good advice; and then we knelt down, and he engaged in a short and affectionate prayer. I was much affected with the advice, conversation, and prayer.

"———I am sensible that your attachment to me is as unshaken as ever. I hope you pray that both of us may be made ministers of the gospel; and in some future day, have our wishes respecting that completely fulfilled. I am very desirous that you may be shortly placed in a situation in which you will have more leisure for reading, writing, studying, &c. *O that you were going with me to Harwich.* Still continue to pray for one who feels his own unworthiness for the service of his God, and yet wishes to be an instrument of doing great good to souls: and if I should not be very successful in my ministry, methinks it would be reward

* Alas! lamented youth! little did he, or the friend to whom he wrote, imagine how few his trials—how short his warfare should prove—and how soon the pious desire of his heart should be, as it respected himself, fulfilled: such and so mysterious are the ways of God—Spencer is early summoned to his rest, but his companion is left, still to maintain the conflict, whilst he mourns his loss—"*two men shall be in the field, the one shall be taken and the other left.*" Matthew xxiv. 40.

enough to have labored for God, and not to have been employed in the drudgery of Satan."

The next letter, to the same correspondent, contains a specimen of his talent for the composition of sermons at that age. It affords a pleasing proof of his early skill in the practice of an art, in which he eventually so much excelled.

V.

Hertford, December 3, 1805.

"———I have sent you my thoughts upon (or rather my way of discussing) that text Mr. Knight preached from. I hope your candor will excuse imperfections. I never read any thing upon it, and it is the production of a boy.

MATTHEW v. 20.

'For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

GENERAL HEADS.

1st.—EXPLAIN THE NATURE OF THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES.

2d.—SHOW IN WHAT RESPECTS OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS MUST EXCEED THEIRS.

3d.—NOTICE THE CONSEQUENCES OF POSSESSING A RIGHTEOUSNESS NO BETTER THAN THEIRS.

1st HEAD.—EXPLAIN THE NATURE, &c.

It was self-righteousness.—Luke xviii. 9.

1st.—*This righteousness is founded in ignorance*
Of God's nature,
Of the spirituality of his law,
Of the deceitfulness of the heart,
And of the true method of salvation.

2d HEAD.—SHOW IN WHAT RESPECTS OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS SHOULD EXCEED THEIRS.

The righteousness here termed 'yours' is the righteousness of Christ, which becomes ours by imputation, in the same manner as our sins became Christ's. This righteousness thus becoming ours, exceeds the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees.

1st.—*In its origin.* It is divine—the other human, or Satanic; as we doubt not, Satan first infused self-righteous thoughts into the minds of men, &c.

2d.—*Its nature and particular properties.*
This righteousness
Delivers us from bondage,
Saves us from sin,
Gives us holiness of life,
Makes us victorious in death,
Joyful in judgment, and
Happy through all eternity.

The righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees cannot do this.

But our Lord might also allude to that righteousness which is implanted in us, as well as that which is imputed to us, and that far exceeds the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees in its effects, which are real good works, which
Spring from a good motive,
Are directed to a good purpose,
And have a good end.

These works are not meritorious, but serve for the justification of our faith, not of our persons, and they far exceed the legal performances of the self-righteous.

3d HEAD.—NOTICE THE CONSEQUENCES OF POSSESSING A RIGHTEOUSNESS NO BETTER THAN THEIRS.

Ye shall in no case enter into, &c.

1st.—Here we must necessarily dwell a little upon *the nature of the kingdom of heaven.*—Consider
1. The person of the King.
2. The happiness of the subjects.
3. The eternal duration of his reign, &c.

2d.—*How dreadful a thing to be shut out of this kingdom.*

3d.—*How peculiarly striking is the language of the Saviour—ye shall in no case, &c.*

Notwithstanding all your professions, long prayers, alms givings, &c., '*Ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.*'

From this subject we draw a few inferences.

1.—We may learn from hence, *the evil nature of sin.* If all *self-righteousness* be so bad, what must *unrighteousness* be?

2.—We here see *the only true method of salvation*—the righteousness of Christ.

3.—How necessary is *daily, serious self-examination*, in order to ascertain to which class we belong.

4.—We likewise infer *the necessity of prayer*, for instruction and grace.

5.—*How dreadful is the case of the self-righteous character.*

6.—*The believer may hence draw some comfort.* He is interested in Jesus Christ, and shall outride all the storms and troubles of life, sing the dear name of Jesus in the hour of death, and stand unmoved amidst the jarring elements, 'the wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds.'

"May the God of hope bless us both—fill us with all joy and peace in believing—enlarge our spiritual coast—give us to see more and more of the sinfulness of our nature—the depravity of our hearts—the imperfection of our graces—the smallness of our knowledge—the sufficiency of Jesus—the stability of our hope—the fulness of Christ. May he give us to see that our names are written in heaven—may he brighten up our evidences for glory—establish our faith—enlarge our desires—and give us hungerings and thirstings after righteousness. May we enjoy the blessings of salvation—the sweetness of communion with God—the peace bought and purchased for us by Christ Jesus—and that joy in the Holy Ghost, produced by his influences—and may we learn more and more of the heights, lengths, depths, and breadths of the love which passeth knowledge. May we dwell together in that happy land, where none but the righteous can enter, and where our worship shall be undisturbed.

"And now, my dear brother, I commend you to the hands of that God who doth all things well, and who taketh care of those who put their trust in him; and hoping soon to hear from you, I subscribe myself,

"Your truly affectionate friend,
"THOMAS SPENCER."

"N. B. Remember me to ———. Pray for me, and may the Lord bless you. Amen."

VI.

Hertford, December 31, 1805.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I think myself very happy in having such a friend as you prove yourself to be. I know affection towards me is too deeply rooted in you ever to be erased by separation.—Life's greatest blessing is a well chosen friend, and I do feel it so. You cannot imagine (only by your own feelings) what pleasure I take in recollecting past scenes, and recalling to the mind occurrences relating only to us, which never shall be forgotten. I hope we have the same 'friend that sticketh closer than a brother,' I am affected, peculiarly affected, when I read the solemn confessions you make of depravity, &c.—You know Paul acknowledged himself the chief

of sinners. When, therefore, you are bowed down under a sense of sin, *look unto Jesus*, there only salvation is to be found for those who, like you, are sensible of sin. But I verily believe my friend has already been washed in the fountain of his blood. Yes, I doubt not but you have passed from death unto life, and are called according to God's eternal purpose; therefore, instead of writing bitter against yourself, rejoice in Christ Jesus whilst you have no confidence in the flesh. Ah! my friend, you know not fully how I have lifted up my puny arm in rebellion against God; so that I cannot think myself a whit behind the chief of sinners. Young as I am, I am a great sinner; but blessed be God who has, I hope, given us both a good hope through grace: to him be all the glory.

"I shall, I expect, be in town a day sooner than was intended, viz. Wednesday the 8th; my father will not come till the next day. Mr. F———, in his letter, mentions a desire that I would give them a lecture (*in the old way*) at his house in the evening. I am very willing to do it, and I hope we shall have your company."

VII.

Hertford, January 3, 1806.

"My dearest friend—With the greatest pleasure I received and read your kind but short letter; but I must not speak about its shortness, as mine must be as short, if not shorter, as I expect S——— to come for it directly. Mr. Davies's sermon entitled, 'The Midnight Hour,' I understand, is printed. How glad I should have been to have heard it. I hope when I am in town you will remember your promise, and not forget the greatest part of the sermon, as you know how I respect (and like the preaching of) that worthy man.* I hope you will have a pleasant and profitable day next Sabbath at Finchley. I am afraid you cannot get out next Thursday, the day Nelson is buried; for I do assure you that your presence at any place in town would afford me more pleasure than the sight of his funeral, to which I do not intend to go. I have been with Samuel a little about Hertford. I have read what I wanted in Washington's Life, or rather his History of American Wars, as I do not see so much of Washington in it as I expected. I cannot add more; but remain your very affectionate friend,

"Thomas Spencer."

His next letter is from Harwich, and contains a pleasing disclosure of the state of his mind on the accomplishment, so far, of his ardent wishes.

VIII.

Harwich, Feb. 6, 1806.

My dearest friend—I with pleasure embrace the opportunity which now offers itself, of writing you a few lines for the first time since I have been here. While I hope you enjoy your health, I can say I never was better in my life than I have been since I have been at Harwich. The air is very cold and healthy: I am sure I have felt the difference. In the town there are many inhabitants, and a Methodist place besides Mr. Hordle's: by Methodists, I mean Wesley's people. Mr. Hordle preaches three times on a Sabbath day, and is very well attended, and on Wednesday evenings; prayer meeting on Monday night. I doubt not but you will join with me in returning thanks to the all-wise disposer of events for placing me in that comfortable situation which I now fill. I live with Mr. H. entirely; his study is where I pursue my learning, and in an afternoon I meet his boys (there are only nine) at his vestry, to say a lesson or two with them. I learn *Latin*, *Geography*, and have got a considerable way in Doddridge's Lectures on *Pneumatology*, in which I meet now and then with a *philosophical* subject; indeed, my dear friend, I really am very comfortable. *O! that my improvement may keep pace with the advantages I enjoy.*

"But, my dearest friend, what a separation between us. I often think of you when in this study pursuing my learning; think! did I say? I cannot help thinking of you, and I will cherish every tender thought of a friend I so much love. Ofttimes I think that of an evening, when we are surrounding the family altar, you are engaged in the busy concerns of life—whilst I am enjoying the advantages of a *kind teacher*, a good *library*, and various other blessings, you are behind the counter of a glove shop. Yet do not despair. I hope we shall some future day enjoy one another's company, and these advantages connected with it. When I walk out, as I in general do every day for exercise, I imagine you to be here—I converse with you—I see you—and fancy many other enjoyments, which perhaps will not come so soon. When I last saw you I was exceedingly vexed that we could not have half an hour together in private; but, however, I know you regard me still—and am sure I love you much; and it is some pleasure to think that we can yet pray for one another. O do not forget me, unworthy as I am, in your approaches to the throne of grace. Pray that I may not abuse my privileges; but that whilst I am here it may be manifest that I am possessed of a principle of divine grace in my heart. But I hope I need not mention this to you, for you do, I trust, still remember me in your best moments. I have not forgot the pleasure I experienced the last time I saw you in London, nor the affectionate manner in which you conversed with me from Mr. F.'s to my cousin's the last evening.

"I had a very tedious journey here, as I could not sleep *all night* in the coach. But I think I am well repaid. I did not imagine that I should be treated with such care; I have a nice little bed to myself; and, in short, am surrounded with blessings. I take some pleasure in contrasting my present situation with what it was when at Mr. Thodey's; but after I have considered the peculiar advantages of this to that, I find that there was one pleasure I enjoyed there, which I do not here—that of your company and conversation; and thus is life made up of hopes and fears, pleasures and pains. May we be among those who are *strangers and sojourners* here, who seek a better country.

"The evening I generally employ in promiscuous reading, as the time is then as it were my own. As I come home from the vestry about an hour before the other boys, from that time till tea I am engaged in secret meditation, reading God's word, and prayer to him. Ah! Thomas, you are then more on my mind than during the other parts of the day, for I cannot but remember how often you have pressed on me the duty of private prayer; and indeed, my friend, you are then most remembered by me in the best sense. I do continue to pray for you; and I hope God will hear our petitions for one another, and send us answers of peace. I beg of you, I entreat you to be earnest in supplication for me, that if God has appointed me for the work of the ministry, I may be fitted for it, and have a divine blessing attending me in all I undertake.

"Mr. H. bids me write now and then the heads of a sermon of my own, and show it him. I have yet only done one: it met his approbation.

"Be so kind as to remember me to Mr. F. &c. &c. I suppose you like your business as little as ever; but I hope you will soon be put in a situation

* The Rev. Mr. Davies, of Queen-street, Cheapside, London.

where you will yourself enjoy more—I mean in the best enjoyments. I still hope that we, formed for each other's comfort, shall yet be made blessings to each other, and that in a particular way. Then let the conceited, covetous worldling say, 'Friendship is but a name'—we know it is something more—it is a great blessing; and where the friends have grace in their hearts, it is so eminently and especially. David and Jonathan found it so. I often think of your noticing particularly that expression, *their souls were knit together*. Dr. Young thought so when he said, 'poor is the friendless master of a world.' I am thankful that I have had such a friend cast in my way that will be, I trust, a blessing to me all through life, and that will dwell with me in a better world. May the hope of that happiness stimulate us to more resignation to the divine will, and holy disdain of the vanities of time and sense.

"And now, my dear friend, my letter draws to a close; I can scarcely forbear tears while I write it. I hope you will overlook its very visible imperfections, and remember that it comes from one that loves you. Need I again beseech you to pray for me, that I may find mercy of the Lord, be blessed with every blessing here below, and crowned with glory hereafter.

"Write to me what religious intelligence you know I am ignorant of: I see the Magazine here, and other periodical works.—And now I desire to commit myself, my dear friend, and all our concerns, into the hands of a covenant God; and wishing you every blessing, I rest your ever faithful and affectionate friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

IX.

Harwich, Feb. 24, 1806.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND—More than a fortnight ago, according to agreement, I wrote to you; as I have not heard from you since that time, my mind is full of anxiety on that account, as I know not what to assign as a reason for it. I hope you received it, for I should never like our correspondence to be investigated by any body but ourselves. I hardly know how to write this letter; whether I should inform you of circumstances I mentioned in my last, (being in doubt whether you received it) or taking for granted that you have had it, shall I *tenderly* chide you for not answering it. I cannot think you have either forgotten me, or are grown careless about me, and yet what can I say? *I am full of conjectures.* Have you been so busy as not to have time to write; or have you written, put it in the post, and the letter miscarried? I hope you will write to me, and inform me which of these is the real case.—Need I tell you again that I am peculiarly comfortable in my situation, having nothing to render me otherwise but the absence of my *friend*, and my not having heard from *him:* nor from home either; for I wrote to my father, and have not yet received an answer, which I expected immediately; indeed I cannot at all account for these things.

"As Mr. Hordle was a student at Hoxton, I have learnt a few things respecting the nature of the place, which perhaps you will like to know, for who can tell but some future day you may take the second, third, and last step towards being connected with them. You told me you had taken the *first* some time ago. But to drop this. The students, then, find themselves *candles for their own studies, soap, towels, tea,* and they have one *gown* to study in, &c. they have family prayer altogether morning and evening: you know what they learn. I am very fond of Mr. H.'s preaching: we had three very fine sermons yesterday, on Exod. xxxiii. 16; 1 Cor. iv. 5; Eph. ii. 8. I have just begun to enter the heads of the sermons in a book, and I am sure he is like a father to me; I am indeed very well treated. I hope you are earnest in prayer, that God would let you know his will concerning you. O, my friend, I should think myself *very happy* if I could do any thing for you. Although I do not speak to you now, nor see you, nor hear from you, yet I do feel pleasure in praying for you. I never was better in my life than since I have been at Harwich. A day or two ago I began to learn Hebrew. I often think you would be in your element in this study, with the advantages of learning, &c. I begin now to have a *little* idea of Geography; know more Latin than before, and study every day Locke's Conduct of the Understanding, and Doddridge's Lectures; besides a deal of cursory reading, &c. for here is a very nice library, to which I have free access. I told you in my last to let me have Mr. E——'s address. Hope you will remember me to all our friends. Give my respects to Mr. J. F——, and T. E——. As I do not remember any thing else that I have to say, I conclude with subscribing myself, yours, by all the tender ties of friendship,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

X.

Harwich, April 4, 1806.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND—I received, with the greatest pleasure, your letter of the 29th of February, together with my father's; and, as I was sorry you did not write to me before, so was I equally grieved at the cause: I sympathize with you in your afflictions, and hope that you are now quite recovered and—the rest of the family. I believe you when you say it affords you so much pleasure to hear of my welfare. O! *Thomas*, pray for me that my very comforts do not become snares. I should like to have had more of the heads, texts, &c. of the sermons you have heard in London; and hope that you find the ministry of Mr. K—— and those you hear at Hoxton beneficial to your soul; for it is my earnest desire that, under the influences of the sacred Spirit, your soul may be like a well-watered garden. I (of course) hear Mr. H. three times on the Sabbath day, and I think I can say it has been to my profit: his sermons are indeed very *judicious, experimental and practical*, and I find it to be just the preaching *I want*. I keep a book, in which I put down the heads of most of his sermons, which, when it is full, I intend (if you would like) that you shall see. I suppose of an evening we have not less than four hundred and fifty people; in the day time not quite so many. There is a band of singers in the table pew, generally a bass viol is played, and Mr. H. preaches in a gown, and I think the people are more attentive than any I ever saw. Once in a fortnight Mr. H. preaches at the *work-house;* I have been twice, and I like it *very much*. In the week day I go to the Methodist chapel, and sometimes hear a good sermon there. I find by the Magazine that Mr. S—— is at Spa-fields chapel. I have spoken often about him to you, and have mentioned him in my letters (though by the bye I spelt his name wrong.) He is a Cheshunt student—has preached very frequently at Hertford chapel. I would advise you, if convenient, to go and hear him, for he is a very bold and very faithful preacher. If you do, give me a little account of the sermon, &c. If I were you, I would try to hear Mr. B———'s missionary sermon.

"I am very glad that you informed me of Mr. F.'s and Mr. W.'s conversation. I liked it all very well, except that about my preaching, and indeed I had much rather that Mr. F. had not mentioned that for various reasons. If you have heard any more, pray tell it me.

'*He must not be put too forward.*'

"But you have raised my curiosity very much

about the certain minister, who has, unsolicitedly, offered you his recommendation for Hoxton. But why this reservedness? I shall expect a friendly, satisfactory reason for your not telling me his name, &c. Do you think that I would abuse your confidence? I hope not—I think I should know better. As the month is expired, you *must* tell me in your next more about it, as whether you have seen this certain minister? what he said to you? &c. &c. I hope I have obeyed your request, and prayed for you; may God grant us both more of a praying spirit, and may he answer our petitions, one for another. I thank you for Mr. E.'s address. I have not yet wrote to him—*must*—though, Thomas, I think now I should be completely unhappy, were I again to have any thing to do with business, and I feel for you, as you say your time is wholly taken up in it every day from six in the morning to eleven at night. I hope that while your aversion to the cares of the world increases, your spiritual affections are more animated, and your whole soul, from day to day, transformed more into the likeness of our lovely Jesus.

'*The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.*'—You seem peculiarly pleased with this passage, observe therefore,

1st.—That it is the *righteous* God regards;—those who are redeemed by the Son's blood;—loved by the Father's grace;—sanctified by the Spirit's influence. Those who are weaned from the vanities of earth and time—whose affections are set on things above;—in a word, who are born of God, and bound for heaven.

2d.—That they must *pray*. Prayer is the breath of the new-born soul, a believer cannot live without it, for

> Prayer makes the darken'd cloud withdraw;
> Prayer climbs the ladder Jacob saw;
> Gives exercise to faith and love,
> And brings down blessings from above.'
>
> NEWTON.

3d.—They must pray *fervently*. 'Cold prayers,' saith one, 'do but beg a denial.' In vain we offer up lifeless devotion to a heart-searching and rein-trying God.

4th.—These prayers are *effectual*, and avail much; they avail much in the sanctifying of our souls, and forming Christ there.

"Pardon this digression, as these thoughts have just sprung from my own mind.

"I hope you continue to enjoy your Sabbaths more than ever? How delightful it is '*to dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of our life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and inquire in his temple.*'—That was Mr. H.'s text last Sabbath day morning and afternoon. In the morning he applied it to the church here below; showed what was meant by beholding the beauty of the Lord, and inquiring in his temple, and how desirable it was, &c. In the afternoon, he applied all (with the greatest propriety) to heaven. Two very excellent sermons.

"I cannot yet give up the thought that we shall soon live together again; if we are to be so favored, how thankful should I be; if not, we must learn to know no will but God's, and acknowledge that the Judge of all the earth will do right. As yet let us not despair, but commit all our concerns into the hands of our covenant God and heavenly Father. We know he will do all things well. My situation is as comfortable, or more so than ever, and I am considered like one of the family. We have a nice house, and here are only Mr. H., Mrs. H., the little child about eight months old—a sweet babe he is—the servant and myself. I read Virgil in Latin now, and what I do learn of any thing serves to show me more of my ignorance. May the Lord keep me humble. I have theological questions to study, such as,

'Wherein appears the possibility of a divine revelation?

'Why is it desirable?' &c.

"I may consult books upon the subject, and here is a very good library. You will not forget your promise to write in your next about grace thriving in your heart. As for me it is with tardy steps I creep, sometimes joying, and sometimes sorrowing. And yet without boasting, I think I can say I have known more of heart religion since I have been here than before; but it is very little altogether. I have experienced many happy moments in secret, such times as remind me of our last Sabbath afternoon together. But O! what a deal of pride, rebellion, carelessness, and all kinds of wickedness is there in my heart; I tremble to think of what I deserve for my former levity, &c. But O pray for me that I may find grace in the eyes of the Lord, and live to some purpose in the world. I am afraid that there are yet improper motives in my desiring the work of the ministry. Since I have been here I have seen some little of its nature, &c. I am sensible that no learning, or human qualifications are enough to fit me for that all-important work; and I hope, that God will pour down showers of grace on me, instead of what I deserve, 'vials of wrath.' When you give me a little account of your 'growth in grace,' and how the lamp of religion keeps alive, I hope you will retrace some of the paths in which the Lord your God has led you, and tell me something of your former experience, present enjoyments, and future hope. If you wish to go on from one degree of grace unto another, which I do not doubt, commune much with your own heart, read the Bible as much as possible, and above all things pray *fervently*. I am perfectly well in health, as I hope you are. My father told me in his letter that Mr. M—— is still at ——, and that the chapel was still continued. I should like to have all the numbers of the Youth's Magazine (but September and October last, those I have) if I could have them sent conveniently; and it is not worth while to send by the coach, for you know the carriage will be more than the books are worth. Wishing you every spiritual blessing, I remain your affectionate and faithful friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

XI.

Harwich, May 9, 1806.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I received your two last letters with great pleasure. It is highly gratifying to me to discover a great, and I believe a growing attachment in you towards your friend, notwithstanding he is so far from you. In your letter of the 7th April you say you rather expected a gentle reproof from me for your not writing to me; if so, what ought I to expect from you? But knowing the kindness of your heart, I forbear any more upon that subject. I was glad to hear of your comfortable interview with your friends at Coggeshall, and like your method well of consulting with your father on these occasions. Let us always manifest an obedient and dutiful regard to the advice of our parents; they, you know, are older than we, and more experienced; and the light of nature, as well as that of divine revelation, enjoins us to love, reverence, and obey them. I should not have expected that —— would have acted so generously and friendly, as it appears he has done. I think from these circumstances there appears (something like) the kind hand of Providence, and I hope it will appear so to your satisfaction by and bye. I wait with anxiety the

result of your intended interview with the Rev. ———, of Chelmsford, and I need not tell you to make it a matter of prayer—you know full well the *importance*, *necessity*, and *power*, of the prayer of faith. Your cousin Ford should remember that if the *turnpike road* is got too bad for people to walk comfortably in, the *fields* are more pleasant, as well as much nearer. How different are the views of good people, even in the most trifling things. When we get to heaven, there will be an end of all differences in sentiment and disposition. But I would not have you imagine that I (now) prefer Hoxton only on the account of its pleasantness, and the orthodox views of its supporters; but I would wish myself, and would have you follow, the leadings of Providence in this as well as every other respect: if it appears the Divine will for you to go to Homerton, by all means go; but if not, you of course will not. However, you may be sure of one thing, and that is, that your friend will love you none the less for your preference of Homerton. But I do think that Hoxton will be the place for *you*. In your letter you have the *remarkable* words, 'respecting my intended subject, I do not remember that I promised an account of my own experience as to growth in grace.' Now perhaps you did not mean so in the letter referred to, but I understood it so. Your words were, 'I had a great deal to write of, I mean the best things, as, how grace thrives in the heart, &c. which I hope to *question* and write of in my next.' Now here by the word question I of course thought you meant *me*, by writing of it, some account of yourself. But it appears it was not so; and now I confess if it was not so designed, I do not know your meaning. I have been particular in stating this, in order to prevent mistakes. I hope with you that in your present situation you are learning lessons that will be beneficial to you all through life. I hope you will see more and more of the vanity of the pursuits of time and sense, and be more and more separated from a world lying in wickedness, as that is a good evidence of having found grace in the sight of the Lord. I perceive by your expressions that you are fired with zeal. I hope it is according to knowledge, and that you are not venturing upon what you may repent of in some future day. To say my own thoughts, I do not think you are influenced by any wrong motives. I am pleased with your self-dedication to God; and I heartily wish that he may hear all your prayers, bless you with an increase of grace and gifts, if he think fit; but he that has the most grace makes the best minister, and will rise to glory, honor and immortality, at last, and shall shine as the stars in the firmament, and be for ever blest; whilst the ungodly minister (O awful thought!) shall have his portion with hypocrites and unbelievers, shall be banished from the presence of the Lord, and be cast into outer darkness, the smoke of his torments ascending up for ever and ever. I wish you could see Brown's Address to his Students in Divinity, which is prefixed to his View of Religion (an excellent body of divinity.) You would there see something of the import of being a minister of the gospel. O! my friend, it made me exclaim, '*who is sufficient for these things!*'

"There is certainly a great pleasure in receiving letters, and writing to each other; you and I experience this, don't we? Indeed you dwell much on my mind. I think if we were to see each other again, and have a little good conversation, it would be like '*cold water to a thirsty soul;*' it would refresh us, call again into more lively exercise our warm sensations of affection. What a blessing it is, I often think, that we ever met together. I am very glad that I ever lived at Mr. Thodey's; I there met with a worthy friend when I had none, learned a few lessons I was ignorant of, and was introduced (in some measure by being there) to Mr. Wilson. Now it is true we are far from each other, but what then? You are pleased, I know, at my little improvement in knowledge; and you, I hope, are about entering upon the ministerial office; and when I think of that, I also am highly pleased. A few weeks more, and something will be done for you. I have often told you, both in conversation and correspondence, not to be discouraged at a view of your own insufficiency, and you know God has chosen the foolish things to confound the wise, and he works by means that prove his sovereign hand. But I must hint that your low views of yourself will do you no harm. Go on to despise the world and all the enchanting allurements it holds out, and be vigilant, for the adversary of whom you speak is never idle. How does he tempt us to think lightly of religion—*to foolish and unedifying conversation* —to offer up *short*, *cold*, and careless *prayers*, and I know not what beside. Pray, then, that while Satan is attempting to damp, nay quench the rising flame, the Holy Spirit may pour in plentifully the oil of grace, and cause it to rise to all eternity. You, I hope, do not intend to flatter me (for friends should never flatter, and I hate it) when you say, you think I am fitting for some active elevated sphere in the cause of Christ. Ah! Thomas, you do not see how unworthy I am to be a door-keeper in the house of my God, as I do, much less fill some *elevated station*. And indeed did I possess the wisdom of Solomon, the learning of Paul, and the eloquence of Apollos, without their piety what am I?—'*Like sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.*' I feel my need of divine grace, without which I am less than nothing, and can do nothing. What a dreadful thing must it be to have our parents, teachers, seminaries, gifts, examples, our Bibles, books, instructions, vows and resolutions, prayers and sermons, *all rise up in judgment against us!* The thoughts of it are enough to make our blood run cold. May the glorious and gracious God forbid such a doom for Jesus Christ's sake. To this I know you will say 'Amen.' On the other hand, how glorious must be the lot of the faithful sent minister of the gospel: methinks I see him rising (at the judgment day) from the long sleep of death, with a smile of holy pleasure on his sacred countenance, and heavenly glory in his soul. I see him approach the tribunal of his reconciled Judge, and having the pardon of all his sins made manifest before an assembled world, with a goodly number of seals to his ministry, he exclaims in the language of holy gratitude, peace, and triumph, '*Here am I, Father, and the children thou hast given me!*' O may such blessedness be yours and mine; this will ten thousand times more than compensate for the troubles and trials met with in the ministry. Amen, saith your longing soul.

"Saturday, May 10.—With respect to the work of grace on my own heart, I feel shy to say much about it, fearing that after all my profession I should become a cast-away, and the root of the matter not be in me. I feel such a lifeless frame of mind, such coldness in prayer, in short, I indeed think that I have more evidences of reigning sin than of the life of religion. I wish to 'read my title clear to mansions in the skies.' I wish to be more Christ-like, more heavenly and spiritual; but I can only say with David, '*My soul lies cleaving to the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word.*' I would fain believe, my God help and subdue my unbelief. I dare not say any thing, but hope and trust at present, nay hardly that, for I often feel such a gloom upon my mind that you cannot conceive of. I think it is wrong to give way to it, and I fear if I did I should become quite melancholy. One reason is, that I want my friend, and feel his loss. If you

were here, how could we relax our minds from study by a pleasant walk and agreeable conversation. When I walk out (if Mr. Hordle is not with me) there is no person whose company I much value. Sometimes one of the boys that Mr. Hordle teaches is with me; but I believe he had rather be at play than conversing about any thing that would do him good; and really I have walked so much alone lately that it gets quite insipid. When I first came, I enjoyed my solitary walks much better than I do now—what is the reason? I cannot tell: it is, however, one great comfort that I am so well provided for. Mr. and Mrs. H. had an only child, but eight months old, I think the most beautiful and lovely boy I ever saw: his smiles had often filled our hearts with joy, and the openings of his infant mind were delightful as the blossoms in spring. Though so young, he knew very well I loved him, and I know he was very fond of me—so pleased on my return after I had been out, and so very sensible for a child of his age. When I wrote you last he lay very ill, and I believe died the day after. His death grieved me very much, and I could not study for some time; but it is a comfort to reflect that he is now present with the Lord, and for ever blest. But what a trial to lose him! I felt much for his parents, who doated on him; and I confess I never loved a child as I did him. I think if we were to live together again, how happy we should be: I mean where we could pursue our studies together. If you are at Hoxton when I am, I hope we shall be in the same class. I should like you to go in just before me, or when I do, that so I might not be quite a stranger in the house, and have no one there that I know, for that would be very uncomfortable. You and I used to interest ourselves very much in the case of the highwayman that broke out of Hertford jail, and passed for a serious man. My father informs me, that he has been taken in his old courses, and hung a little while ago at Lancaster, an awful instance of hypocrisy and deceit. I read in a newspaper, that he gave a paper there to the church minister, in which he said, that he had broke open fifty houses, stole thirty horses, and committed more highway robberies than his memory could recollect. With respect to joining a church, I think it is your duty, as you therein give yourself up to God in solemn dedication—make a more open profession of his gospel, and declare yourself on the Lord's side. Join that church, (be which it will) where you enjoy much under the ministry, where you have often received spiritual nourishment for your immortal soul. I think you will do wrong if you do not join God's people in that manner, for it is an incumbent duty. Your going to Hoxton would not make any difference, for the students there sit down at the different places in London—some at Hoxton chapel—some at Mr. Brooksbank's—some at Mr. Clayton's, and in short wherever they have been members before, or where the minister admits them as occasional communicants. For myself, I cannot yet think of doing it. I am glad you are reading Halyburton's life, and hope you will find it profitable. I hardly know what to do about the Youth's Magazine—carriage is too dear; however, I think you had better send them with your next letter; all, you know, except September and October last, which I have.

"Questions lately studied.—'What perfections dwell in God, and how do you prove them to be in him without referring to the Scriptures?'

"'How do you prove that the Scriptures are the word of God?'

"'How do we know that the Scriptures have been faithfully conveyed to us and not corrupted?'

"I have not heard any thing of Samuel for these two letters; hope he is well. Make my best respects to him. And now, commending you to our glorious Saviour, and hoping that one day it will appear more particularly, that we were designed for great blessings to each other, I remain,

"Your affectionate and faithful friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

XII.

"*Harwich, June* 14, 1806.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND—I received your parcel the morning after you sent it, and read your letter with the greatest pleasure. You judge rightly when you say, you suppose that I was anxiously waiting to hear from you. The providential dealings of God with you have (I hope) filled me with wonder and praise. Surely both of us have great reason to say, '*Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name.*' Let us not forget any of his benefits, but for these displays of his goodness, dedicate our bodies and souls to his glory, which is only our reasonable service. Let us both rejoice, that God has put this his *treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of man.* Little did you expect a few years ago, that you should be providentially called into the work of the ministry; but now you can rejoice, that unto you, who, *in your own view*, are less than the least of all the saints, is this grace given, that you might preach among poor sinners the unsearchable riches of Christ. Observe now the dealings of Providence in this circumstance. You are in a waiting frame, and when so God appears to grant you the desire of your heart. He has now made your path clear before you, and as to its being the call of God, I have not the least doubt; but, however, I hope you will recollect, that though your way has been thus shown to you, it may not always be so: difficulties, great and many, may await us both in our journey through life; but God has said, when thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and will prevent the floods from overflowing thee. Having such promises as these, my dear friend, let us press forward, and with holy resignation say, 'Where he appoints I'll go and dwell.' 'Tis true, we know not what a day may bring forth; but this we know, that God will never forsake those who put their trust in him, but will be their sun to illuminate them, their shield to defend them, and their God eternally to bless them. I do not at all wonder at your being perplexed in your mind about mentioning matters to ———. Had I been in your state, I should have dreaded it; but you did well in making it a matter of prayer before God, and God was very gracious in ordering it as he has done. You know that prayer to God is the best way of *making things sure*—so you, I trust, have found it. I should like to know the other circumstances at which you hint, but I dare say they are too tedious to mention; perhaps we may see each other soon, when *conversation* will settle it. I am much pleased, nay delighted, with the conversation you had with Mr. W. He is, I doubt not, a warm friend to the cause of Christ, and does all he possibly can to forward it in the world. I am like him in regard to zealous and earnest preachers, and like to see animation and life in a pulpit, and where the preacher's mind is fettered with notes there can be none. You know I thought, when I lived with you, that ——— and ——— were good sort of men; they would not do any harm, but wanted to see something of their growing usefulness. I don't doubt, but I shall soon have a letter from you, dated Hoxton academy, &c., and I wish we may be there together, for it will be very awkward for you or me at first to go there when there is nobody we know. I wish we might be in the same class, &c., so that we might be helpers one to another, and show that

we are the servants of the living God. I know that Mr. H. writes to Mr. W. about me. I know I am, as Mr. W. says, young and inexperienced; but I want divine grace, &c., to strengthen me for every duty, and prepare me for every duty. But, however, I don't think that Mr. T. knows any thing about the time when I shall be admitted. Though I did not mention it in my last, yet I do not think Mr.—'s is a proper church for you to join as a student; when considered as a Christian, merely, it would do very well, but as now you are to consider yourself as about entering the work of the ministry, it alters the case. I never heard Mr. ———, therefore know nothing of him, or his church; but Mr. B——— I have heard more than once or twice; and if I were to recommend any church that I know in London as proper for you to join, it should be his. I have often thought that I should like to sit under him myself. Concerning *your religious experience—doctrinal sentiments—and ministerial motives**—I should rather think that your own plan, however simple, would be much better than any I can prescribe; but as you know most of my tenets pretty well, I do not know that I shall now write a confession, but will here give you a few directions only, which, if you like you can adopt, but if not, discard them totally. In your religious experience, I would observe the order of time, state when you first received serious impressions, how they were fastened on your mind, what effect they had on your conduct, &c., in your own way. In your doctrinal sentiments, begin with the object of worship—God. State your views of the persons in the Godhead, quote Scripture to prove your ideas of the Trinity. Then about man, his creation, fall, ruin, recovery, and so on. Be particular in saying there is no salvation but in Christ. Speak your opinion of the influences of the Spirit, the efficacy of divine grace in the conversion of sinners. The dealings of God with his people. The doctrines of election, perseverance, &c. Then that you think, (if you do) that it is the duty of all men to believe the gospel (I believe it.) That God will soon judge the world. That sinners will be sent to hell, and saints taken to heaven and glory, &c. &c. I have read Mr. H———'s piece against C., and I by no means approve of it. He evidently has written on a subject for which he is by no means capable; for he does not at all understand the difference between *natural* and *moral* inability—on which my mind has lately been much employed, and about which Mr. H. and I have conversed. There have been two pieces about it in some of the last numbers of the Evangelical Magazine. Now, *natural* or *physical* inability is such as a man feels who, we'll suppose, is quite blind, when another tells him to open his eyes. Now this is *naturally* impossible. *Moral* inability is such as a man feels if he is told to come to Harwich. He says, I am very busy, and indeed I can't come: now we know he *might* come if he *would*. He has power to walk to the coach, &c., but his *can not* is his *will not*. Now, which of these two is the inability of sinners to come to Christ? Pause here a moment, and think. I once was almost ready to suppose, it was like that of a blind man to open his eyes; but if so, why does God command him to see? Why does he feel remorse that he has not done so, on his death-bed, or at other times? He knows he might have done otherwise if he would. The swearer may forbear to take God's name in vain if he will: can he not? If not, why will not God hold him guiltless? Their defect then is not natural but moral: that is, it is a defect in the will, which nothing but grace can remedy. Now, then, I am well convinced with Mr. C. that the defect is not natural, but moral—what think you? Perhaps you never thought much on the subject. I would advise you to read a little tract of Moseley's on the subject. Now Mr. H. does not understand this distinction; but supposes, by saying it is not natural, we mean that it is not common to all, or universal: now we know it is, and that in this sense it is not natural: but had Mr. C. used the word *physical*, or explained his meaning a little, perhaps he would not have been attacked by an ——— *Antinomian*.

I am very glad you sent the Youth's Magazines: I like them very well. I am very sorry you were not at prayer meeting in time: but I attach not the least blame to you, because of your hard work on Saturday, and so late. I think there is generally something to embitter our comforts a little. I should also have rather heard that you were very happy in the time of prayer, than that you were very uncomfortable; but don't be cast down. Mr. W. encourages you; your friends do the same, and God appears to be on your side; and you know, if he is for you, none can prevail against you. Do, now, take encouragement from the circumstance of the cheesemonger's man, (now the Rev. J. G., of Devon,) and Mr. C. &c., and I am confident, that as God sends you into the work of the ministry, he will give you abilities sufficient. Trust, then, in him—pray to him—be humble—be resigned—and I do hope you will experience divine consolations, heavenly support, and abilities sufficient. The preaching at the poor-house pleased me much; your text was very appropriate; and there is something in the nature of the gospel which is peculiarly adapted to the poor. Now there does not seem any congruity between a fine chapel, very elegant and grand, with carriages at the door for the hearers, and the doctrines of the meek and lowly Jesus. This does not, I say, appear fit; and the gospel was originally preached to the poor. I am glad you was not embarrassed at all, and hope you will be the means of doing much good. Get your subject well into your mind for Mr. K.'s room; think of how you shall arrange it, &c., as Mr. W. told you. Tell me in your next your plan, heads, &c., and whether you use notes or no. If you think you cannot do without short ones, use them; but do not slavishly attend to them. I think you had better work it well into your mind first, and then deliver it extempore, or without notes. Don't be too delicate, or mind too much the smells of rooms, and so on; but consider Him who endured all kinds of hardships, lest you be weary and faint in your mind. I find I must not expect to hear from you till after your examination in July: well, let me have the more when you do send. About the logical definition, I shall say no more; only that I think you are very much mistaken when you imagine that I increase so much in knowledge, for I really do not think I do so much as I ought; indeed these blundering letters are evidence of it, so pray don't flatter. I did write a little in my last about my present experience, I believe, because I thought it was what you wanted. You say it is not *quite* possible to recollect all one has written in a former letter: I say, I know it is quite impossible. You say you should like to see the answers to the questions which I sent you: having room, I will transcribe some of them for you.

"Question.—'How do you prove the existence of a God, without referring to the Scriptures, or from the light of nature?'

"Answer.—'(1st) All nations, heathens, Jews, Mahometans, and Christians, harmoniously consent

* Referring to that summary of his views on these points, which, as a candidate for admission into Hoxton academy, his friend was about to present to the committee of that institution.

that there is a God, who created, preserves, and governs the world.'

"'(2d) There is a great impression of Deity on the mind of every man; that is, an indistinct idea of his being, and a readiness to acquiesce in the truth of his existence.'

"'(3d) The works of creation demonstrate it; their alterations and dependence prove them not to have been from eternity—they could not form themselves—chance could not produce them—matter cannot change its own form, or produce life or reason; therefore there must be a God.'

"'(4th) It is agreed from the support and government of the world—the heavenly bodies—seasons—weather—vegetables—sagacity and instinct of animals—herbs, &c.'

"'(5th) From the punishments which have been inflicted on nations and persons for their excessive immoralities.'

"'(6th) From the terror and dread which wound men's consciences when guilty of crimes which other men do not know, or are not able to punish or restrain, as in the case of Nero, Domitian, and others, and that, too, when they labored to persuade themselves and others that there was no God, &c.' *See Brown, Doddridge's Lectures, Ridgley, Buck's Dictionary, &c.*

"Question.—'How do you prove that the Scriptures have been faithfully conveyed to us?'

"Answer.—'In translations those books retain manifest marks of their Eastern original.'

"Notwithstanding all that Christ and his apostles inveighed against the wickedness of the Jews they never charged them with corrupting a single text in the Bible. The various sects among the Jews, viz. Pharisees, Sadducees, &c. have rendered it impossible that they could corrupt them, as well as the animosities which have ever since prevailed between the Jews and Christians, so that neither of them could vitiate these sacred oracles, without being shamefully detected. Had the Jews attempted to corrupt these sacred books, it would certainly have been in those passages in which the fearful wickedness of their nation is described, and Jesus Christ magnified and honored; but in none of them do we find the least mark of concealment or corruption. That they should be corrupted among Christians, is equally incredible: such was the multitude of copies, hearers, readers, and even sects, among them, that it is impossible they should ever have succeeded. Through the errors of transcribers, &c. the comparer of a multitude of copies cannot fail to find a number of translations.'—*See Brown's View of Religion.*

"Question.—'What proofs have you that man was at first created righteous and holy?'

"Answer.—'(1st) Universal tradition; for all nations have supposed mankind to have once been in a holy and happy state.'

"'(2d) The nature of things; for it seems very improbable that so holy and so good a God should have formed mankind, in the original constitution of their nature, in so corrupt and sinful a state.'

"'(3d) The natural resemblance men have to God in the spirituality, intelligence, and immortality of their souls. Gen. ix. 6. James iii. 9.'

"'(4th) The express declarations of Scripture: Eccl. vii. 29. Gen. i. 26, 27. Colos. iii. 10. Eph. iv. 24.'

"These will now serve you for further meditating on, as well as the subject of natural and moral inability; your opinion of which I shall expect in your next letter. If you can, I would advise you to get Moseley's piece, or read attentively the pieces in the Magazine; one of them is a letter from Dr. Watts. I told Mr. Hordle about your present prospects; I did not see any occasion to secret it, as Mr. W. knows it, and so many others: he is pleased on the account of it. He will be in London, if spared and well, on Wednesday, the 24th instant, but do not think he will be there long enough to preach, for he is going much further, and will be away for a month, at which time we expect a supply from Hoxton: we shall have a student come down and stay all the time; which of them it will be I do not know. I have spoken to Mr. H. about Brown's View of Religion, and he says it is quite at your service: I shall enclose it, and hope you will read it attentively through—be sure you read the address to students, at the beginning; when you have done with it (he will not mind your keeping it a month or more) send it by coach. In it you will find a whole body of divinity in a very little compass. The part on the light and law of nature is very excellent. He was a most eminent man, and mighty in the Scriptures: may you and I be like him. I am glad to hear the good news you give me of your brother; I hope it will appear to be the work of grace upon his soul, and that he may really be converted. I like your plan of having a prayer meeting much—may you all experience the blessings you pray for.

"As to drawing landscapes and plans you know I never was any hand at it, nor do I think of doing any thing in it; if I do you shall have it. Perhaps I may give Samuel a note. You cannot receive this until Tuesday morning, although written on Saturday, because of the coach, so that I shall have time enough between now and then for thinking if there be any thing else to send. Wishing you every spiritual and temporal blessing, I remain your affectionate, though unworthy, friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

XIII.

September 4, 1806.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND—"How wonderfully has Providence appeared for you and for me. This time twelvemonth beheld us both buried in a glove shop—buried, did I say—I recall the word, for we then enjoyed what we do not now, mutual conversation, and each other's company. Let us hope that the time may come when we shall again enjoy that. I am very glad that you succeeded so well as you did in your sermon before the committee; take encouragement from that circumstance to trust God for all your future discourses. The Sabbath day, August 17, though I found that I could not conveniently omit any one of the services, yet I assure you I did not forget your request. I cannot say that I think it is right (especially in me) to omit public worship for private devotion. And if I had done it, my conduct would in all probability have been more inspected about it than I should wish. I have not seen the rules of Hoxton academy; I do not think Mr. H. has them; should like to see them much; hope you will send them next time. I am fully persuaded of the propriety, nay, duty, of your joining yourself to a church, which now I hope you have done; but for my own part, I must confess I have excuses for not doing it; and what church could I join now? Perhaps you say, Mr. Hordle's. I answer, there is no church I should so like to be a member of as his; but do you see a propriety in my being a member here, when I do not expect to be here any longer than Christmas? There could not in my view have been a more suitable pastor for you than Mr. B. I hope you will find his people as suitable as himself. I approve too of your attending the prayer meeting at his place of a morning, and hope you find that convenient. May you have precious opportunities in the chapel, at the Lord's table, and at the prayer meeting. You praise my

verses too much. Indeed they were only the hasty productions of a few moments, and I have no copy of them, for I only wrote them on a slate, and then copied them on the letter. However, I am glad you receive them as a token of our regard and growing affection for each other.* I would advise you by all means to be very friendly with the young men, those with whom you can consistently be so. I mean the more pious, and those whom you feel most disposed to associate with. There are, no doubt, a variety of tempers, dispositions and ways in the academy, and it is there, I dare say, as in other places, some good and some bad. I do not wonder at your finding study to be wearisome and laborious. Solomon found it so. Eccl. xii. 12. Others find it so. I sometimes find it so, but I am persuaded it will not be always so with you: and you should recollect that it is so different from what you have lately been engaged in, that I should wonder if it did not appear strange to you. But I should like to know what you are studying that is so difficult; is it Latin, Greek, English, Hebrew, or what? Now I do long to be there for the sake of your company as much as you wish me there. O, how charming it would be for us to study together. How cheerfully would I give you every instruction in my power. How willingly would I forego my own studies for the sake of improving the mind of a dear friend!—Such a time *may* come, and that's all I know of it; for, as to when it will be, I confess I know no more than you do. This only I know, that I shall leave Mr. Hordle at Christmas, and shall then see you, my father, mother, &c. who, I know, will be pleased to see me; but whether I shall come again to Mr. Hordle's or not, I believe nobody knows. I think that it is more likely that you should know before me, for Mr. Wilson and the committee have the management of it. I have one request to make to you which I hope you will grant, and that is that you write to my father at Hertford to tell him where you now are, &c. I know he will be very glad to hear of your welfare. Tell him that it was by my desire you write to him, &c. This request you *must, must* fulfil. I hope then, my dear friend, you may be kept of God from following evil examples, (if such there be in a dissenting academy) and that it may appear that you are designed to fill some important station in the church of Jesus. Would it be amiss if we were both to learn Doddridge's 72d hymn, entitled, 'Isaiah's Obedience to the Heavenly vision.' I know you will like the hymn much. There is one thing I do not like in Hoxton academy, that is, their not learning Hebrew without the points, which are little dots or specks put under and about the letters. See on the commandments which are hung over the fire-place in the lecture room at the academy, if there are not such. Now, about these points there is a great dispute between the punctists and those who are not for their use. The punctists (Mr. S. is a strong one) contend that they are of great use. Some say they are of divine authority. The great Mr. Romaine, and the late learned Mr. Parkhurst, oppose this idea, and say that they are only little dots or specks added by ill-designing men to the letters. I feel inclined to believe them. Now, I dread almost the learning it with points, as it is extremely difficult; without them, it is simple and easy. Mr. H——— thinks they are of use, but does not think them of equal authority to the letters; and scarcely ever reads with them. Now, he thought it best for me to learn it without points with him, and then at the academy I could learn with them, and so read both ways. I have compiled a lexicon myself, containing the roots of all the words in the language—that is, I have quite abridged Parkhurst's very valuable one (and what no Hebrew student should be without) into a portable form for my own use. Now I hope your mind will be eased, and your anxiety removed, and with the warmest affection,

"I remain, your ever faithful friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

* Those who may be anxious to see the verses inserted in the Memoirs, are referred to page 196, for the reasons of their omission.

XIV.

Harwich, Oct. 14, 1806.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND—As it is now considerably more than a month since you wrote me a note from Hoxton academy, and I answered it, I conclude that a letter from me will be what you now desire; and yet I am not quite certain whether you should not have written first; but by way of compensation for my too long silence before, I am willing to converse with you on paper. And as Mr. Hordle is gone to Ipswich to-day, to an association of ministers, and I have nothing particular to be engaged in besides, I embrace the opportunity. You are now, I suppose, a little inured to study, and begin to find the difficulties of a student's life not so many as you apprehended they were. I long to know in what studies you are engaged, and how you like them. I have just begun the Greek language; so of course do not know much about it, my time having been of late principally employed in the Hebrew, of which I am very fond, especially as I now read it 'unsophisticated by Rabbinical points.' I please myself with the idea of seeing and conversing with you in the course of about *ten weeks;* but at that time there will be something else which I shall not so much admire. Do you ask me what it is? It is, my dear friend, nothing less than appearing before the committee of Hoxton academy. The thought of it makes me almost tremble. Yesterday morning Mr. Hordle told me that I must prepare the account of my experience, sentiments and motives for wishing the ministry, by November, to be then laid before the gentlemen of the committee. This you know must be done; and when I go to London about Christmas, I must go through all that painful task, which, as it respects you, is all over. He told me, too, that he supposed there would be some demur about admitting me merely on the account of my youth; but he does not know that it will be so as to hinder my admittance. Mr. Wilson has, it appears, written to Mr. H. about it; so, if the affair succeeds well, I shall be in the academy after Christmas *with you.* That one circumstance, your company and friendship, will make amends for all my trouble of mind on the occasion. You may be sure I shall communicate every circumstance to you, and keep nothing back, that so by one occurrence and another, our mutual attachment and sincere friendship may be increased and strengthened. What a *long* separation we have experienced: may we be brought together again to strengthen each other's hands, and be both engaged in the best employment. You must inform me in your next, how long you think it will be before you begin to preach, and tell me all your places of preaching, texts, plans, &c. I hope you have written to my father, as I requested you would. I believe they are going on as usual at Hertford. Mr. M. continues among them. May great grace rest upon them all. I do not doubt that I shall feel some degree of uneasiness when the time comes for my separation from my friends here at Harwich. I mean such as Mr. Hordle, &c. &c. But my satisfaction will be, that I shall see you who are still, and I hope ever will be, my dearest friend. We live in a world of changes. Life is indeed a chequered scene. And here we have no continuing

city. May we seek one to come. May it be our happiness to enjoy the favor of Him who never changes, but is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. When I consider my exceeding sinfulness and depravity, besides my inability, I feel almost *disposed to wish* my views had never been directed towards the ministry, but it does appear a call of Providence. How could I do any thing else than come here. And now, perhaps, a door may be opened even for my being a student at Hoxton; but I shall go there under several disadvantages; for, being so young, I may expect a good deal of contempt from some self-sufficient and arrogant students,-(if such there are) and you know they stay no longer than four years, and after that I shall be but twenty years old, and what can I then say to old experienced Christians. I do indeed feel a deal of discouragement. 'O may the Lord encourage me,' &c. But I shall come under some advantages; for, as I am *not altogether ignorant* of many things taught at Hoxton academy, I shall find my studies easier than if I had to begin learning them, &c. I wish we could be in one class. Another disadvantage which Mr. Hordle has told me of is this—The students generally spend their money which they are paid for preaching, in books,* &c. Now, I shall be too young to preach for at least these four years, consequently I can have no books, &c. till that time. This appears a very great disadvantage. However, I would wish to leave all in the hands of God. He knows what is best for me. And if I am one of those who love God, and are the called according to his purpose, he will make all things work together for my good. I want that calm disposition which is careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication, makes known its requests unto God. I often reflect on the dealings of Providence with us when I first came to Mr. T.'s. You, I suppose, had not the least prospect of being a student at Hoxton. And I could not see how my coming there to learn that business, could at all further my preparation for that sacred work. We there became friends. I was there just long enough to secure a worthy and affectionate friend, and to have the notice of Mr. Wilson. Now you, too, have left Mr. T. and are in the academy. I went, you know, home, not knowing what the event would be. Providence has sent me here; and O, 'what am I, or my father's house, that he has brought me hitherto.' We are now blind to futurity. We know not where we shall be placed in future life, whether far from, or near to each other. I hope you are happy in your own soul, and that you live near to God. There is a great danger of forgetting the concerns of our own souls, whilst we are constantly employed in studying divine things. I know a little of this from experience, and perhaps you do. I hope you continue to pray for me; that I may be kept from sin and evil, for you know '*the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.*' Does your brother David make progress in the divine life? You must, in your next letter, give me some account of the change which I hope is wrought in him, for I feel an affectionate regard for all who belong to you. I ought to write to Mr. E———. Is he well? When you see him, remember me to him, and also to your cousin F——. Tell him to write to me, if it will suit him. You may, likewise, if you please, tell him how my affairs stand, as I have stated to you. It will be needless for me to give you any advice respecting the composition of your sermons, or the prosecution of your studies, as you, without doubt, have access to so many books on the subject. I hope you will read 'Watts' Improvement of the Mind.' I think it must be charming to attend Walker's lectures on philosophy. Do you attend them? I should like it very much. Mr. H. told me, that he did give lectures at the academy: of course you are there when he does. You know now when to expect me in London, a little before Christmas, cannot say the exact day; so that now, if you like, you may count the time. Do not be long before you let me hear from you; and when you write, write a good deal. I remain, with the tenderest affection, your sincere and faithful friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

Such, at this early age, were the letters of this amiable youth. For the introduction of so large a number it is unnecessary to apologize, since that heart is surely in an unenviable state which can derive no pleasure or profit from their perusal. Their simplicity is not their smallest ornament; whilst for the many useful hints which they suggest, as well as for the fervent and exalted piety which breathes throughout the whole, they may be consulted with considerable advantage by youthful candidates for the sacred office. Let such as early feel the desires he felt, and pant with an equal ardor for the work of God, imitate his modest diffidence—his devotional temper—his jealousy of the motives which influenced his choice—his intimate communion with his own heart—his love of retirement—his habitual reference of his affairs to the will of God—his addictedness to self-examination and to prayer—and above all, that deep and solemn consciousness of the important work in which he desired, with fear and trembling, to be engaged!

In resuming the thread of the narrative, which the introduction of these extracts from his correspondence has suspended, it cannot but be gratifying to the reader, to be presented with that deep impression of Mr. Spencer's call and qualifications for the Christian ministry which his familiar intercourse with him had produced on Mr. Hordle's mind.

In a recent letter to a friend, that gentleman observes:—

"I have had but one opinion concerning our late young friend, which is—that he was born a preacher, and as much called to it, as Jeremiah to the prophetic, or Paul to the apostolic office. All the powers of his soul were evidently formed for it. While he was under my roof, preachers and preaching were the constant topics of his discourse; and those studies which had an immediate reference to them were his delight. His remarkable gift in prayer, though then just turned of fifteen, astonished and pleased all that heard him. He usually took his turn in leading the devotions of our little family; and in his attendance on my ministry, I have some-

* It may perhaps be considered as departing from the design of this volume, or descending too much to minute particulars—yet I cannot satisfy myself without directing the eyes of those gentlemen who may have the care of providing supplies for the pulpit in destitute churches, or in cases of the pastor's absence, to this important circumstance. But few of the students in our academies are overburthened with money—yet money is absolutely necessary for the purchase of books, without which their studies must be considerably retarded. Deacons, and others whom it may concern, should bear this in mind, in the compliments which they may make them for their occasional services: and remember, that there is no case in which they can with greater delicacy or propriety, display a generous regard to their wants in this respect, than when thus remunerating them for their acceptable labors. It is needless to express [redacted] disapprobation, which every candid mind must feel, of [redacted] conduct directly the reverse of this, which is perhaps too often practised when the consideration is diminished for the very reason on account of which it ought to be increased—it is but [redacted] *student.*

times seen the feelings of his heart in the tears that gushed from his eyes."

In perfect accordance with these sentiments are those expressed by the same gentleman, in a letter to a friend at Liverpool, dated Harwich, 13th Dec. 1811:

"Of his genuine piety, his fine imagination, his early attachment to theological pursuits, his love of study in general, his amiable disposition, and the powerful bias of his mind to the work of the Christian ministry, I have repeatedly declared my firm conviction; and had Divine Providence spared his valuable life, I have no doubt, as his judgment ripened, his character, excellent as it was, would still have improved."

Whilst such were the impressions, so truly honorable to his character, left upon his tutor's heart, by the sweetness of his temper, and the vigor of his mind—it is pleasing also to observe the grateful and lively remembrance which the pupil cherishes of the kindness of his early friend.

In a letter, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Hordle, from Hertford, he observes:—

"The day of my examination is now fixed for the 7th of January. To that day, dear Sir, I look forward with trembling: may God grant me all that strength and boldness I shall then need. It is impossible for me to describe my feelings the night I left you. I tried to suppress any outward expressions of them as well as I could. But O! 'tis trying to part with friends who are become *very dear* to us; but is it not, also, comforting to look forward to a never ending eternity, when those who are cemented into one glorious body by the bonds of divine love shall never part?" Afterwards he adds:—"For my part, I desire to be entirely his, (God's) but still I find a heart of unbelief, ever prone to depart from the living God. I hope I feel my own unfitness for the important undertaking, for which it appears God designs me. May he keep me holy and humble, and fit me for all he has in reserve for me in the womb of Providence, whether prosperous or adverse."

In a subsequent letter, dated Hoxton, 25th March, 1807, he says—"I am told S——, of Kingston, is going to Harwich: hope you will find him a blessing to your family, and when he shall leave you, may he review with as much pleasure the year 1807, as I do the year 1806.—I trust I shall be constantly enabled to obey the kind advice which you gave me, and to lay every human attainment at the foot of the cross of Jesus; to dedicate all I have to him, of whom I would always esteem it my highest honor to learn; to give up every thing that I may be called to sacrifice for the promoting of his glory, and constantly to seek not my own things, but the things which are Jesus Christ's."

In another, towards the close of the year 1807, he writes:—

"I shall never forget the year I spent at Harwich; viewing one circumstance with another, I doubt not, but that it was as happy a twelvemonth as I shall ever live."

With such mutual feelings and expressions of affectionate regard, was Mr. Spencer's departure from Mr. Hordle's family attended. And this review of them will not be in vain, if it suggests to the young persons who may contemplate this imperfect portrait of one, whom living they so much admired, the vast importance of that impression, which the conduct of their childhood or their youth may leave in the scenes of their earliest association. For the most part, the character of the *youth* is the character of the *man*. If, on the circle of his earliest intercourse, an unfavorable impression of his disposition or his conduct is produced, there it is likely to remain; but, alas! there it cannot be confined; it not unfrequently travels further than the person with whom it is connected, and the character is familiar where the countenance is unknown. Who that has a respect, then, for himself, but must be anxious that the impression, upon which so much depends, should be a happy one; and that the correcter habits of maturer age should not be counteracted in their favorable operation by the injurious fame, or unpleasant recollections of his early years.

But we must follow the amiable object of our contemplation to a new scene.

The following are copious extracts from the papers which he submitted to the inspection of the committee at Hoxton, on his formal application for admission into that institution; they were accompanied by a note to T. Wilson, Esq.

Harwich, Nov. 10, 1806.

"Honored Sir—With diffidence I present the following account of my short experience, doctrinal sentiments, and motives for wishing to engage in the solemn and important work of the ministry, to your judgment and that of the committee. I am, with the sincerest gratitude for your favors, your humble servant,

"Thomas Spencer."

Harwich, Nov. 10, 1806.

"It was my happiness to be born of parents, who maintained a regard for real piety and the fear of God; by them I was, from my infancy, taught to read the Scriptures, together with other books of a serious nature. I think I may safely say, that from my childhood I felt some more than common impressions on my mind, with respect to the existence and perfections of God, the evil and awful consequences of sin, and the advantages of being religious; but alas! these impressions, though so frequently felt, had not that abiding influence which they have had on the minds of others, but were like the '*morning cloud and the early dew which passeth away.*' As I grew rather older, I began to perceive some excellencies in religion, and to envy the happiness, which I believed serious people enjoyed. I knew something of the form of religion and the doctrines of it, from having been taught catechisms, and lessons calculated to give youthful minds some ideas of the worship and conduct which God requires. Yet notwithstanding this, I gave too much (far too much) attention to the reading of novels and romances, the unhappy effect of which I lament to the present day. Many of these books I procured of lads, without the knowledge of my father. I felt a degree of pleasure in hearing lively, animated sermons; but I have reason to believe that this sprung from a desire to please my friends, and give myself an opportunity of imitating the preacher's voice and gesture. I also composed little pieces of poetry on sacred subjects, which I have since destroyed, because I then knew nothing of experimental, vital godliness, and of course was only mocking God in them; but I did not give up making verses. All this while, I was totally ignorant of that divine principle of grace in the heart, without which, I am sensible, nothing we can do is acceptable to God. I knew nothing of the Holy Spirit's work, in convincing me of sin, and leading me to Jesus Christ as my Saviour. I knew nothing of communion with God and with his Son. I hope some of the sermons of Mr. Ebenezer White, of Hertford, were not altogether useless to me, as well as some which I heard at Lady Huntingdon's chapel there; but from my conduct at that time, in various particulars, I cannot say that I had experienced what was meant by being born again. If you ask me from what time I date my conversion to God, I must say, that the exact time I cannot tell; but I think I may

also say, that the Lord drew me gradually to himself, and by degrees I loved devotional exercises more and more; and I hope that I have, within these four years, experienced many refreshing seasons. How I wish to have my evidences brightened, as it respects personal interest in the Lord Jesus Christ! I desire to cast my all upon him, and wait his will concerning me. However short my experience in the divine life has been, can I not appeal to God, and say, '*Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee?*'

"I hope that my reasons for wishing to be a laborer in the Lord's vineyard are sincere, and that they do not spring from any improper motives. If I should be called into it, I pray that I may be kept faithful, and never shun to declare the whole counsel of God. As I know something of the excellency of the ways of wisdom, I am anxious that my fellow-mortals may be partakers of the same grace, and that they may be brought to know God, and experience the riches of divine love and mercy in Christ Jesus: and if God should so honor me, as to make me an instrument in his hand, of doing them real good, how happy should I be; how willing to endure hardships for Jesus' sake. As I trust God has given me a desire to act for his glory, and I know that he is glorified in the salvation of sinners, I am willing, if He should call me to the work, to engage in it. I am aware, that it is an arduous and a difficult work, yet from these principles, I would fain be a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. I would follow the leadings of Divine Providence. By the good hand of my God upon me, I am brought hitherto; and although some circumstances are against me, yet, 'where he appoints, I'll go and dwell.' I am not quite sixteen years old, yet young as I am, I have committed many sins, and experienced many mercies. Now, unto Him that is able to keep me from falling, and to present me before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, for ever and ever. Amen.

"I believe in one God as the object of religious worship; that this God is from everlasting; and that in our Jehovah there are three distinct persons, viz. the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and yet these three are one; that this is a mystery which we cannot explain, yet we must believe, because it is declared in holy writ. That man was created holy, but fell from his original rectitude, and sunk himself and all his posterity into sin and wo. I believe also, that God from all eternity elected and chose his own people unto eternal salvation; that men are in a lost state and condition, and are spiritually dead; that they cannot be saved by any merit or works of their own, but only by the righteousness of Christ the Saviour; that it is by the operation of God the Holy Spirit on the mind of man, that he becomes a sensible sinner; that his understanding must be enlightened before he can choose God for his portion, or the paths of religion as those in which he will walk. It was for this end and purpose that Christ Jesus came into the world, viz. to save sinners by his own blood; and I am persuaded that there is salvation in no other but in him, and that '*he is able to save to the very uttermost all that come unto God by him.*' I believe that he is the eternal God, '*the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever;*' that his grace is all sufficient, his name, person, and all that concerns him, is precious to them that believe; that those who exercise a living faith upon him, are justified from all their sins—at the same time I know, that believers are called to be holy, and that it is by the consistency of their walk, that they are to evidence to those around them that their profession is sincere, for '*without holiness no man shall see the Lord.*' As I am fully satisfied with respect to the divine origin of the Scriptures, and the inspiration of the holy men who wrote them, so I believe, that they are the unerring standard by which to try our faith, and upon which we are to rest our opinions. I believe, that the people of God should form themselves into separate churches, that they may enjoy the benefit of divine ordinances, such as baptism and the Lord's Supper, together with the hearing of the word, &c. I believe, that the ordinance of baptism is to be administered to the children of believers, inasmuch as it is a sign of their admission into the visible church, and as it is emblematical of the giving of the Holy Ghost, and that it is to be administered by sprinkling. I believe, that, notwithstanding all the Christian's enemies and dangers, he shall hold on his way, and grow stronger and stronger; and though the doctrine of final perseverance has been much abused, as well as its truth much questioned, it is an article of my faith, because God's word declares it. I believe in the approach of a judgment day—the eternal glory of believers, and the insufferable torments of the wicked in hell. I believe that God will have the whole glory of the salvation of those who are saved for ever and ever; and that through all eternity they will ascribe dominion, power and glory to Him who loved them, and washed them in his own blood—at the same time, sinners will everlastingly blame *themselves* for their perdition and wo."

On the 7th of January he appeared at Hoxton, before the committee, and underwent the examination which he had so long and so anxiously anticipated—with success and honor: was admitted a student, and became immediately an inmate of the house. In a letter to his friend Mr. Hordle, dated Hoxton, January 21st, 1807, he says—

"Two things make this day remarkable to me: one is, that it is my birth-day, as I am now sixteen years old; the other is, that I have been a fortnight in this house. On Wednesday, the 7th inst., that long dreaded day, I appeared before the committee. Your imagination may represent a little boy speaking before them. I felt a good deal of timidity, and waited the event with feelings of anxiety."—"I hope I can say I feel the importance of that work for which it appears God in his providence has designed me: but oh! I need larger degrees of grace to fill that station in such a manner, as that my own soul, and the souls of my fellow creatures may be benefited thereby."—"I recall to my mind occurrences which transpired when I was at Harwich—O may I have all God's dealings sanctified unto me. I want a deeper acquaintance with my own heart, and a more influential knowledge of God my Saviour."

That, on his entrance into the academy at Hoxton, Mr. Spencer was no novice in the knowledge and experience of divine things, is obvious from a perusal of the papers above cited. With a mind already the subject of considerable culture, and habits formed for the pursuits of science, he commenced his academical course under circumstances the most auspicious. The importance of such a previous preparation in candidates for the Christian ministry, and the patronage of our dissenting colleges, is not, perhaps, sufficiently considered. It is to be regretted, that so many enter without having previously obtained the lowest rudiments of general science, or even a tolerable acquaintance with their native tongue. The time allotted for a student's residence is, in the most liberal institutions, but short, compared with the immense labor and magnitude of the object to be obtained. But much of this time, short as it is, must be expended in the inculcation of those first principles of knowledge, which might be easily obtained elsewhere; and then when the student is somewhat prepared for studies

more suitable to the dignity of a college, he begins to preach. Thus an attention which ought to be undividedly devoted to the labors of the study, and the exercises of the class, is partly lavished on preparations for the pulpit and public services. Hence arose the plan, so judiciously adopted in certain cases, in connection with the college of which Mr. Spencer was a member, and of the beneficial tendency of which he was so striking an example, of sending the candidates who may be defective in these radical points, or too young for admission, to some pious and able minister for preparatory instruction. But these instances, the offspring of a peculiar necessity, show the importance of an institution, founded expressly for preparatory studies —that so a matter of such vast importance to the respectability of the ministry may not be left to the casual benevolence of liberal and enlightened individuals, or any happy combination of circumstances in a solitary case.*

In the mean time, to remedy, as far as may be, by his own exertions, this serious defect, should be an object of conscientious regard to every young man whose views are directed to the Christian ministry. By a diligent improvement of his time—by a careful employment of those smaller portions of it, which in too many cases are suffered imperceptibly to slide away—aided by the friendly direction and advice of some prudent and well-informed minister, which may without much difficulty be in every case obtained—any one of tolerable capacity and perseverance might afford his own mind a considerable degree of cultivation, and attain a portion of knowledge, ere his entrance into an academy, most favorable to the facility and success of his pursuits whilst there.

These remarks more particularly apply to those young men, who, with views directed towards the ministry, are still engaged in secular employments, and to whom the privileges of an academy must be, in the first instance, regarded as a distant object.

Little of importance can be expected to have transpired, in connection with the early part of Mr. Spencer's residence at Hoxton. It appears, however, that here, as in the Poultry and at Harwich, his interesting appearance and amiable manners soon gained him the love and esteem of all. The tutors and the students alike felt an interest in this new and youthful member of their literary society—and he applied himself with diligence to the improvement of those advantages which he there enjoyed. He was now introduced to a wider range of observation and of study. But whilst ■ respect to the orders of the institution, and a desire to render himself, by useful acquirements, respectable in any circle in which it might be his future lot to move, induced him to apply with becoming diligence to the various occupations assigned him, he yet dwelt with peculiar attachment on such as were more immediately connected with the work of preaching. And with an ardent desire to be early and extensively employed in the ministry of the gospel, a desire strengthened and confirmed by time, it can be no matter of surprise, that to this darling object were directed all the hours of his leisure, and all the ardor of his soul.

At the vacation in June he returned to his father's house at Hertford. During his stay there he preached his first sermon in public. It was at the small village of *Collier's End*, six miles from Hertford. His auditory consisted of about thirty plain country people—and his text was 1 John i. 7, "*The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin.*" Simple and unlettered, however, as his audience might be, they had sufficient penetration to discover the uncommon talents of their youthful preacher; which, together with the novelty and loveliness of his juvenile appearance, excited in that little village an astonishment and admiration, which have since circulated through all the districts of the great metropolis, and almost every town in Great Britain. How beautiful is the progression which marks all the dispensations of nature, providence, and grace. From the smallest springs the mightiest rivers rise, to promote the fruitfulness or waft the commerce of the world. From the grain of mustard seed, the kingdom of heaven gradually rises and expands, till it becomes a great tree, beneath whose shade all the nations of the earth repose; and in the history of individuals—from the day of small things, has not unfrequently arisen a career, whose brilliancy has dazzled and surprised the world; and from the remarkable concurrence of circumstances, events the most important to the interest of the individual, and the happiness of mankind, have sprung. It is for the most part denied to men, who move in a public and extended circle, to witness those early displays of genius, and that gradual development of talents, afterwards so eminent for their usefulness or splendor, upon which the eye of a philosopher would love to dwell. This is usually the privilege of a few obscure individuals in some retired spot. The new fledged bird first tries its pinions in its own sequestered bower ere it soars above its native glen, and courts the admiration of man by the boldness of its flight, or the sweetness of its song. And yet there is such a peculiar interest connected with the early efforts of a mighty mind, and the first stages of an eminent career, that we gather with diligence all that can be gleaned respecting them, and listen with delight to the narration of those who were spectators. But few perhaps who have heard of Spencer, but would gladly be transported to the peaceful village of *Collier's End*, and mingle with the auditors under his first sermon there. And it requires no uncommon acquaintance with the principles of our nature, and the doctrine of association in the human mind, to predict, that the villages of *Halfway*, *Street*, and *Lewisham*, in Kent, will derive some celebrity in the religious world from having been the scenes of ministerial labor, when a youth, to a preacher, who for these twelve years past has held the delighted auditories of the metropolis the willing captives of his eloquence.* And surely such a principle as this, whilst in its gratification it yields an indescribable pleasure, may be cultivated to no small advantage. It banishes from the mind that despair of reaching it, which a contemplation of exalted eminence might inspire, by an assurance, that the object at which he aims is not unattainable, since its present possessor once occupied the same level with himself, and was attended by circumstances as unfavorable to his elevation as those which at present may encompass him.

* The reader who would be gratified with an outline of the course of study pursued in most of our dissenting colleges, may turn to the *Appendix, No. I.*

* The name of Doctor Collyer is too well known to derive any additional celebrity from being copied on a page my hand has written. And perhaps I may be censured for indulging in an allusion here which bears the least *appearance* of flattery. Far be it from me to cherish such a principle. The work in which I am engaged is sacred to friendship and to the memory of departed worth; and is it at all surprising, that whilst endeavoring to preserve the record of a friend removed by *death*, my memory should sometimes recur to the many excellencies which have ■ long endeared me to a friend from whom I am removed by *distance?*

Our amiable young preacher's first sermon excited a strong desire in his hearers for a repetition of his labors; and his fame rapidly circulating, produced an invitation also, from another quarter, for the following Sabbath. To these solicitations, we may suppose without much reluctance, he complied; and he preached again on the morning of July 12th, at a village called *Broughin*. His text on this occasion was Col. iii. 3, "*Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.*" In the afternoon and evening of the same day, he preached again at *Collier's End*. In the afternoon from Acts xix. 2, "*Have ye received the Holy Ghost?*" In the evening from Phil. iii. 18, "*They are the enemies of the cross of Christ.*" The attendance at *Collier's End* was, on this second Sabbath, so much increased, that the room would scarcely contain the people who were desirous of hearing, and every one seemed still more deeply affected by the impressive manner, the solemn doctrines, and the surprising powers of this young divine. On the following Thursday he preached again at a place called *Brickenden*, from John iv. 29, "*Come, see a man which told me all things that I ever did; is not this the Christ?*" On Sunday, July 19th, he again resumed his labors at *Collier's End*, and preached in the afternoon from 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12, 13, "*And when he was in affliction he besought the Lord, his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his father's and prayed unto him, and he was entreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem, and to his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God.*" In the evening the multitude that assembled was so great, that to gratify them all, he was under the necessity of preaching out of doors, which he did with great animation and effect, from Romans xiv. 12, "*So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.*" It appears from the report of one who was present at the delivery of this sermon, that it was remarkably impressive. Although surrounded by so great a crowd, he seemed quite undaunted, and expressed himself with an ease and an energy which produced the most serious impressions upon many, and excited the astonishment of all. To see the old and grey-headed melted into tears beneath the simple touches and fervent appeals of a youth, but little more than sixteen years of age, proclaiming with the boldness and propriety of an experienced veteran the glorious gospel of the blessed God, must have been truly interesting. And it is also gratifying to know, that by the earliest labors of this excellent youth, happy and saving effects were produced, which remain to this day. On the evening of Thursday, July 23d, he preached at *Buntingford*, a town about ten miles from Hertford, from John x. 9, "*By me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture.*" On Sunday, July 26th, he preached again, afternoon and evening, at *Collier's End*. In the afternoon from John vi. 44, "*No man can come to me except the Father which sent me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day.*" In the evening from 2d Tim. ii. 19, "*Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his, and let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.*" On the Wednesday evening following he preached at *Hormead*, from Psalm iv. 6, "*There be many that say, who will show us any good? Lord lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.*" And on the Thursday evening again at *Brickenden*. At *Hormead* his congregation amounted to six or seven hundred persons, and the place where they were assembled was a barn.* Indeed by this time his fame had so widely circulated, that wherever he preached, numbers flocked from all parts to hear and see this wonderful youth; and he might have preached every day in the week, had he been so inclined, so numerous were the invitations that crowded upon him. However, his vacation drew towards a close; and his return to Hoxton suspended for a while these public exercises. He preached on the evening of Sunday, Aug. 2d, at *Roydon;* and we hear no more of his preaching till December. It certainly admits of doubt, whether these early exercises in public preaching are beneficial or injurious. That they are injurious, may be argued from the circumstance, that they tend to elate and dissipate the mind—to inspire it with conceited notions of its own superior powers —too soon, alas! to familiarize the ear to the insinuating sounds of flattery, and, investing the youth with high conceptions of his present qualifications, to annihilate those humiliating views of his own ignorance and imperfection—and that ardent panting after knowledge in which lies the great source of respectability and usefulness in after life. Not to notice those practical errors into which the ignorance and incaution natural to youth may lead him, when engaged in directing men in affairs of infinite and eternal moment. If the aged evangelist —the venerable pastor, is heard so frequently to deplore his imperfection and lament the *possibility* of error in his public instructions—a young man may well proceed in his early labors with caution, and had need to be possessed of no common discretion and knowledge, to counteract the suspicions necessarily excited, in the breasts of the thoughtful, by his youth.

But perhaps, on the other hand, there are peculiar advantages connected with an early entrance on the work of preaching. The novelty of the circumstance excites attention, and many are converted, who, but for the juvenility of the preacher, had never heard the gospel from his lips, and this is doubtless amongst the many *means* which an Infinite Wisdom has selected, for accomplishing, in the conversion of sinners, the purposes of an infinite love. Besides that on the preacher's own mind, his early employment in ministerial labor may have a most happy influence. By an early initiation into the difficulties and trials of the work, he may attain an ease and a skill in its execution, which is perhaps but seldom reached by the man who has commenced much later in the day. In youth the mind is all activity, and difficulties which are met with then are far more easily surmounted than when they are presented to the opposition of maturer age. But after all, much depends upon the peculiar circum-

* The circumstance of Mr. Spencer's preaching in a *barn*, and in the *open air*, may perhaps excite unpleasant feelings in the breasts of some who, having occasionally heard him with delight, may honor these pages with a perusal. They may feel regret, perhaps, that he should ever have been so irregular, or have ever trodden in the steps of men, who are universally condemned as enthusiasts and fanatics. It is necessary, therefore, in order to vindicate him, and all who have been guilty of a similar offence against the laws of *ecclesiastical decorum*, from the charge of enthusiasm and fanaticism, to produce some passages of Scripture, by which their conduct, in this respect, is fully justified; "*Howbeit, the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands.*" Acts vii. 48. "*Where* (whether in a *field*, a *barn*, or a *temple*,) *two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.*" Mat. xviii. 20. "*Go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in.*" Luke xiv. 23. The most impressive sermon ever preached was delivered in the open air, upon a mount. And the wilderness of Judea was the scene of his ministry, who was honored to be the fore runner of the Messiah.

stances of the individual case. Many a man is better prepared for the work of the ministry at sixteen than others are at forty; and whilst the popularity and flattery which usually attend the course of youthful preachers would be the ruin of some, there are others indued with a prudence and a piety sufficient to resist their influence. And be it remembered, that the time allotted to every man for labor is at best but *short*, and that for many of our ministers—alas! that these should be, for the most part the most eminent and useful!—is prepared an early grave! To be squandering away the precious time which ought to be devoted to the salvation of immortal souls, in the acquisition of profound and extensive erudition; to be immured for years in the walls of a study, and confined to the precincts of a college, impairing the physical strength by midnight application, and smothering the flames of holy zeal amid the ices of metaphysics and the lumber of heathenish philosophy, whilst thousands of immortal souls are perishing, to whose eternal interest those years might be successfully devoted—is certainly a conduct highly culpable, and not in the spirit of Him who said—"*work whilst it is day, for the night cometh, when no man can work!*" Far be it from the writer of this volume in any way to undervalue or decry that knowledge, which, in a minister of the gospel, the circumstances of the present times render so essential. These remarks only apply to those cases in which years are expended in adding to a stock already more than sufficient for present purposes, without beginning to apply to any practical use that which is so largely possessed; and may affect such institutions as, having for their object the preparation of young men for the work of the ministry, suffer the zeal for God, and the love of souls, which led them to its patronage, at least to lose a little of its fire by years of dry scholastic disquisition, ere they are suffered to go forth into the world and expend them on their proper object—the conversion of their dying fellow men.

With respect to Mr. Spencer, the world will judge whether he began to preach too soon or not. I believe that Liverpool, by far the most competent to judge in this case, will, without hesitation, decide in the negative. Perhaps there are, who may be disposed to say, "this was an exception." Granted; but in such exceptions, let a similar liberty be allowed. Where extraordinary gifts, attended by extraordinary grace, so early develop themselves, allow them a proportionably early exercise, nor rob the church of God of an useful minister, who, ere the period a cautious policy has fixed for the commencement of his labor is arrived—may be summoned to his rest.

On his return to Hoxton we find Mr. Spencer preaching occasionally in the work-houses, an admirable school for young divines. Surely this is no inconsiderable circumstance in which our dissenting colleges are superior as schools of practical divinity, to those of the establishment. There the student emerges at once from the retirement of private life to all the publicity of the sacred office; which sudden transition, to a delicate mind, must often be attended with considerable pain, and may lead, in the first few instances, to a confusion and embarrassment most distressing to himself, and most unfriendly to his prospects of future respectability and usefulness. On the other hand, with us the student *gradually*, almost *imperceptibly*, glides into the ministry, and by continued, but slow enlargement, of the sphere in which he is allowed to move, he rises from a few poor people in a workhouse, to address the most respectable auditories.

On his return to his father's house, for the Christmas vacation, Mr. Spencer preached for the first time at Hertford. It did not happen to him, as is often the case, that he had no honor in his own country. Numbers pressed, urged no doubt, in the first instance, by curiosity to hear him; and those who are accustomed to mark the influence of similar circumstances upon a susceptible mind, will enter a little into his emotions, when rising to address, upon the most solemn of all subjects, a vast multitude of his fellow-townsmen, amongst whom he recognised many of his juvenile companions—the several members of his own family—and, not the least interesting object in the group, the venerable matron who had early instructed him in the principles of his mother tongue, and whose lot it was to observe the first faint dawnings of a talent, then fast hastening to its fullest exercise and strength. But long after the influence of novelty may be supposed to have subsided, he continued to excite the admiration of his native town. His first sermon at Hertford was preached on the evening of Sunday, December 20th, at the Rev. Mr. Maslin's chapel, from Eph. v. 11, "*And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness.*" He preached again on the Wednesday evening following, and on the evening of Christmas day, on which occasion his text was, Mich. v. 2. "*But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting.*"

The passages of Scripture selected by Mr. Spencer, as the subjects of his earliest discourses, afford another demonstration, in addition to many others, of the general bias of his mind. They are such as one may well imagine a preacher panting for the salvation of his fellow men, would select for the commencement of his public labors. The topics which they suggest are of all others the most solemn, as they are the most simple and the most important in the whole range of inspired truth, and hence they were best adapted to the preacher's age, and the unlettered character of his auditors. It seems, that in his earliest sermons there was nothing of that parade and glare—nothing of that excessive fondness of figures and love of imagery, which too often mark the first compositions of youthful preachers—preachers who, in a more advanced stage of their ministry, have not been less respectable or useful than he.

Whether this is to be considered as an excellence or defect, it is probable, with some, may be a matter of debate. Dr. Blair, (or rather Quintilian, from whom he copies,*) in his remarks on the early compositions of public speakers, urges in favor of that exuberance of imagination and excess of ornament—that time and experience will prune all this away, and in proportion as the fire of youth declines, the glare of the composition will sink into the settled lustre of maturer age. And hence he argues, for an excessive indulgence of the imagination at this period; since by the time the powers are called into full and steady exercise, they will have undergone a certain train of discipline, and have found their proper limits; but if the composition has all the judicious sobriety of that maturer age, amid the vigor and vivacity of youth, what is it likely to be in the more advanced stages of its exercise, but cold, insipid, and dull.

But surely all depends upon the nature of the subject, and the source whence the public orator is to draw the energy which must give animation to his discourses. The fire of genius, the glow of imagination, must be the enkindling torches in the

* Quintilian again quotes from Cicero, the great master of eloquence; whose remarks on this subject are worthy his immortal pen. Vid. Quint. Just. Orat. lib. 11. ch. 4. et Cicero de Orat. lib. 11. ch. 21.

senate—at the bar; but though not altogether useless in the pulpit, yet they are not the lawful sources of animation there. It is not the blaze of genius, or the glow of imagination; but the sacred flame of fervent piety—the holy kindlings of a mind moved by principles derived from heaven, and the generous efforts of a soul impelled by an intense desire for the salvation of a dying world, that must impart life and energy to the correct, but glowing statements—the warm and empassioned appeals of the ambassador for Christ. Other sources of animation may be exhausted by exercise, and dried up by time; but this can never fail. It will remain the same when the head of the venerable prophet is covered with hoary hairs, and the body is sunk in the decrepitude of age. Nay, as in the case of the apostle Paul, it will rise into brighter radiance as he advances to the termination of his course—a more ardent panting for the salvation of mankind will mark his dying hours, than that which attended his entrance on his labors; and with David, the last prayer his spirit breathes will be for the universal diffusion of that gospel, which it has been the business and the honor of his life to preach—"*Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doth wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen.*"

We now arrive at a period in Mr. Spencer's history, peculiarly critical and important.—During the vacation of Christmas, 1807, the Rev. Mr. Liefchild, of Kensington, was supplying the pulpit at Hoxton chapel. One Sabbath afternoon, in January, Mr. Spencer being then returned to the academy from Hertford, Mr. L. expressed a wish that he should assist him, in the public service, by reading the Scriptures and engaging in prayer. The request was granted, and an extract of a letter obligingly addressed by that gentleman to me, will convey a lively picture of the deep impression which his appearance and manner produced upon the large congregation before whom he stood.

"—— But when he appeared in the pulpit—after the first emotions of surprise were over, and after the mistakes of some, who supposed that he was a little boy belonging to the gallery, who, from ignorance or thoughtlessless, had gone up the pulpit stairs, instead of those leading to his seat had been corrected, so sweetly did he read the chapter,* so earnestly, so scripturally, so experimentally, did he engage in prayer, that for the whole six Sabbaths afterwards he became the chief magnet of attraction to the place. The people now insisted upon it he should preach. I need not name his subsequent success."

The entreaties of the people having prevailed, Mr. Spencer, though contrary to the standing order of the institution, was allowed to preach. It was a delicate situation. Yet it was one to which he had long and anxiously aspired. Indeed, so strong was his desire for the public engagements of the ministry, that the fear of being long denied the gratification of his wishes, on account of his youth, actually preyed upon his spirits so severely as even to affect his health. But it was not from the love of fame or popular applause that he cherished this desire, but from the hope of being early and extensively useful;—as if urged by a presentiment of his impending fate—immediately to commence those honorable labors from which he was to be called so soon. When he appeared in the pulpit at Hoxton, a youth just seventeen years of age, he betrayed none of that distressing anxiety which marks the candidate for public approbation; but stood with all the dignified composure, and spoke with all the unembarrassed energy of an ambassador for Christ. His text was, Psalm xxxii. 6, "*For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found; surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto thee!*" At the close of his discourse, the sentiments which dwelt upon the lips and countenances of his auditors were those of pleasure, admiration, and surprise. His excessive youth—the simplicity of his appearance—the modest dignity of his manner—the sweetness of his voice—the weight and importance of his doctrine—and the force—the affection—and the fervor with which he directed it, to the hearts and consciences of those who heard him—charmed and delighted, whilst they edified. And retiring from the sanctuary to the social circle, they dwelt alternately on the loveliness of the preacher, and the importance of the truths which they had heard from his lips.

Upon this scene the Christian student may, with advantage, pause and meditate. Looking forward, perhaps with considerable apprehension, to the period of his public entrance on the labors of the ministry, he may be anxious to ascertain what was the secret spring—the hidden source, of that calm composure and unfettered boldness, which characterised the earliest addresses of this interesting youth. To such then I can confidently say—it was not the proud consciousness of superior powers—of erudition—of genius, or of eloquence; but it was the influence of a heart warmed with the love of Christ, big with the vast moment of his solemn theme, and panting with an ardor which no circumstances of difficulty could suppress, for the salvation of sinners. Such an influence as this will make the coward bold, and convert the most timid and feeble into valiant and successful champions of the cross. Before an influence like this, the love of fame—the glare of popularity, the opinions and the plaudits of mankind retire. No consideration remains but that of the worth of immortal souls, and the importance of their salvation. This, under the agency of the eternal Spirit, whose assistance every faithful minister may with confidence expect, will supply a closeness of appeal to arrest the attention—furnish topics of discourse to inform the judgment, and animated expostulations to warm the heart. When the blaze of genius and of oratory is extinguished, this will continue with a steady flame. And whilst many, his acknowledged superiors in talent and in literature, are left behind, the preacher in whose breast it glows will be conducted to scenes of extensive usefulness, and the enjoyment of an honorable renown.

Mr. Spencer now became the topic of general discourse—the subject of universal inquiry. His name spread far and wide. His danger became daily more and more imminent. Letters pressed upon him, filled with flattery—invitations arrived at the academy from all parts, for his services; and he appeared, as a friend, who witnessed his sudden and extraordinary elevation, observed, like one standing on the brow of a precipice, amid the most violent gusts of wind. Disapprobation cannot be expressed in terms too strong of the conduct which is usually adopted by the religious public towards their favorite, and especially their youthful preachers. And the censure which may, in a lamentable degree admit of universal application, falls with pre-eminent propriety on the professors of religion in the metropolis and its neighborhood. There, indeed, by the constant accession of fresh

* On the evening of the following Sunday, Mr. L. addressed young people; when Mr. Spencer again conducted the devotional part of the service. The chapter which he then read was Ecclesiastes xii. A person since received into the church at Hoxton, dated her first serious impressions from the reading of that chapter, and the solemn prayer then offered up.

objects, to the sphere in which they move, such a love of novelty—such a fondness of variety—such a taste for something perpetually original—is excited and constantly fed—that whatever is uniform and solid, in the ministry of their established and experienced pastors, while it secures the attention and regard of the judicious and discerning, is too often neglected as stale and insipid by the more *lively* and *enlightened* class of hearers. A new name is announced on the cover of a Magazine, or from the pulpit of some celebrated chapel, and thither the unstable multitude direct their steps. They sit in solemn judgment on the preacher's manner—his appearance—his action, and his voice; for amongst too many, alas! it is to be lamented, that the solemn truths which he delivers are but secondary objects of regard. If there should be nothing striking in his manner—nothing melodious in his voice—nothing singular in his appearance—nothing peculiar in his system—and nothing particularly favorable in the circumstances of his introduction to the pulpits of the metropolis, there he may continue his appointed period, and when it has expired, return to the peaceful village or the quiet town, where it is his lot to labor—

"The world forgetting—by the world forgot."

On the other hand, with this class of hearers the preacher who secures their admiration instantly becomes their idol. As if irresistibly impelled to extremes, they lavish on him the warmest eulogies and adulation, often too palpable to be endured. Forgetting that he is a man of like passions with themselves, they heap their honors on his head as though he could remain insensible to the plaudits they bestow, and perfectly superior to the influence of every principle of pride. The following lines of the inimitable Cowper too well express the sentiments which in these remarks must suggest themselves to every thinking mind, not to obtain insertion here:—

"O Popular Applause! what heart of man
Is proof against thy sweet seducing charms?
The wisest and the best feel urgent need
Of all their caution in thy gentlest gales;
But swell'd into a gust—who then, alas!
With all his canvass spread and inexpert,
And therefore heedless, can withstand thy power?
Praise from the rivell'd lips of worthless bald
Decrepitude, and in the looks of lean
And craving Poverty, and in the bow
Respectful of the smutch'd artificer,
Is oft too welcome, and may much disturb
The bias of the purpose. How much more
Pour'd forth by beauty splendid and polite,
In language soft as Adoration breathes?
Ah spare your idol! think him human still.
Charms he may have, but he has frailties too.
Dote not too much, nor spoil what ye admire."

But the preaching of Mr. Spencer, even in his earliest discourses, was not of that light and meretricious kind which may secure the temporary* admiration of the wandering and unsettled. It possessed much of the solid—the experimental, and judicious; and this secured him the attention and esteem of those, whose approbation any man would esteem it an honor to possess. But this only tended to heighten his danger. God, however, gave him grace equal to his day. His letters during his popularity in London breathe the same spirit of humility as that which marked his earlier correspondence; and a piety seldom surpassed in fervor and sincerity tended to preserve him steady in the midst of that tempestuous sea, upon whose billows, though young and inexperienced, it was his lot to ride.

Numerous and pressing however as were the invitations from different parts of the metropolis and its neighborhood, yet Mr. Spencer did not preach again in London (except in the work-houses, which the students regularly supplied, and also once in a small chapel in Hackney Road) until September. In the meanwhile his talent for preaching had ample exercise in various parts of the country, which during this period he was allowed to visit. So that, from January 7th to September 8th he preached no less than sixty times. The following are the principal places which were then favored with his labors:—*Royden*, *Godmanchester*, *Ripton*, *Buntingford*, *Hertford*, *Dorking*, *Rumford*, *Harlow*, *Royston*, *Hadham*, *Hays*, *Chigwell*, and *Mill-Hill*. At all these places the attention he excited was considerable, and the impression he left remains with the people to this day.*

Mr. Spencer's second sermon at Hoxton chapel was delivered on the evening of Thursday, September 8th. It confirmed the opinion of his excellence produced by the first. His text was, Acts x. 36. "*He is Lord of all.*"

The general sentiment of approbation and delight at first excited by his youthful appearance, and his extraordinary pulpit talents, was now deepened and established, and he began to preach pretty extensively in the pulpits of the metropolis and its neighborhood. On Sunday, September 18th, we find him in the pulpit at Holywell Mount chapel, and on the Sunday following, in that at Kennington chapel; and on the afternoon of Sunday, December 13th, he supplied the chapel in Old Gravel Lane, Wapping.† During the autumn of this year he also visited several parts of the country immediately surrounding London; and he preached, among other places, at *Upminster*, *Upsom*, *Guilford*, *Roydon*, and *High Wycombe*.

With respect to the wisdom and propriety of permitting such extensive public labors, in one so young, and at so early a stage of his academical course, there will be perhaps a diversity of opinion. On the *general* question, in which this is but an individual case, there can be but one sentiment. Nothing tends more to dissipate the mind, than much travelling and much society; and particularly injurious to the fixed and laborious habits of a student's life is that kind of intercourse with society, which the young minister, in his occasional visits, usually obtains. The esteem in which, for the most part the name of a minister is held, in the circles which

* I believe that general experience will justify the observation, that however attendant circumstances may contribute, in the first instance, to render an individual popular, nothing but sterling worth can secure its perpetuity; and whenever the preaching of a popular minister has endured, without injury to his reputation, the ordeal of a ten or twenty years trial, he may safely be regarded as possessing an excellence superior to any thing his *manner* could exhibit. But I feel the delicacy of the topic I have thus ventured to introduce, and gladly refer to illustrations of the same subject by more experienced and far abler hands.—*See Fuller's Life of Pearce; and Jay's Life of Cornelius Winter.* Books in which examples, the one of more public, the other of more retired, but not less transcendant excellence, seem to live before us for our instruction. To every student for the Christian ministry they must prove an invaluable treasure.

* For specimens of his early pulpit compositions, see Appendix No. II.

† The church assembling in Old Gravel Lane, formerly sat under the ministry of the late Rev. Noah Hill, but now enjoy the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Hooper, one of the tutors in the college at Hoxton.

he enters, secures him an attention and an ease by far too flattering not to be injurious; whilst the refined and fascinating manners of some societies but ill prepare the mind for the imperatively severe characters of academic life. But perhaps a far more serious object of regard is the time which is thus necessarily and irretrievably lost to the great and avowed object of his pursuit.—It is impossible to take a review of the past year of Mr. Spencer's life, and number up the several places at which he has preached—at some of them two or three times, whilst others he visited more than once, calculating their respective distances from Hoxton, and the time necessarily occupied in travelling, together with the many hours, perhaps days, which must have been consumed in preparing the discourses there delivered—without being struck with a conviction, of the immense loss which in a literary point of view he must have sustained; and the pursuit of literature is, after all, the professed object of our dissenting colleges. Considering too, that this was but Mr. Spencer's second year of study, and connecting this with the shortness of the term he had to stay, and his exceeding youth, the impression is yet deepened. But Mr. Spencer's was an extraordinary case. His *forte* was the composition and delivery of sermons. He was at home and happy only in this sacred work. He seemed but to live for this object. Other objects he might contemplate, with respect and even esteem, excited by an impression of their utility and excellence—on this his heart perpetualty dwelt with a fervent and impassioned love. It was evidently for this God had especially designed him; and for the work he had to accomplish, and the early account he had to render—all perhaps are now convinced that *he* was not suffered to begin too soon. For one whose day of usefulness has proved so short, and over whom the night of death so early and so suddenly has shed its gloom, we cannot but rejoice that the first dawn was devoted to his honorable labor, and not even a solitary hour neglected, from the commencement to the termination of his career.*

Mr. Spencer preached again at Hoxton chapel on Christmas day, morning and evening; and also delivered an address, on the following evening, at the prayer meeting. A day or two after he left London for *Brighton*, and preached his first sermon in that celebrated seat of gaiety and fashion on the evening of Thursday, December 29th, at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, from Zach. vi. 12, "*Behold the man whose name is the branch, and he shall build the temple of the Lord.*" On Sunday, 1st January, 1809, he preached in the afternoon at the Rev. Mr. Stiles' chapel, and again in the evening at the Countess'.

I am the more particular in marking the date of his first visit to Brighton, as it commences a new year, and forms also a most important epoch in his history. The interesting and endeared connections which he afterwards formed there, tend to throw a new and brilliant light upon his character; whilst they shed a softer air of melancholy around the circumstances of his early and lamented fate!†

Alas! of what moment to the Christian minister is the formation of connections such as these. Delicate as the subject may be, and ill qualified as I feel I am to enter fully into its discussion, I yet cannot suffer it to pass without some observations on its vast importance.—By imprudence here, how many have destroyed, if not their *character*, yet to an alarming extent their *usefulness* and *comfort*. Upon the partner which a minister selects, much of his happiness depends. He must be indeed a child of sorrow, who with a heart broken by disappointment, and a brow clouded by care—such cares and disappointments as too frequently impart a character of gloom to many a pious pastor's life—finds no relief in his domestic circle, and seeks in vain for the soothing influence of sympathy in the individual whom he has chosen to be a "*help meet for him.*"

The important subject thus reluctantly though unavoidably introduced, distributes itself into many branches, each interesting in its kind, on each of which, age and experience might with considerable propriety descant; and however unwilling I might be to enter more largely into the discussion, yet did I think myself sufficiently possessed of either, I would certainly reprobate in the severest terms that rash and thoughtless haste which too often marks the decision of students and youthful ministers in this respect, and which too frequently leads to settled distress—final ruin—or shameful infidelity! To the honor of Spencer be it recorded, that his choice in the first instance displayed his *wisdom:* his uniform attachment until death, his *constancy!*

Mr. Spencer preached again at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, at Brighton, on Thursday evening, January 5th, and left that place on the following day. On the ensuing Sunday he preached at Holloway, morning and afternoon; and on the evening of Tuesday the 10th, addressed an immense congregation from the pulpit of that truly excellent man, the Rev. Rowland Hill, at Surry chapel. The subject of his discourse was Deut. xxxiii. 3, "*Yea, he loved the people; all his saints are in thy hand, and they sat down at thy feet, every one shall receive of thy words!*"

Between this date and the following midsummer, his labors appear to have been, in point both of number and success, truly astonishing. He now preached much in and about London, and wherever his name was announced, the crowd that flocked to his ministry, proved how extensive and deep the impression was which it had excited. Besides occupying many of the most respectable pulpits in the metropolis, during this period, he visited and preached in the following places: Guilford, Epsom, Worthing, Barking, Roydon, Dorking, Buntingford, Winchmore-Hill, Saffron, Walden, and Hertford.

During his stay at Worthing, which was in the month of February, he made several excursions to Brighton, which became more endeared to him by every visit. The attachment was mutual. His ministry excited universal attention; multitudes pressed to hear him. The public prints declared their admiration of his powers; and the private circle forgot the trifling topics of the day, intent upon the discussion of his rare and extraordinary talents. More especially did he bind to him, in affectionate remembrance, the hearts of the young, by the warmth, simplicity, and affection of his addresses to them: and in no place which was honored by his labors, was his worth more fully appreciated in life, or his loss more deeply and universally lamented in death!

On the evening of Thursday, the 18th of May, he

* A contemplation of the facts connected with the interesting, but melancholy history of Spencer, may however, tend to show, that, whilst much preaching and much travelling are to be depreciated as evils, especially in the earlier stages of a student's course, yet that no specific rules can be established in this case for *universal* and *invariable* application. On the propriety of the thing, in every case of students under their care, the TUTORS are the best qualified to decide.

† Those who knew Spencer, will enter fully into the meaning of this paragraph. I owe it, however, to those who knew him not, to say, that tenderness to feelings I should dread to wound, compels me to draw a veil over one of the most interesting scenes of his life.

preached again at Hoxton chapel. His text on that occasion was Isaiah lxi. 10, "*I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness.*"

But by so much preaching and fatigue, his strength became exhausted, and his health impaired; and during the midsummer vacation, the committee superintending the stations of the preaching students, appointed him to spend some weeks at Dorking, in Surrey, where the labor was but small, the retirement deep, the country beautiful, and the air salubrious! To this place he went in the beginning of July—having first paid a visit to his family at Hertford, and preached again in his native town. At Dorking he was committed to the care of Mrs. Alexander, a kind and pious matron, whose hospitable attention to all the servants of Christ who have had the happiness to repose beneath her roof, renders her worthy of the appropriate epithet of "Mother in Israel." The praises of such pious women are, and ought to be, in all the churches. Happy is that congregation which possesses one or two such valuable and useful characters. To the youthful preachers who may be commissioned from their respective academies to labor for a while in the congregations to which they belong, they often prove an inestimable blessing. By their timely assiduities, not unfrequently, diseases the most serious and alarming may be averted, by which valuable ministers might have been early snatched from the church and from the world; and, at any rate, those little offices of unaffected kindness, in the performance of which they so much excel, will tend to soothe the anxieties by which, in early life, many a delicate frame is prematurely wasted and impaired!

For Spencer, too, the spot was admirably chosen. Nothing could better suit his fondness for retirement, and love of social or solitary walks. I am not a stranger to the scenery—I once visited it, like him, for relaxation; and the remembrance of those happy days, in a thousand pleasing pictures and enchanting forms, crowds at this moment on my mind. The country is sufficiently bold and varied to inspire with ideas of grandeur and magnificence, though not so romantic and vast, as to excite astonishment and terror. From the summit of abrupt and lofty hills, clothed with luxuriant foliage, the delighted eye may roam at leisure over woods and valleys, that will not yield in fruitfulness and beauty to the fairest plains of Italy; and in deep embowered glens, made cool and fragrant by meandering streams, the mind may yield to melancholy musings, and to solemn thought—so unbroken is the silence—so profound the solitude!*

During his stay at Dorking, it was his happiness to form a friendship the most intimate and endeared, with Mr. J. Haddon, of London; and on the return of that gentleman to town, Mr. Spencer began an epistolary correspondence with him, which continued till his death. A valuable assortment of these letters have been kindly put into my hands, and with the greater part of them I shall enrich these pages. The following is, I believe, the first in the series:—

XV.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

"*Dorking, July 25th*, 1809.

"My worthy friend—I know no other way of expressing the pleasure your letters and your society have afforded me, than by endeavoring to repay your kindness, or at least by showing you that I am sensible of the obligations under which I am laid by you. The pleasant interviews, the truly social walks, and the various other enjoyments which we experienced together, have left an impression of attachment to yourself on my mind, which I am persuaded will not be easily obliterated. The country is indeed as pleasant in itself now, as it was the week before last; yet, believe me, it is not half so much enjoyed by me as it was then. The same streams indeed glide pleasantly along—the same hills majestically rise—the same enlivening prospects strike the eye, and pervade the soul, with admiration—and every thing around me seems to say, '*'Tis Surrey still*;' but there is a sad deficiency in all my perambulations—it is, 'that I am all alone.'* Yesterday I went to Brockham; but there was no

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* In one of these retired dells, where art has followed up the rude design of nature, a rustic temple, unadorned and simple as the genius of the place, affords to the weary wanderer its temporary rest. A grateful poet has left some tributary lines in honor of the scene, of which they are so descriptive, that I hope I shall be pardoned if I introduce them here:—

"Stranger, whensoe'r you come,
Welcome to this rustic dome;
Welcome to the hill—the glade;
Welcome to the forest shade.

To our simple, homely fare,
Come and welcome—banish care;
Climb our hills, and health inhale,
Borne upon the scented gale.

Bury in this wooded glen,
All the cares of busy men:
While the streams that round us roll,
Sweetly murmuring, soothe the soul!

See, the glorious orb of day
Gilds us with his parting ray;
Whilst above the woods afar
Sweetly shines the evening star.

Stranger, rest thee here awhile,
Till the morning sun shall smile,
Then explore the fairy scene,
Lovely as a waking dream.

Worn and wasted by disease,
Pale and languid—ill at ease,
Say, does health thy care employ—
Health, the fost'ring nurse of joy?

Come, and chase her on our hills;
Meet her by our purling rills;
Woo her mid our shadowing trees;
Catch her on the balmy breeze!

Health and peace, and joy are here;
Come and welcome—banish care—
Cease thy wand'rings—lose thy woes,
Yield to pleasure and repose."

* This is a quotation from a beautiful poem of Henry Kirke White's, to whose charming productions Spencer was most ardently attached. The poem itself so accurately describes the state of his own mind, and the melancholy musings in which he indulged, in his solitary walks, when deprived of the pleasure of his friend's society, that I need not apologize for its introduction here:—

SOLITUDE.

It is not that my lot is low,
That bids this silent tear to flow;
It is not grief that bids me moan,
It is, that I am all alone.

Haddon to meet me on my way thither, or to return with me any part of the way home. Last Tuesday evening Mr. Moore very politely offered to take me to Epsom, to hear Mr. Clayton the next day; which offer I most willingly accepted. On the whole, we had rather a pleasant day. Mr. George Clayton preached on Mat. xxi. 28. It may perhaps give you pleasure to hear, that I preached very comfortably last Lord's day from the new Bible, which is exactly the thing. I should know very little of the trials and difficulties of life, were I always to live as I now do. I really feel sometimes as if I needed something to quicken me to diligence, and put the graces of the Spirit in exercise, which, I am afraid, were I long to glide down life's stream so easily as I now do, would begin to die. Ease is a dangerous foe to the prosperity of religion in the soul, and opposition of some kind is essentially necessary for us who profess a religion which is described as a race to be run; as a battle to be fought, and which is represented to us by every metaphor which gives us the idea of active labor and unceasing exertion. I hope to have the happiness of frequently meeting with you after my return to town; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that my appointments favor such intention. Mr. Wilson has written to inform me that I shall preach in town for five Sabbaths after the vacation. The manuscripts you sent highly delight me. Mrs. Smith wishes me to leave Herbert with her, to which I know you will not object. I continue about the same in health as I was when you left me; and am very thankful that here I have not to preach so many times as at several other places. That the good will of Him who dwelleth in the bush may ever countenance and console you; that the divine Spirit may ever lead you into all the truth; that you may possess every evidence that you have found favor in the sight of the Lord; and that Christ Jesus may be your eternal portion, is my humble, earnest prayer. Let us hope hereafter to behold his face together, in a world where we shall be liable to change and separation no more, but where we shall be enclosed in glory, changeless as his own. This is the desire of one who can truly call himself,

"Your's most affectionately,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

"My kind hostess desires to be respectfully remembered to you. I expect I shall be in town next Tuesday."

Mr. Spencer left Dorking after the last Sabbath in July, and preached the six following Sundays in and about London. The places at which he labored during these six weeks were White-Row, Pell-street, Jewin-street, Camden chapel, Adelphi chapel, and Hoxton chapel. At Jewin-street he preached four Sabbaths, out of the six, afternoons and evenings. In the mean while his health still continued but indifferent, and indeed so much exertion both of mental and of physical strength was but ill calculated to promote its vigor. His mind, however, seemed every day to grow in activity and zeal. In the pulpit—in society, he was all animation and life. Like most who are the victims of much nervous irritability, his flow of spirits was excessive, which frequently led to ungenerous and merciless observations from those, who either had not the wisdom or the candor to attribute, what might appear as levity in him, to its real cause. It is indeed an unhappy circumstance, when such is the natural tendency of a man's mental constitution, and from nothing perhaps have young ministers suffered more than from this. At the same time, it is a shame and scandal to the Christian world, that there should be so many, who, professing to be the friends of students and youthful preachers, encourage and excite this unhappy bias, for their own amusement, and are then the first to censure the youth they have betrayed!

But where such is the *natural* disposition of a pious and devoted mind, its exercise in company is often followed by the keenest anguish and the deepest melancholy, in hours of solitude and reflection. The severe and malignant censurer should remember, that he is not omnipresent; and that there may be scenes in the retired life of the character he injures, which would put him to the blush! These remarks have been suggested by some passages in the following letter.

XVI.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

"*Hoxton, August* 15, 1809.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I am sorry to inform you, that it is not in my power to gratify yourself, to please our friends, or to fulfil my own wishes, by devoting any evening in the week to visiting. I really cannot do it. My engagements this week are such as peremptorily to require my continuance at home, most likely till Sabbath day, at any rate till Saturday afternoon. I am obliged to those kind friends who expressed their concern about my exertions. I feel that I am not worthy of their sympathy. May their compassion lead them to pray for me, that I may be strengthened with all might by

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In woods and glens I love to roam,
When the tir'd hedger hies him home;
Or by the wood-land pool to rest,
When pale the star looks on its breast.

Yet when the silent ev'ning sighs,
With hallow'd airs and symphonies,
My spirit takes another tone,
And sighs that it is all alone.

The autumn leaf is sear and dead,
It floats upon the water's bed;
I would not be a leaf to die
Without recording sorrow's sigh.

The woods and winds with sullen wail,
Tell all the same unvaried tale;
I've none to smile when I am free,
And when I sigh, to sigh with me!

Yet in my dreams a form I view,
That thinks on me, and loves me too:
I start, and when the vision's flown,
I weep that I am all alone.

To these mild complainings of this sainted bard, a reply, characterized by the same tenderness of thought and elegance of expression, has been furnished by the pen of Mr. Josiah Conder, of London:—

ON READING THE POEM ON SOLITUDE,
In the second volume of H. K. White's Remains.

BUT art thou thus indeed alone?
Quite unbefriended—all unknown?
And hast thou then His name forgot,
Who form'd thy frame and fix'd thy lot!

Is not his voice in evening's gale?
Beams not with him the star so pale!
Is there a leaf can fade and die,
Unnotic'd by his watchful eye?

Each fluttering hope, each anxious fear—
Each lonely sigh, each silent tear,
To thine Almighty Friend is known:
And says't thou, thou art "all alone!"

the Spirit in my inner man; and that He whose pleasure it is to increase strength to those that have no might, would help the infirmities of one who is weaker than a bruised reed, and yet has undertaken an office, to the discharge of which an angel is incompetent. My health is certainly in a better condition than it has been, but I am afraid I am still far from well: my head frequently aches, and I feel a sickness in my stomach. These are some of the miseries that flesh is heir to; but it is a joyful thought, that in the kingdom of glory our bodies will be no longer susceptible of pain, nor our minds of disquietude. Perfect health, composure, and joy, will be our happy lot when we see each other in a better world. And can we not hope that we shall do this; and that for ever we shall adore our common Saviour together? The leadings of his providence first brought us acquainted with each other; and the methods of his grace will, I hope, lead us on to glory, and in our way thither make us helps to each other. Pray for *me*, that my diligence may be excited; my levities checked; and my spirituality promoted. After all I say against the the world, I must confess with shame that I am very like many of the men of the world in this respect; that I indulge in a lightness of disposition which is inconsistent with the character of a Christian, and makes us resemble those who never think of eternity and the solemnities of religion. Ah! my dear friend and brother, I have experienced in my short life many a bitter hour, occasioned by my own folly in this respect. But what a scandal is it to a professing Christian, that natural dispositions and surrounding temptations should overcome a principle of grace in the heart—a principle which ought ever to operate powerfully in weaning us from folly, and making us every day more and more serious and holy. Never do you be afraid of cautioning, or reproving me, but give me opportunity to prove that '*Faithful are the words of a friend!*' I have felt more, in reference to yourself, than I have ever yet expressed. More affection for you; more gratitude that Providence placed you in my way; and more determination to make you my counsellor and friend—than I have ever yet told you. The Lord help us to strengthen each other's hands in his good ways. I shall not like your letters so well if you do not direct them yourself. This you will say is folly, but I cannot help it. Adieu!

"Your's affectionately,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

"N. B. Saturday afternoon, if possible, I will see you."

The history of the following month is from the pen of his most intimate friend.

"At his return (from Dorking) he supplied Jewin-street meeting for a month, in the afternoons and evenings, where the attention he excited will not be easily forgotten. Before he left, numbers could not get admittance. The church were very anxious that he should settle among them,* but their desire could not be complied with. I have heard him blamed respecting that business; but it was only by those who did not know the circumstances of the case. I was in the possession of his heart in that affair, and it would be unjust to his memory not to declare, that he was free from blame. His affectionate spirit keenly felt for them in their disappointment. 'The good people at Jewin-street,' said he, in a letter to me, 'have a strong claim upon our prayers;' and it was to sooth their minds that he composed his sermon upon Isaiah xxxiii. 20. The time of his supplying at Jewin-street, was very pleasant to me. I claimed the whole of his time between and after the services, which inclined him to enjoy that retirement which was so congenial to his lowly soul. When going to preach no one saw him. I used to knock at his door—give in his refreshment—and watch the time for him. It was from the mount of communion that he always went to the pulpit, and this caused his sermons to shine gloriously. Frequently in passing to the house of God we kept perfect silence, while his mind has been so entirely absorbed, that I have found a necessity for guiding him; and after worship he loved to stop as long as he conveniently could, that he might pass away unnoticed. But such was the character of Spencer—his deep humility—fervent piety—and amiable simplicity, that I am fully convinced it cannot be fairly stated without suspicion of exaggeration; and I must confess, that I should have found great difficulty in giving fallen nature credit for the excellencies, which, from the closest inspection I saw resident in that truly illustrious and holy youth."

The following letter, written on the Saturday previous to the last Sabbath of his supplying Jewin-street chapel, discloses his feelings with respect to the church in that place, and will prove to the people with how much affection he wrote and thought of them. Nor will it be less valuable for the spirit of filial love and duty which it breathes.

XVII.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

September 2, 1809.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—Truly sorry am I in any case to disappoint you, and yet it must be so as it respects this evening. Before seven o'clock I am necessitated to go from home, nor can I return till late in the evening. You ask, 'can you not give up this engagement?' I answer, this is impossible; because nothing short of *filial* duty is the cause of my absence from home. This morning I received a letter from my dear father, telling me that he must be in town to-day, although he has been travelling in the country all the week, and he wishes me to meet him this evening, at half-past six o'clock. This, I am sure will be regarded as a sufficient reason by you, and nothing short of such a reason could induce me to go out at all this evening, for to tell you the truth, I am very unwell. My head and my side have suffered exceedingly for a day or two past, more especially to-day. Nor are my prospects of the morrow of the most enlivening kind. In fact, too, my spirits are very low. The sight of my aged parent may perhaps revive them, and make '*my heart rejoice, even mine!*' Mr. W. has just told me, that he has informed Mr. S. that I cannot supply them any longer than to-morrow. The opinion of the committee, &c. goes against them! For my part, I can only say, '*My God, thy will be done!*' You will see me at Jewin-street in the afternoon, but whether able or incapacitated to perform my duty there, I know not. Pray for me, that much grace may communicate to me sufficient strength.

"Whether well or ill, cheerful or melancholy, I am yours affectionately,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

Having completed his engagements at Jewin-street, Spencer's labors became again miscellaneous and widely diffused. On Sabbath day the 17th, he preached at Roydon, a village near Hertford, when he availed himself of the opportunity which this appointment afforded him of visiting his family. I cannot but conceive the bliss which such occasional interviews would cause in that little circle, which

* The church was then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Timothy Priestly, a truly venerable divine, whose age and infirmities rendered the aid of a colleague necessary.

had once the happiness to call him theirs. To them the recollection of those happy hours devoted to social or sacred intercourse with their departed friend, must yield a soothing, though a melancholy pleasure. Nor is the reflection less honorable to his memory, than it is consolatory to their minds. In the midst of the unbounded popularity which he enjoyed—surrounded by new and splendid connections—the admiration of listening crowds, each eager to express his approbation—all ambitious of his friendship—he ever thought with the warmest affection upon those whom he had left in that obscurity from which he had himself emerged. Gladly did he seize the opportunity, when it occurred, of retiring from the public eye to taste again the tranquil pleasures of his home, and enjoy the interchange of all those sacred and delightful feelings which strengthen and endear the ties and obligations of social or domestic life. He was not unduly elated by his popularity. In his new associations he did not forget his kindred and his father's house. His family did not sink in his regard, in proportion as he rose to eminence. The voice of universal praise did not drown the milder whispers of paternal love. But in a heart whose best affections were devoted to the noblest objects, and to which new scenes of exertion were perpetually unfolding, the family at Hertford held an honorable and distinguished place. The most extensive public engagements, are not incompatible with the retired duties of private life—and the cares and responsibilities of the most laborious ministry may be sustained and discharged, without absorbing those affectionate regards so justly claimed by parental kindness and fraternal love. 'Tis true, that as a Christian, and in his official capacity, every believer in Jesus is to the faithful minister a father—a mother—a sister—and a brother. But as a *man* the relations of life exist for him—and the feelings of humanity must be common to him too. A heart from which these ties are rudely severed—is but ill adapted to that soothing influence by which the office of the ministry becomes a source of comfort to the wretched;—and a man whose bosom is a stranger to the tender sympathies of human life—alike insensible to joy or sorrow—may with propriety administer the cold rites of a Stoical philosophy—but must ever be a living contrast to the religion of Jesus—a system whose characteristic spirit is that of the purest and tenderest philanthropy.

Before his departure for Roydon, the following letter was addressed by Mr. Spencer to his friend. The observations at the beginning upon Christian boldness are judicious—and, though ignorant of the particular circumstances which might have called them forth, cannot fail to prove interesting and instructive.

XVIII.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

Thursday evening, September 14, 1809.

"My dear friend—I know you wish me to write you a great deal; but I must plead the old excuse—want of time; for I find that ———, instead of calling to-morrow morning, must have this directly, and I have but this minute left the chapel. You tell me your 'mind recoils from public duty, however plain and clear,' and you need not be told that this is a pity; and in this respect you do not display that Christian boldness which is after all consistent with genuine humility—which the apostles displayed and enforced—which the Bible every where recommends—and which is well calculated to evidence our decided attachment to Jesus and his cause. It shall be my part, however, not to reproach you for the want of it, but to carry your wants before our Father's throne, and entreat him to fill you with all holy boldness and Christian courage; whilst at the same time I would most earnestly entreat you to consider the foolishness of your fears: the little need we have to seek to please our fellow-creatures, or to dread them, and above all the constant inspection of Him who said, *whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before his holy angels.* But I am persuaded that you are *not* ashamed of Jesus; yet there is great need for us all to ask ourselves repeatedly, 'am I fully on the Lord's side?' because this very examination itself produces the best effects, as it prompts us to give evidence before others of the reality of our hope, and it brings us near to God, who can make us strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus, and faithful even unto death. Your letters always affect me; your company you know delights me; and what shall I say of your attachment to me, but *that it meets return.* I am often indeed induced to believe that you are too careful of me, and too much concerned about me. Expressions of gratitude on my part from my mouth or pen I know you do not want, therefore I shall not trouble you with them. My mind is perfectly at ease about the present or future laws of the house, as well as about any situation after I have filled it. O that I may be stayed on God! I often think what a pity it will be, if from our friendship there should arise no good effect; however, here I am wrong, because I am myself a witness that good effects have arisen to *me*; but I long that to us there may be opened fresh sources of comfort and joy in God, and that we may then be made abundant blessings to each other. I am going to preach next Sabbath at Roydon, a village near Hertford, where I have reason to hope God has owned and blessed my unworthy labors before. May he do so again. Perhaps I may go to Hertford to-morrow afternoon, as it was the place of my nativity, and is now the residence of my dear father, my sisters, brother, and mother-in-law. I could say much more, (though in the same feeble and desultory style) but you perceive my paper is full. I cannot expect to see you at all till Tuesday. The coach comes in town on Monday evening, about half past six. If I can, I will walk then to Fleet-street.

"Adieu, my dear friend,

"Thomas Spencer."

From this period to that of his first visit to Liverpool, I am not in possession of any remarkable occurrences in Mr. Spencer's history. At any rate, I am aware of none which tend to illustrate any particular feature of his character, or of such a nature as to warrant their publication to the world. But there yet remain many interesting letters to his friend, Mr. Haddon, which will tend very much to supply the want of a connected narrative—and that friend who during this period, enjoyed the most intimate acquaintance with him—and obtained a most accurate knowledge of his character, has furnished me with a series of anecdotes and observations, which will make the reader familiar with the man, and most strikingly exhibit the holy, humble, and fervent bias of his mind. For the present I shall content myself with making a selection from these letters, with such occasional remarks as may be necessary to illustrate their subjects or occasions; whilst the characteristic sketches above alluded to, will occupy some of the succeeding pages.

XIX.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

Hoxton, Oct. 12, 1809.

"My dear friend—With pleasure it is that I inform you, that I am appointed for *Vauxhall.*

I feel pleasure, because this assignation gives us another opportunity of enjoying each other's society. I have not yet written to those friends in the country, but intend doing it to-morrow. May the young lady die in such a peaceful and happy state of mind, as shall, instead of suffering the survivors to sorrow as those who have no hope, rather give them to say —*Behold how he loved her!* I mentioned the circumstance to Mr. W. at the same time stating the wish of the Roydon people that I might supply them on Sabbath day. He told me it could not be complied with, assigning as a reason, that I was given out at Vauxhall. As the affair now stands, I am quite satisfied, because I wish to resolve all my appointments into the will of the Head of the Church.—'Where he appoints, I'll go.' Of all evils, I pray to be particularly delivered from leaning to my own understanding, and indulging my own wayward will. May obstinacy never characterize me. May grace always be given me to suppress it when it rises. To these requests I know, that from your inmost soul you say *Amen*. One of our fellow students has just delivered us a good sermon from—'*The righteous hath hope in his death.*' I enjoyed his sermon much more than I generally do those which are delivered to us on a Thursday evening. This was so experimental—so scriptural—so pious, that it found its way to my heart. May you and I, whenever we shall come to die, have a lively, a sure, and a certain hope of reigning in life by Jesus Christ. Whilst so many are called away around us, surely we should recollect the uncertainty of our own continuance upon earth; and as death is still potent, still inexorable, and still delights to surprise, let it be our chief concern to have an interest in the affections of the heart of that Saviour, who shall destroy this last enemy, and give to his followers a crown of glory changeless as his own. On him may we now both live by faith, that so when we have served our generation according to his will, we may fall asleep in his arms.

"Adieu! Your's affectionately,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

The young lady to whom he refers in this letter, appears to have been one of the seals of his early ministry, and then at the point of death. One of the letters written by him on that occasion, I am able to lay before the reader.

XX.

TO MRS. ———

"DEAR MADAM—Both your letters were safely and joyfully received by me. I say joyfully, because they show that God is putting honor upon my feeble and unworthy labors, and making use of them for your spiritual welfare—a circumstance that gives me more real pleasure than any other circumstance possibly could. You are much mistaken in supposing that I neglected to write to you, because you had in your letters said any thing improper; nothing could be more opposite to my ideas. Had this been the case, I should have felt it my duty to have set you right: but I can tell you what I can tell my God, when I say that I never heard or read an account of a young convert which appeared more satisfactory, or filled me with more delight, than that which you give me of yourself. I say this not to puff you up with spiritual pride, but to make you more thankful that you have obtained mercy, and to assure you that your suspicions of any dissatisfaction on my part are altogether groundless. Rather would I exclaim, '*what hath God wrought!*' and wrought too (well may I wonder) by his blessing upon my weak exertions. Oh! let the glory be ascribed to Him who gives testimony to the word of his grace. The excuse I have to plead for not writing to you before, is want of time and multiplicity of engagements—for in the academy my time is not my own. I have just been writing a long letter to Mrs. W———, stating my views, wishes and hopes, for the welfare of her amiable and beloved daughter. May she be resigned to the Divine will, and ready when the heavenly bridegroom cometh! From all that I can learn, I have no doubt of her interest in the affections of that same Jesus who is now, I trust, all *your* salvation and all *your* desire. When I recollect that she, a seal to my ministry, is apparently going to join the heavenly musicians in singing that song which no man can learn but the redeemed, it is impossible to express my feelings. I am very desirous to hear from her own lips an account of the way in which the Lord met with her, and a statement of the sensations of her mind in prospect of the last conflict. I wished to come down to see her —I asked permission. This could not be granted me, because I was given out last Sabbath day at the place to which I am going. But I have the happiness of informing you, that the next Lord's day I shall preach at Roydon, and so shall have an opportunity of going to Thundridge Bury Farm. I hope that our covenant God is leading you in a plain path, and teaching you more of the corruption of your own heart and the love of Christ, by his holy Spirit. All I can recommend you to do is, to be much engaged in secret prayer to him. Oh! aim to get near to him in holy communion, then you will find a heaven begun below. You will have Christ for your constant companion, and you will obtain the desire of your heart. I view this as the time of your first love. May the zealous affection for Christ which I hope you now discover, increase yet more and more. Live by faith upon the Son of God, who loved you, and gave himself for you. Commit your soul into his hands, and the souls of all the members of your family. It is my earnest prayer, that you may grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; that so I may have to rejoice that you received the gospel when delivered by me, as in deed and in truth the word of God and not of man. As for your request about a settlement for me at Roydon, I should recommend you not to expect it. I am always happy to come amongst you as an occasional supply, but I must venture no further. I have a variety of reasons for not considering it my duty to settle with any congregation as yet, or even to think of it, and I have thus far not engaged to do so at Roydon. Therefore I must request you not merely to check, but actually to eradicate the thought. Wishing you —your respected partner—and all your family, the best of blessings, I remain

"Your's sincerely,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

Had he then been sufficiently advanced in his studies to have cherished the idea of an immediate settlement—and had he been left to the free, unbiassed expression of his feelings—there is no spot on which he would have fixed as the scene of his stated and pastoral labors, in preference to a village so tranquil and retired as Roydon. He did not value popularity, except as it afforded him an opportunity of doing good. No one ever was more averse to pomp or to parade. He loved simplicity in all its forms. It was indeed a characteristic feature of himself; and had not the prospect of more extensive usefulness allured him to a wider and more public sphere, his passion for retirement would have guided him in his selection of a residence for life.

Talking with him on the subject of his health, which seemed declining, beneath the pressure of so much exertion, his friend said—"Do you wish to be early laid aside—or do you desire a premature grave?" "Oh no," said he, "you know my wish—

to have a meeting in the country, surrounded by trees—occasionally to see the shadows of the leaves quivering on the walls, in the reflection of the setting sun. A burial ground near, in which I and my people can together lie!* To live a long, honorable, and useful life, bringing many souls to the Saviour! This is the summit of my wishes." Though it was denied him to enjoy the *first*, the *last* object of his desire, and by far the most important and dearest to his heart, he did possess; for never was so short a ministry honored by the conversion of so many souls. Every week in Liverpool discloses some fresh instances of its success—and one and another is perpetually rising up to say—"'By the grace of God I am what I am,' but it was the ministry of Spencer that led me first a humble suppliant to the throne of mercy."

The situation of young ministers is peculiarly delicate and dangerous. The eyes not only of the religious public, but also of the world are fixed on them. And it is to be deplored, that where they have a right to expect the greatest kindness, they often meet with an undue severity; and those who ought to be the first to throw the mantle of love over their defects, are not unfrequently the most forward and exulting in their exposure. To an unhappy and inordinate love of scandal, many a fair and unblemished reputation has fallen the victim. The scattered wrecks by which they are surrounded, should inspire succeeding voyagers with caution. There is a cheerfulness, compatible with the deepest seriousness—the most fervent piety; and there is a levity, in which the dignity of the minister and the sanctity of the Christian, may alike be lost. Where this is witnessed, whatever claim the individual may have upon the *generosity* and *lenity* of the spectators, he has none upon their *justice*—they have a right to censure—and however we may deprecate their severity—none can deny them its exercise. And here it is perhaps that students are most exposed to danger. Fatigued and wasted by the close application and intense thought of many studious weeks, they enter, as they imagine, the circle of friendship, and instantly relax. Those who only see the effect, and are unacquainted with its cause, hastily form an unfavorable opinion of their character, and cruelly propagate the opinion they have rashly formed.† These observations are not altogether inappropriate to the subject of the following letter.

XXI.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

Hoxton college, Oct. 27, 1809.

"My dear friend—The expressions of affection your last letter, all your letters, and the whole strain of your conduct towards me evince, greatly affect me, and you will find my feelings upon the subject in Prov. xxvii. 19. Sanctified friendship appears to me to be one of the best sweets in the cup of life. It is what the Saviour recommended by his own example, and what the best of men have experienced beneficial in every age. May this kind of friendship be exemplified in us, and may we mutually share in the affections of the heart of Him, who, "*having loved his own which were in the world, loved them unto the end!*" To his will in all things we must bow, and in his dispensations, however contrary to our inclination, acquiesce; but "*not my will but thine be done*," is language which requires a large degree of grace to use in all cases, and from the bottom of our hearts.

"Many eyes are indeed upon *me*, and much do I fear that they will see something in me ere long that will take them from me. Your warnings are faithful, but my heart is still deceitful, and Satan may, for any thing I know, be about to sift me as wheat. You are not ignorant of his devices. Oh! then, pray for me, that my faith fail not, so that, instead of the number of those who behold me, turning away from me with disgust and aversion, they may rather glorify God in me, and take knowledge of me that I have been with Jesus. The thought that affords me some degree of encouragement, is that Jehovah knoweth my path, and that *he is able to make me stand*, yea to remove the suspicions of those who '*fear and wait to see.*' But really I cannot help thinking that there are some people in the world who seem as if they wished for something to hinder one's usefulness; and who by their too significant expressions on the subject, lead me to suppose that they would rejoice in such a circumstance, and say, 'Oh! so would we have it.' And why? Because then their clever prophecies would be fulfilled, and we should for the future put such confidence in their forebodings as to view them as certain omens of ill events. I do hope, however, that God will in great mercy either keep me from the snares that lie in my way, or take me to himself.

"I have to-day written to the Kidderminster people, referring them to the Doctor, or Mr. Wilson. I will try and be with you to-morrow by 12 o'clock. Do not be disappointed if I should not be able.

"I remain yours affectionately,

"Thomas Spencer."

On Sunday, the 5th of November, he was appointed to preach at Cambridge, in the pulpit lately occupied by the Rev. Robert Hall, A. M. a name dear to genius, as to religion. The day following, he

* May I be indulged in another extract from the poems of Kirke White? It was a passage which Spencer often read with peculiar emphasis, and seems a melancholy comment on his own ideas.

"Beneath this yew, I would be sepulchred.
It is a lovely spot! The sultry sun,
From his meridian height, endeavors vainly
To pierce the shadowy foliage;"
"'Tis a nook
Most pleasant."

"Yet may not undistinguish'd be my grave:
But there at eve may some congenial soul
Duly resort, and shed a pious tear,
The good man's benison—no more I ask.
And oh! (if heavenly beings may look down,
From where, with Cherubim inspir'd, they sit,
Upon this little dim discover'd spot,
The earth,) then will I cast a glance *below*
On him who thus my ashes shall embalm."

"Wishing he may not long be doom'd to pine
In this low-thoughted world of darkling wo;
But that, ere long, he reach his kindred skies."

† I remember a case in point upon this subject—the mention of which may not be useless. A student from one of our academies had been spending some days with a pious and intelligent gentleman in the country, who was in the habit of having the servants of Christ beneath his hospitable roof. On his departure, the gentleman accompanied his guest some miles on his road, and in the course of conversation said—"I cannot forbear expressing to you, sir, the satisfaction which I have enjoyed in your society. I must confess that I have been too often grieved by the levity of students, whom yet I have highly valued; but whilst *you* have displayed a cheerfulness which has enlivened our circle, you have preserved a uniform respect to your sacred office, which has secured the esteem and admiration of us all."

spent in viewing the University. In a letter dated the 3d, he says, "last night my surprise was excited by seeing that I am not appointed on the list for any place in town, but for *Cambridge*. I am to stay Monday over at Cambridge, to look at the colleges, &c. I shall think much of Kirke White;" and aware of the respectability, both in wealth and talent, of the congregation he was called to address, he adds, "the Lord make me prudent and faithful; may it appear that he has some good end to answer by conducting me thither."

He was exceedingly attached to the poetry of Henry Kirke White. He could repeat a great part of it, and frequently quoted it with great emphasis and feeling. "And yet," said he in conversation with the friend to whom these letters are addressed, "there is a thirst for fame sometimes discovered, which pains me.

'Fifty years hence, and who will hear of Henry.'

Well, suppose *nobody* does, and what then? If Henry has served his day and generation, and is gone to glory, neither the church nor he will be losers; and the hearing of Henry will be too small a consideration to be brought into the account."

Public as Spencer's life had now become, and exposed as he was to the influence of every unholy passion which popularity might awaken, he yet maintained a close and holy walk with God. He courted solitude, and for the best of purposes. Of him it may be truly said, '*his fellowship was with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.*' The holy and the heavenly tone his mind received in those retired hours, gave a peculiar unction to his ministry; and the knowledge which by deep communion with his own heart, and constant intercourse with God, he had obtained, rendered his preaching remarkably profitable to believers, and gave him a skill in administering instructions adapted to all the varieties of their experience. Of this the following is a pleasing specimen.

XXII.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

November 9, 1809.

"My dear friend—Be assured that I, as well as yourself, have walked in darkness, and complained that there was no light. Fluctuations in experience are, I am sure, my lot, whilst my only consolation in such circumstances still remain—'tis the unchangeableness of Christ. Oh! what is so calculated to reconcile our minds to the way our Father calls us to travel, as the recollection, that whilst we are found in it, Jesus is the same, and that to the end of the journey; and in every trying circumstance he is a present help. In darkness he will enable us to trust in the Lord, and to stay ourselves upon our God; yea he will cheer our desponding souls with visitation sweet. Seasons in which we experience darkness of mind, and depression of soul, are necessary: they form the analogy between us and those who through *tribulation* are gone to heaven: they render us fit subjects for the illuminating and refreshing grace of Christ; they add a higher relish to the renewed enjoyment of the light and liberty of the gospel; and they serve to prepare us for that world where the Lord shall be our everlasting life, and our God our glory.

"Reflecting upon deliverance from such times of depression should teach us to say—'*Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee!*' It should lead us to anticipate future favors, and rejoice that he that hath delivered us, can and will deliver; and since the day has dawned, and the shadows have fled away, we should most cordially adore Him who has been appointed to give light to them who sit in darkness, and to guide our feet into the way of peace. May you and I ever enjoy the presence of Jesus, our best friend; share in his tender sympathy; his kind reproofs; his excellent counsels. May he be our God for ever and ever, and our guide even unto death. Then we need fear no evil. If sensible that he is with us, we may pass through midnight glooms, and experience a season of great darkness, and yet look forward to a future time, when with pleasure we shall sing, '*The Lord is my light, of whom shall I be afraid.*' Oh! that I may be enabled to commit your soul and my own into the hands of Jesus as unto a faithful Creator. I can now add no more, than to say that

"I remain affectionately yours,

"Thomas Spencer."

The next letter furnishes another proof of his humility and diffidence. It was written the day before it became his turn to preach again in the chapel at Hoxton, the Thursday evening lecture, which the tutors usually attend.

XXIII.

TO MR. HADDON.

December 6, 1809.

"My dear friend—I am sensible that Mr. S.'s politeness '*merits*' much of us, and if I must name some day for us to meet there, it must be Monday next. This we will speak of to-morrow evening. I am sorry you have been so busy about so worthless an object as myself. I need not say, pray especially for me, that a divine blessing may attend me to-morrow evening in preaching before those whom you know I too much dread as hearers. 'The Lord grant unto his servant, that with all boldness he may speak his word.' I trust your desire and expectation of obtaining good on Friday evening will be gratified. My mind is rather more composed than it has ever been before, when I have had to preach here on the Thursday evening. How it will be when the time comes, I know not. Many eyes are upon me, and different, very different are the feelings with which my brethren hear *me*. But if the Head of the Church gives each of them a blessing, they will, I hope, be satisfied.

"Your's affectionately,

"Thomas Spencer."

It is indeed much to be regretted, that any feelings but those of mutual affection, forbearance and candor, should be cherished in the hearts of brethren—and such surely are the students in the same academy. But in the present imperfect state of our nature, it must be expected, that superior excellence, while it is the object of universal admiration abroad, will, in too many instances, be exposed to the malignant glance of envy and of jealousy at home.—And when the scourge of criticism is supplied with knots by these, who but must expect to smart beneath its strokes. It is certainly to the honor of the institution to which Mr. Spencer belonged, that its members for the most part knew, admired, and confessed his worth:—and if there were any exceptions—let them remain in that oblivion in which is their best security.* But the solemn admonition of his early death, should tend to check the bitter exercise of that unhallowed sarcasm by which the rise of ex-

* "Those who admire and cherish rising talent, can have no bitter reflections when they contemplate the grave of Spencer. They hailed his entrance into public life, and strengthened his hands by their prayers and their approbation. Those who could envy him, and such I know there were, must be covered with

traordinary usefulness or genius is too frequently assailed. In academies of religion and literature, where the avowed object of every student is, not his individual advancement, but the glory of God, a spirit of detraction and envy ought to be unknown. The most devoted and useful, should be most esteemed. Every private interest should be lost in the general welfare of the church of Christ. One may behold, indeed, with less concern, the strokes of satire when they fall upon the arrogant, the presumptuous and the vain:—but when talents are attended by humility—when popularity is connected with diffidence—and eminent piety is mingled with extraordinary displays of genius—to such an object the severity of sarcasm is improperly directed, and every well regulated mind must view its exercise with pain.

About this time his health again declined. A severe cold for some days deprived him of his voice—and he was compelled to rest one Sabbath day from his public work. What were his feelings in prospect of that Sabbath, this letter will declare.

XXIV.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

December 6, 1809.

"My dear friend—It appears that your suspicions that I should preach three times to-morrow, will not, cannot be realized, for Mr. Western, as well as those around me are agreed, that I must not go to Hertford at all, judging it dangerous for me to go out, much more so to preach. Yesterday I passed a miserable day. The thought of the pain of mind the letter I sent home would occasion to my friends, hurt me much, and I was much worse than I had been before, as my lungs and throat felt more inflamed. To-day I think I am better, but still very far from well. I can scarcely bear the prospect of a silent Sabbath. I think I shall be quite out of my element to-morrow. Oh! that I did but more firmly believe, that he who is my Saviour does all things well, and that he who sustains the dread character of Judge of all the earth, must do right. If I am able, I shall hear Mr. Hordle in the morning. I have no voice yet. I hope it is not irretrievably lost. I need not say, that if you can call this evening, it will give me unspeakable pleasure.

"Yours affectionately,

"Thomas Spencer."

Reflecting on this temporary indisposition in a letter to his father, he says—"I have reason to hope that the measure of affliction with which our heavenly Father thought fit to visit me, has been made a blessing to my soul. It gave me time for reflection and close self-examination. It gave a new zest to my feelings, and when it was removed, I hope I was inspired with fresh ardor to live for the glory of God."

Amid the constant bustle of a public life, the retirement which temporary indisposition affords, must be most beneficial to a pious mind. Then it can relax into a calm and intimate communion with itself. It can quietly indulge in such a review of the past—and such an anticipation of the future, as will tend not a little, under the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, to curb its impetuosity—correct its levity—and regulate its principles. From the chamber of sickness, the exercises of the pulpit will be furnished with materials of the highest order; and the beds of the diseased will be attended with a sympathy, which experience of similar affliction only can excite.

The greater part of the Christmas vacation Mr. Spencer spent at Brighton, and on the first day of the year 1810, he preached at the Rev. Mr. Styles' chapel, to young people, from 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27, 28. "Because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before God, when thou heardst his words against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, and humbledst thyself before me, and didst rend thy clothes and weep before me: I have even heard thee also, saith the Lord. Behold I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace. Neither shall thine eyes see all the evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the inhabitants of the same."

The good seed which he was the instrument of scattering in Brighton, very rapidly sprang up. In a letter to his father, written immediately on his return from thence, and dated Jan. 12th, 1810, he says, 'a young person who heard me at Mr. Styles' last year, was called by divine grace under my instrumentality, and died before I went this time, bearing an honorable testimony to the religion of Jesus, and to her interest in it. Oh! what hath God wrought!"

During his stay at Brighton, he had occasion to solicit a favor of his friend in London, the performance of which was acknowledged in the following letter.

XXV.

TO MR. HADDON.

Brighton, January 1, 1810.

"My dear friend—However you may smile at the idea of my writing you a 'letter of thanks,' I assure you I think you have a claim upon it, for you have done for me what I should have liked few others to have done; but suffice it to say, it came safe to hand. Last Thursday evening I preached on Luke xxiv. 32. Yesterday morning at the Countess', on Eph. ii. 14. In the evening at Mr. Styles', it being the close of the year, on Exodus xxiii. 20. To-night I shall *only* preach, as one minister will commence and another close with prayer. It is said that I shall preach at the chapel on Thursday evening. You ask me, where I shall be next Sabbath. Many advise me to remain at Brighton; but it is my present intention to return home on the Friday, though I really feel myself in a difficulty about it. I hope I have, since I have been at this place, enjoyed the divine blessing—those with whom I associate are the excellent of the earth—with no others have I any occasion to be at all connected. In this respect I am like your good friend Mr. H. of Westminster. We certainly do not in general sufficiently estimate the worth of the society of those who discover the mind that was in Christ;—great is the benefit we may derive from their company. Oh! let those of us who fear the Lord speak often with one another; one may thus come at each other's follies, and stimulate each other to the performance of that good, acceptable, and perfect will of God. I think my cold is getting better. After I had preached last night, a valuable young Scotch clergyman who was there, wished I might live to preach many such sermons—what could I say, but '*all the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come.*' It is a great satisfaction to know, that we are training up for heaven, and 'ripening apace for the vision of God.' Pray for me, that this perseverance may be given me.

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merited shame, when they behold him so early stript of those honors, talents, advantages, and successes, which exposed him to their jealousy and malignity. If these unworthy men were before me, I would 'speak daggers to them, but use none!'"—*See Styles' Funeral Sermon for the Rev. T. Spencer.*

You know my object is the glory of God in the good of souls—that this may be accomplished, by my exertions, is my prayer, my hope, my aim. Whether living or dying, may we be the Lord's. I have, however, at present no other idea, than that I shall be spared yet, and *not die, but live and declare the works of the Lord.** Wishing you the enjoyment of the good will of Him that dwelt in the bush, and assuring you of my steady attachment,

"I remain yours affectionately,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

On Wednesday, the 28th of February, being a day appointed for a general fast, Mr. Spencer preached a sermon at Hoxton chapel, adapted to the occasion; his text was Ezek. ix. 4. "Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the men that sigh and cry for all the abominations that are done in the midst thereof." The general scope and style of this sermon may be ascertained by the following extract from the communication of his friend:—

"A minister said to me, 'I don't know how a good fast sermon can be preached, without touching upon politics.'—'If you will hear Spencer to-morrow, I think you will find that it can be done.' When we met again, he told me that he had heard an excellent fast sermon, without a word upon politics. I remember, that in that sermon he said, 'when your ear is pained with oaths and imprecations as you pass the street, remember that that swearer is your fellow countryman, calling for vengeance upon *your* country, and do you, by ejaculatory prayer, strive to avert it.'"

To enter into a minute detail of the places at which Mr. Spencer preached between this period and the ensuing vacation, would be useless. Suffice it to say, that his labors were unremitting; that he visited several congregations in the country—particularly those at *Hertford*, *Reading*, *Henly*, and *Brighton*.

He was appointed one of the three students who should deliver the public orations at the coming anniversary—held at midsummer. This preyed with considerable anxiety upon his mind, and although one should have imagined that by this time he had become familiar with large auditories and critical hearers—yet we find him shrinking from the task, and expressing many fears respecting it. The subject allotted to him was, "THE INFLUENCE OF THE GOSPEL ON THE SPIRIT AND TEMPER." His colleagues in that trying service were, Messrs. John Burder and Stenner; and to these gentlemen were given as topics of discussion, "THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT," and "THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT." The day before that on which the discourses were to be delivered, he expressed his feelings thus:—

XXVI.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

Hoxton, June 19, 1810.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—Consonant with your request, I here transmit to you the notes of the sermon on Eutychus: if you can, let me have them again before I go into Lancashire. You mention *to-morrow*, and oh! what anxiety do I feel in the prospect of it; already it has cost me some tears, it may cost me many more. Would to God that I may experience the assisting grace of Him who has before proved himself able to do for me exceeding abundantly above all that I could ask or think. "If the light of his countenance shine upon me, then I shall shine in the sight of heaven, and in the eyes of his saints, who know and can recognise the reflections of the Saviour's glory. From what I can anticipate of the congregation, it will be terrific; but does not the promise, '*I am with you always*,' extend to particular occasions? Most certainly it does; then it takes in this trying service. May I have faith and trust in it, and be favored with an experimental confirmation of its truth. Believing that you do sincerely and constantly commend me to the kind care of your Father and my Father, of your God and my God, I remain

"Affectionately yours,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

We now arrive at the period of Mr. Spencer's first visit to Liverpool. Before we pass on with him to that new and interesting scene, it may be well to pause, and take such a general view of his mode of thinking and acting, while a student, as the following characteristic sketches from the hand of his most intimate friend, will furnish. I shall present them in a miscellaneous way just as they occur. Thus the reader will converse with him—hear his own sentiments, expressed in his own language, and imperceptibly become familiar with the man.

"'That passage,' said he, 'is much upon my mind'—'Let no man despise thy youth.' I understand the apostle thus:—Let your walk and conduct be such, that no man *can* despise thy youth. And such shall be my own.'

"He was favored with peculiar facility in composition. 'Many a sermon,' said he, 'have I composed between Hoxton and your house.' His ideas flowed faster than he could write them, and when alone our conversation has met with frequent interruption from his stopping to commit to paper, before they escaped him, the ideas crossing his mind. Turning to me privately, as I sat by his side one evening at the tea-table of a friend, 'Look at that,' said he, 'will it do?' It was the sketch of a sermon, which he had composed during the conversation. 'I don't know,' said he, (and those who suppose my friend was boasting, did not know him) 'I don't know,' said he, 'that for a long time I have had time enough for any one sermon: I was crampt in every head for want of time.' His sermons at that time were 65 minutes to 75 in preaching; though his hearers were not aware of it.

"In composing, he used to fold a sheet of foolscap paper in eight leaves, leaving the last side for the heads of application. However long the sermon might be, he never wrote more of it, and in preaching, varied the sermon every time he preached it. 'How do you obtain your texts?' 'I keep a little book in which I enter every text of Scripture which comes into my mind with power and sweetness. Were I to dream of a passage of Scripture, I should enter it; and when I sit down to compose, I look over the book, and have never found myself at a loss for a subject.'

"His memory was remarkably tenacious; he could regularly repeat every service in which he had ever engaged, with the chapter which he had read, and those of his acquaintance who were present. Returning from Halloway, after preaching, said he, 'Did you perceive any thing particular in me this morning?' 'No.' 'I was very ill in the pulpit; my memory totally forsook me; I could not recollect my subject, but having my notes in my pocket, I took them out and read them.' 'I am glad

* Alas! how blind are we to futurity! A clergyman not long since, while uttering these very words in the pulpit, suddenly turned pale—his voice faltered—he fell back and expired! Little did the amiable Spencer think, that the hand which thus conveyed to his friend the pleasing anticipation of a long and useful life, should lie III soon in the impotence of death!

of it; I give you joy; you can no longer condemn assistance to an imperfect memory.' 'O no, I boast no more; from henceforth, I am silent upon that subject.'

"'The young man that has just passed my study door,' said he, 'is fearful that he shall not keep up *variety* in his sermons. The best way that I find to attain variety is continually to ask myself 'What is there in the circumstances before me, that will benefit my sermon on Sabbath morning?' for a minister should turn every thing into gold. And by keeping my eye continually upon that point, I am seldom at a loss for variety.'

"Few persons have held pulpit eloquence in higher estimation than Spencer did, or in more contempt when it stood in competition with the interest of souls. I remember asking his opinion of an eloquent sermon which he had been hearing—'Why,' said he, 'I could have wept over it—I could have wept to hear immortals so treated.'

"'Your morning sermon yesterday was approved, but not that in the afternoon.' 'No, I suppose not, and I will give you the reason. In the morning, when I preached on privileges, they were pleased; but when in the afternoon, I came to duties, they remembered their treatment of their late venerable pastor. I particularly respect aged ministers, and love to assist them, and generally add a trifle to the collection, when I have been preaching in behalf of a church which has an aged minister.'

"He was much tried by the envy of some little minds. Mr. S. said —— to him, 'You was very late, I hear, at Walworth.' 'Yes, Sir, and there you may see your own error; you know *you* say I am too eager for the pulpit, now you see your mistake.' At another time, 'Spencer,' said a person whose name shall be secret, 'Popularity is a dangerous thing.' 'It is.' 'No one is popular long.' 'Very true.' 'You are popular *now*, but you will not be so long.' 'That I certainly shall not, Sir, if *your wishes* are accomplished; but I fully believe, that my popularity hurts you more than it does me.' The bell soon after summoned him to read (in his turn) a sermon for general criticism. The first person called upon said, that its *merits* were such, that he had nothing to say of its *defects*. That sentiment was universal. 'And,' said he to me afterwards, 'when I considered what had passed, I felt that that was a moment of gratification.'

"A lady, who had misunderstood an idea in his sermon, wrote me a hasty letter, charging him with antinomianism, and me with gross impropriety in hearing him. It was a Saturday night, and he was to preach in the same pulpit the next day. I went to inform him of the circumstance, that he might take an unperceived opportunity of explaining himself. He held out his hand to give his usual affectionate squeeze, when I drew back. 'I don't know how to shake hands with an antinomian.' 'An antinomian! What is the matter?' 'Read this proof of it.' He read it; his pleasantry subsided; and with a countenance which spoke the feeling of his noble soul, 'O,' said he, 'this letter does me good.—The attention of that congregation would have led me to suppose that they were pleased, and perhaps profited by what they heard; and yet you see that there were those present who not only misunderstood me, but supposed that I was a preacher of antinomianism. This letter does me good; for sometimes Satan claps me on the back, here in my study, and says, 'That sermon will do very well, and especially from one so young as you'—and then I begin to mount, and fancy that I *am* somebody; but such a letter as this clips my wings—and then,' said he, (with indescribable expression,) 'I drop into my place—the dust. Do bring me all the intelligence of this kind that you can.'

"How I wish they would begin the service with Watts' 152d hymn, 2d book.* That hymn always soothes my mind in the opening of worship. My whole soul enters into it, especially the last two verses.' 'Why do you not request that it may be given out?' 'Because it does not become one of my age to dictate.' ''Tis no dictation, but a gratification of your friends; it secures congeniality through the service when you mention the hymns you wish.' 'And can we have it to *Staughton?*' 'No, to *Prospect.*' 'No, no, *Staughton;* that is my tune for a common metre, and *Shirland* for short metre.' The 5th verse *he* frequently quoted.

"One day mentioning to him an interesting text of Mr. Cecil's, preached on the last night of the year, said he, 'That will just do for me to preach at Brighton, to conclude the services of the present year. But don't show me Mr. Cecil's till I have composed mine. I would not borrow a single idea.'

"Preaching one morning at Hoxton, after he had prayed as usual at his entrance into the pulpit, I missed him; he bent forward for a considerable time so low, that I could scarcely perceive him from the gallery. When I afterwards asked him if any thing ailed him, said he, 'When I went into the pulpit, and saw that crowded audience, recollecting that they were all looking to me for instruction, and remembering my own youth and inexperience, I was overwhelmed, and leaning forward, implored more earnestly the divine assistance.'

"While preaching at Jewin-street, he one afternoon took the two lower steps at once, in ascending the pulpit stairs.—When we afterwards met, I asked, 'Did you notice the manner of your going into the pulpit?' 'I did, and thought that you would also—it was inadvertent; but it was wrong. It did not become the solemnity of the place.—I never remember such a circumstance before, and will be more guarded in future.' As a proof of the *necessity* of his watchfulness over the minutiæ of his actions, I mention that an aged Christian said to me some time afterwards, 'I loved Spencer's sermons, but there was a lightness about him.' 'A lightness! when, and where did he discover it?' 'At our

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* SINAI AND SION.

Heb. xii. 18, &c.

"Not to the terrors of the Lord,
The tempest, fire and smoke;
Not to the thunder of that word,
Which God on Sinai spoke;

But we are come to Sion's hill,
The city of our God,
Where milder words declare his will,
And spread his love abroad.

Behold th' innumerable host,
Of angels, clothed in light!
Behold the spirits of the just,
Whose faith is turned to sight!

Behold the bless'd assembly there,
Whose names are writ in heaven;
And God, the judge of all, declares
Their vilest sins forgiven.

The saints on earth, and all the dead,
But one communion make;
All join in Christ, their living head,
And of his grace partake.

In such society as this
My weary soul would rest:
The man that dwells where Jesus is,
Must be for ever blest."

meeting, in jumping up the pulpit stairs.' 'Did you see it more than once?' 'No.' 'Then I can tell you, that that once he felt and lamented as deeply as you could; and I am sure that he never repeated it. Is not that satisfactory?' 'It is.'

"Spencer followed Cecil; he united deep humility with true ministerial dignity; nor do I conceive it possible for a youth to be less affected by popularity than he was; and as to flattery, if his flatterers had known the light in which he viewed them, they would have been silent. Coming from a vestry, where adulation had been offered—'Don't fear for me,' said he, 'on account of what has passed; it was too weak to hurt: my danger is when those, on whose judgment I depend, speak unguardedly!' At another time, after a young man had been very lavish in his praises, (who had several times been guilty of the same impropriety,) I told him I thought the next time he addressed himself to me, I should give him a hint of it. 'O no,' said he, 'treat it with the same contempt that I do. To mention it, would give too much importance to his judgment. I would not have him think that *his* judgment could *do any harm.*'

"Spencer was particularly happy in his choice of texts for particular occasions: 'I feel great difficulty,' said he, 'in preaching at Hertford, where I have to address many who walked with God before I was born. To-morrow will be the first Sabbath that I have regularly supplied there. I have chosen for my subject, Romans xvi. 7.' In which he showed what it was to be in Christ; and the duties which aged Christians owe to younger ones—faithful reproof and exhortation—prayer for them, &c. For his sermon on regeneration, he chose James i. 18, which, as he said, comprised the *whole* subject:—the efficient *cause*—'The will of God;' the grand means used—'the word of truth;' the great end in view—that believers should be—'First fruits of His creatures.' A gentleman, who possesses a fine mind, said to me, 'I have heard so much of Spencer, that when I went to hear him, I expected to be disappointed; but I found the reverse to be the case. When he gave out his text it was with an emphasis which so forcibly laid open the apostle's argument, that my attention was rivetted, and I was perfectly astonished.'

"He loved to improve the festivals of the church. such as Christmas and Easter, 'because' said he, 'people expect then to hear upon the subject, and I think we ought to meet every appearance of preparation of mind with suitable instruction. The passage of Scripture which led my mind to the ministry, and which satisfies me as to the propriety of my engaging in it, is that promise of God to the Gentile church, Isaiah lxix. 21.—Oh! that text is very precious to me; while the death of Miss —— at Brighton, and Miss —— at ——, tends to convince me that I am right.' Those ladies died in the Lord, and were called under Spencer's ministry.

"'I used,' said he, 'to feel very much in preaching before certain characters. My difficulty is now removed by considering, that, let them be as learned or as pious as they may, it is probable that they have not turned their attention to the individual point before me so closely as I have, and therefore it is likely that my sermon may afford some instruction even to them, and this thought gives me courage.'

"Mr. Spencer's simplicity in dress was well known. He avoided in that respect, the very appearance of evil, that his ministry might not be blamed. One Sabbath morning, when he called for me, he had a new coat on, which I told him I thought was more fashionable than he would approve. 'I did not know it,' said he, and on the next Sabbath morning, he asked me if I thought it more becoming *then:* he had had it altered.

"I was desired by several medical gentlemen to inform him, that unless he slackened his exertions, he could not live to see five and twenty. When I mentioned it, he said, 'that it certainly must be attended to, for that his hope was to live a long and useful life.' He therefore determined to alter the length of his sermons from an hour or sixty-five minutes to forty-five.

"'I am going,' said he, 'to preach at Vauxhall tomorrow, where you may come with a very safe conscience. You need not be afraid of a large congregation *there.* You do not like large congregations for me; but don't you remember how much more encouragement and satisfaction the man has who fishes in a pond which is full of fish, than he who fishes in a place where he knows there are but two or three.'

"Before S. left the academy, a gentleman, whose judgment, or piety, few are disposed to dispute, said to me, 'If it were not for the sound of his voice, with my eyes shut I could suppose him a man of seventy. He is ripening fast for heaven—I can fancy him an angel, come down into the pulpit, soon to return.'

"Another gentleman, possessed of undeniable critical skill, and difficult to please, after he had heard him, said, 'I stood the whole service—and I could have stood till midnight. I felt as under the influence of a charm I could not resist, and was rivetted to the spot, intent only upon the fascinating object I saw before me.'

"It was with sincere pity that he saw any young minister descend from the holy dignity of his station, by attention, as soon as the service was concluded, to the advances of females, who, had they really received the benefit they professed, would have shown it in a very different way."*

Mr. Spencer was appointed by the committee to spend the midsummer vacation in this year at Newington chapel, Liverpool, then destitute of a pastor, by the death of the Rev. David Bruce. The report of his extraordinary talents and amazing popularity had already from various quarters, reached that place. And the congregation amongst whom he was, for a few weeks to labor, had some pleasing expectations, that they might find in him a future pastor, every way qualified for the important sphere of usefulness, which so large and populous a town presented. But on the mind of Mr. Spencer far other impressions had been unhappily produced. From whatever sources he had drawn his information of the state of religion and manners in this place, it was certainly most incorrect—and such as led him to anticipate his visit with feelings of considerable uneasiness and reluctance. Nor did he seem at all anxious to conceal the fact, that his coming was the consequence of a necessity, to which he was compelled to bow. So deep was his prejudice against Liverpool, that it seems to have caused the only exception to that uniform submission with which he yielded to the arrangements made by his constituents for his labors. But on this occasion, he did not hesitate frankly to assure a gentleman, who meeting him in London, expressed a hope, that they should soon have the pleasure of seeing him in Liverpool, that "it was not *his* wish to see Liverpool—and that although the committee had appointed him to go, he should do all in his power to prevail upon them to send some other student."

But a visit upon which so much depended, and

* This is to Spencer's honor. Those who are accustomed to attend the vestries in London, after the sermons of popular preachers, will enter into the meaning of this observation. It would be well, if some whom it may concern would also take the hint it affords.

whence such amazing consequences were to flow, could not be abandoned by a superintending Providence, to the obstacles of his prejudices, or the influence of his feelings. His destination was fixed. —It was the voice of duty, and he obeyed. He arrived in Liverpool on Saturday, the 30th of June, 1810, and commenced his public labors on the following Sabbath.

Mr. Spencer selected for the subject of his first discourse, Luke xxiv. 32, "*And they said one to another, did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures.*"* In the afternoon he preached from Heb. xii. 24. "*And to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel.*" And in the evening from 1 Cor. xv. 25, "*For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.*"

The impression produced by the labors of this Sabbath will be long remembered. The emotion then awakened has not subsided to this day. Every sermon that he preached tended to deepen the conviction of his piety and talents—and to endear him to the people. His lively, affectionate manner, and the simple but elegant style of his discourses, captivated all who heard him. Every sermon produced accessions to the congregation of such as, drawn by the report of his extraordinary powers, pressed to witness their display. The chapel soon became crowded to excess—and not alone the thoughtless and the gay, whom the charms of a persuasive eloquence and an engaging manner might attract, but pious and experienced Christians sat at his feet with deep attention and delight. There seemed to be indeed *a shaking amongst the dry bones.* A divine unction evidently attended his ministry, and such were the effects produced, that every beholder, with astonishment and admiration, cried "what hath God wrought!"

In his own views of Liverpool, too, a great change was wrought by the remarkable circumstances attendant on his ministry. The kind assiduities of the family under whose hospitable roof he resided, and an intercourse with the pious part of the congregation, which they carefully promoted, tended gradually to weaken his prejudices, and at length completely to turn the bias, and reverse the purpose of his mind. The period of his stay was limited to five Sabbaths; but at the earnest solicitation of the people, he consented, after communicating with his friends in London, to add another to the number. And in the afternoon of the last Sabbath, he preached from Deut. xxxiii. 3, '*Yea, he loved the people,*' in such a style of endearment and affection, as seemed to warrant the indulgence of their warmest hopes. The last week of his visit was spent in the most delightful intercourse with Christian friends; and on Tuesday, the 7th of August, he left Liverpool with reluctance and tears.

The following extracts are from his correspondence while at Liverpool.

XXVII.

TO MR. HADDON.

Liverpool, July 3, 1810.

"My dear friend,

* * * * * * * *

"I had a most uncomfortable journey. The distance was so great, the company so disagreeable, and I so low spirited, that I can truly say, I never travelled in such misery before. When I arrived at Manchester, there was no one to meet me at the coach. No one expected me. After a great deal of trouble I found out Mr. Smith's house, and I shall always feel indebted to him for the kindness with which he received me, though unexpected, and for the hospitality with which he entertained me till Saturday morning, when I left Manchester for *Liverpool.* And say you, what are your sentiments about *that?*—I freely tell you then, that I think it is an excellent town, &c. &c.; but I had rather any one should be here supplying than myself, and I long for the time when I shall leave for Hoxton.

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"Depend upon it, if possible, I will set off for London on Monday, July 30th; I wish it were to-morrow—but perhaps I do wrong in complaining. May you enjoy the presence of Him who has shut me up from the society of my beloved companions for a time, perhaps that I might seek more earnestly after his own.

"I remain,

"Yours affectionately,

"Thomas Spencer."

XXVIII.

TO MR. HADDON.

Liverpool, July 17, 1810.

"My dear friend—I suppose you have been looking for a letter for a day or two past from your friend at Liverpool, so here it is come at last. I did not preach at Manchester, for notice had been given the Sabbath before that there would be no preaching there the next Wednesday evening—nor have I been to ——. I saw no one from his house when I was at Manchester, nor have I heard any thing from him since; most likely I shall not see him at all. In fact I have quite visiting enough among the people of the congregation.

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"Here are some excellent people, very pious, and zealous for the honor of God, and the good of immortal souls, in this town. With some of them I shall be almost sorry to part.

"Last Sunday evening I preached the sermon for Hoxton; we collected about 40*l.* The place I preach in is called *Newington chapel.* I forget the name of the street it stands in. There are many more dissenting places of worship here than you seem aware of. I am not yet certain whether I stay six Sabbaths.

"Mr. —— has written me a long and pressing letter for me to go to Plymouth Dock, which he says is just the thing for me—he wishes me to settle there—gives an exceeding high character of the place. According to his request I must write to him soon, but I scarce know in what manner. It is a large congregation, and he says, that there is there 'a huge army of the soldiers of the cross.'

"I will take care to get you a plan of the town. I hear that a fire has consumed Huntingdon's chapel in Tichfield street—is it true? Dr. W. has written to me requesting me to supply New Court the first Sabbath in August.

"The Wednesday after I wrote to you, I preached on Psalms lxi. 2. Following Sabbath—morning, Colos. iii. 3: afternoon, John x. 9: evening, Job xxxvi. 18. The next Wednesday evening, Gal. iv. 7. Last Sabbath morning, Zech. vi. 13: afternoon, the same concluded: evening, Zech. iii. 7. Monday evening, at the prayer meetings, I either go over the outline of one of the sermons preached the day before, or else give a short exhortation, as at Hoxton.

"I suppose you know that I have written to D. C—— but not to Mr. B——. For the fact is, I had rather not. I do not know how, and I do not see that it would do any good, so must decline it. I am out almost every day. Oh why should people be afraid to let me be alone: why will they not let me

* See Appendix, No. III.

enjoy my much-loved solitude! On several accounts I feel anxious to get home; and can now indeed say, 'Hoxton, with all thy faults, I love thee still.'

"Present my respects to all our *friends* in town. Give me as much intelligence as you can in your next, and believe me still

"Your sincere friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

Very soon after his return to Hoxton, Mr. Spencer received from the church and congregation at Newington chapel, an unanimous and pressing invitation to accept the pastoral office over them. The call was dated on the 8th of August, 1810. After near seven weeks deliberation, Mr. Spencer returned an answer in the affirmative. In what exercises of mind these seven weeks were spent, those who knew the peculiar circumstances of his situation can well conceive. On the one hand—the unanimous request of a people to whom God had directed him contrary to his wish, and to whom he had become singularly endeared:—the imperious call of duty to a sphere of action for which his talents seemed every way adapted, in which his labors had been already remarkably successful, and which promised most extensive usefulness. These were circumstances of no common magnitude. But on the other hand, there were many powerful ties to bind him to the neighborhood of the metropolis. His family—his best friendships—his most endeared connections—the scenes of his early and honorable labors—all conspired in the prospect of his removal to so great a distance, to awaken the most painful and distressing feelings in his mind. And resolutely to resist the importunities of friends, the value of whose society we fully know—to rise superior to those local attachments which long and happy intercourse cannot fail to form—and to leave the circle to which time and frequent interchange of sentiment have rendered us familiar and endeared, for a land of strangers—involve a sacrifice which only the voice of duty can demand, or the hope of usefulness repay. Yet such are the sacrifices which the Christian minister must frequently be called to make; and whilst on his part they are with cheerfulness surrendered to the call of duty, and the cause of Christ, let those in whose particular behalf they are claimed, seek by every affectionate office of friendship, to blunt the edge of separation, and relieve as much as may be by kindness, the memory of distant friendships and endeared connections.

I insert a copy of Mr. Spencer's answer to the call which he received from the church and congregation at Newington; as it will afford to the reader an additional opportunity of obtaining an acquaintance with its amiable author.

XXIX.

To the Independent Church of Christ, assembling in Newington chapel, Liverpool.

"MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS—Being unwilling to keep you any longer in suspense than is absolutely necessary, upon the important subject of my settlement with a church and congregation, I feel it my duty to reply to your obliging and respectful invitation. You are well aware, that I came amongst you influenced by the strongest prejudices against the place, and resolutely determined never to think of it as a sphere calculated for me. Whilst I was amongst you, however, several circumstances united to remove the strength of my prejudices, and I trust to make me determined by every appointed and lawful means to ascertain the will of God, and when ascertained, cheerfully to fulfil it, however opposed it might be to my private wishes and inclinations. A review of the partial degree of success with which my labors in Liverpool were honored, does afford me considerable pleasure, and I must say, that I speak the real sentiments of my heart when I confess, that the manner in which you, my respected friends and brethren in the gospel, have conducted this important affair, has raised you exceedingly in my esteem, and given me to believe, that a preacher would find among you as a people, those motives to diligence and those sources of real happiness in the prosecution of his work, which, alas! are denied to many a faithful minister of the New Testament.

"When I regard you as a church and congregation, I feel anxiously concerned for your spiritual and eternal welfare, and indeed earnestly desire, if consistent with the good pleasure of His will, the great Head of the Church would make use of *me* to build you up in faith and holiness; but my motives for thinking favorably of your invitation arise also from other sources. I look at the state of thousands of inhabitants in that vast town, to many of whom I hope to be the instrument of conveying the 'joyful sound;' my soul longs that they may receive the salvation which is in Jesus Christ, with eternal glory, and influenced I have reason to believe by the direction of my God, I resolve to preach among them the unsearchable riches of Christ.

"I assure you, my fellow travellers to Zion, I can observe, with admiration, peculiarities in this dispensation which never before struck me in reference to any other situation. Oh may it appear, that this work and this counsel is of God!

"*Some* difficulties must be met, and some sacrifices must be made, *by me*, when I leave the scenes of my former exertions in the cause of Christ, for the sake of the people at Newington. But these are things which I must ever expect; these are circumstances which I resolved should never move me, when I first gave myself to God and His Christ!

"Truly believing then that I am acting under the direction of an all wise Jehovah, and humbly asking that this may be made manifest in after days, *I accept the invitation* you have given me to exercise over you the pastoral office. I comply with your unanimous request, and shall from this day consider myself as solemnly bound to you, if you see it right to allow me the following requisitions:—

"That I preach among you regularly but *twice on the Sabbath*, viz. morning and evening. I mention this, because I know that my constitution will not admit of three services in the day, and I am sure it is not consistent with your wishes, that I should prevent myself from future exertions by presuming on too much at first; and the plan I propose will, I am persuaded, after trial prove beneficial rather than injurious to the cause at Newington. To preaching to you twice on the Sabbath and once in the week, I shall never feel the least objection. My other wish is—

"That I may have in the spring of the year six weeks annually to myself, to visit my friends, and occasionally see other parts of the Lord's vineyard.

"I do not leave Hoxton academy till after Christmas, and perhaps may not be with you so early as you wish. It is my intention, however, to commence my labors among you, if convenient to yourselves, on the first Sabbath in February, 1811. Your sentiments on the subjects I have mentioned, you will be pleased to communicate to me as early as possible.

"And now just allow me, my respected friends, to request you not to form too sanguine expectations in reference to the pleasure you expect to enjoy

when I become your pastor. You will doubtless find in me much to pity and to blame; yet it is my earnest prayer that you may never have to charge me with neglect in watching over you in the Lord; finally, I request your supplications for me at the throne of the heavenly Majesty, that a door of utterance may be opened unto me, that *on me* the communications of divine grace may ever be bestowed, that Christ may be magnified by my preaching and my life, that I may be preserved faithful unto death, and then receive a crown of life.

"Accept my cordial wishes for the prosperity of your own souls, of your families, but especially of your Christian society and of the cause of Zion amongst you. Cease not to pray solemnly, fervently, and without intermission, for me, and believe me yours, in our glorious Lord,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

Hoxton, September 26, 1810.

This official communication to the church was accompanied by a private letter to the friend, under whose roof he had resided during his occasional visit, and to whose care the preceding document was addressed.

XXX.

"*Hoxton college, September* 19.

"MY DEAR SIR—If you wish immediately to know the purport of my enclosed answer to the respectful and pressing invitation I have received from Newington, turn to the 22d verse of the Epistle to Philemon.

"I hope you will forgive me for the long, the doubtful suspence, in which I have been obliged to detain you; in my own view I have acted rightly, and I have no doubt but you will say that it was all proper, when you come to hear my statement. It is astonishing what I have had to meet with through the *kindness* of my London friends—kindness you will think improperly manifested, when I tell you, that they, with very few exceptions, entreat, beg, and request, that I would not settle at Liverpool. I can only tell them, that in this affair,

> 'I hear a voice they cannot *hear;*
> I see a hand they cannot *see!*'

And have the leadings of Providence lost their importance? or the direction of Heaven become merely matter of idle talk? I have not written individually to any person in Liverpool besides yourself: I should have found a difficulty in speaking of the business before I had made known my determination. By the first Sabbath in February next year, I shall (God willing) be again in Liverpool, when I hope the presence of my covenant God will accompany me, and his Spirit grant me wide success. The prospect of leaving my friends and connections for so distant a place as Liverpool, and especially as many of them oppose the plan, sometimes fills me with melancholy gloom; but 'thy will be done' is a petition that well becomes me in my situation; may I have grace given me to use it with a sincere and believing heart.

* * * * * * * * * *

"I trust it will appear, that the general good of the church of Christ, and of the inhabitants of Liverpool, is the object to which I have directed my warm and unremitting exertions. Farewell.

"I remain sincerely yours,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

To this may be added an extract from a letter, dated September 1st, 1810.

"My mind still inclines to Liverpool, and that for the most substantial reasons. If I accept this invitation, I shall be obliged to make some sacrifices; but ought I not to make them cheerfully, when the honor of God, and the happiness of immortal souls require them? especially as I am bound not to count even my life dear unto me, so that I may finish my course with joy. The sacrifices to which I allude are chiefly, perhaps altogether, occasioned by absence from my friends and connections, and a removal from those interesting scenes of exertion which have witnessed my first efforts to disseminate divine truth, and in which I have been favored with some success."

Thus happily was a point of so much importance to the interests of religion in Liverpool determined. A consideration of the issue of *this* affair, together with many others perpetually occurring, should teach us to suspend our judgments of persons and places we have never seen—and should tend to weaken those unjust and injurious prejudices against them which we too hastily form—too tenaciously cherish. Often we picture to ourselves the most enchanting scenes, the most delightful associations, in connection with a spot we are about to visit, and are disappointed—and as often we find those charming scenes, and happy associations, in regions which our prejudices had invested with every thing gloomy and repulsive. Had Spencer yielded to the impulse of his feelings, he had never become pastor of a church in Liverpool. And although the memory of his lamented fate may induce, from feelings generally regarded as honorable to humanity, a wish that he had not—yet the *Christian* sees in this the hand of God—and, contemplating the mighty work which in his short ministry he was honored to perform, rejoices that, however mysterious the decree, it was ordered so. It is not for us to calculate whether he would have been *more* useful, or *less* useful, or *as* useful elsewhere—he *was* eminently useful in Liverpool—and though all must weep that he should be so soon, so suddenly removed—yet none who witnessed the extraordinary impression which his labors produced in so large and populous a town, but must rejoice in their success, and adore the Providence which brought him there.

Nor was it from the want of other calls that Mr. Spencer was induced to accept that which he received from Liverpool. Many were the churches which desired to enjoy his valuable ministry; amongst others, the following places may be named —*Kidderminster, Kentish Town, Jewin-street, Worthing, Southampton,* and *Tonbridge chapel.*

This last-mentioned chapel is a recently erected building, in the new road leading from Pentonville to Paddington, near London—in a populous, respectable, and increasing neighborhood. During its erection, an impression was encouraged, both on Mr. Spencer's mind, and that of the surrounding inhabitants, that *he* would probably be the preacher. The idea was not at all unpleasant to him. In most respects the arrangement met his wishes; and he had even laid the plan on which he resolved to act, provided his expectations had been realized. He purposed to reside a few miles out of town, to prevent the dissipation of his time, and to come to London on certain days to visit his people. He expected much gratification from the neighborhood of his friend and fellow student, the Rev. S. Haslock, minister of Kentish Town chapel, with whom he hoped to unite in plans of usefulness for their vicinity. But circumstances did not conspire to call into exercise those judicious and benevolent designs.

The chapel was opened early in November, 1810; and on Sunday, the 18th, he preached his first sermon there. It was in allusion to its recent opening, founded on Heb. x. 19—22. After the congregation was dismissed, he went over the whole building, the plan of which pleased him much. He was

particularly, delighted with the deep front gallery which by exhibiting a multitude of attentive faces, encouraged him, he said, in his preaching. In that chapel he frequently addressed large and deeply interested auditories—and in that pulpit a public tribute of respect was paid to his memory in a funeral sermon, delivered by the Rev. Richard Slate, minister of Stand, near Manchester.*

From the period of his acceptance of the call to Liverpool, till February, 1811, when he actually entered on the pastoral office there, his time was wholly occupied in the diligent pursuit of his studies, and the labors of the pulpit. Not a Sabbath passed, but witnessed twice or thrice his faithful publication of the gospel of peace. On Sunday, the 26th of August, he revisited Dorking—a spot endeared to him by the beauty of its scenery—but more by the memory of those happy hours, which introduced him to the knowledge and esteem of a most beloved and valued friend.

The first Sabbath in November he spent at Brighton, where he preached three times in the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Styles.

Returning to town he continued preaching in and about London till the close of the year, when he again visited Brighton, at which place he entered on the year 1811—the last of his life.

In what way his mind was exercised during this period—and how his principles as a Christian triumphed over his feelings as a man in the prospect of a long and painful separation from those he loved—may be seen by the following letter to a friend in Liverpool:—

XXXI.

Hoxton, Dec. 5th, 1810.

"My dear sir—I am persuaded that you will excuse my neglecting to write to you so long, when you recollect that the hope I daily entertained of seeing you in town appeared to represent my troubling you with an epistle as unnecessary. I am extremely pleased to hear of the increase and welfare of your family; I cannot but feel an interest in their prosperity and happiness: may the Lord pour his Spirit upon your seed, and his blessing upon your offspring, that they may spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses! I suppose I need not inform you, that I anticipate my journey to Liverpool with mingled emotions of mind. The idea of a long and painful separation from my connections does certainly at times overwhelm me with melancholy gloom; I have not yet learned to conquer my feelings, nor am I particularly eminent for philosophic heroism. The idea that I am going where divine Providence has directed me, does occasionally impart to me strong consolation; may my wishes as to extensive usefulness among you be answered; may they be exceeded in the prosperity of the church and congregation, and in the increase of spirituality and holy enjoyment in my own soul!

"I am glad you are successful in getting acceptable supplies; this is a point which should be attended to. I should like the congregation to have the best of preachers. My books, &c. I must send from London before Christmas day, that I may have no trouble with them after my return from Brighton.

"I am extremely happy in the prospect of being with your family on my first entrance into Liverpool; it will be far superior to my being with strangers. This half year has been a trying one as to preaching engagements, both on Sabbaths, and on week days. I continue supplying Hoxton, and the New Chapel, Somer's Town, till Christmas: the day after Christmas day, I hope to go to Brighton, to stay there three Sabbaths, and to return on the 17th of January, to supply Roydon and Hertford the next week; and the last Sabbath in January, to take my leave of this part of the kingdom by two sermons at Hoxton.

* * * * * * * *

"Tell our friends at Newington chapel that I am tolerably well, and wish to be kindly remembered to them. Farewell my valued friend.

"I am sincerely your's,

"Thomas Spencer."

The purposes expressed in this letter were accomplished according to the order in which they are stated. He visited Brighton, and preached on the last Sabbath of the old year three times, at Mr. Styles' chapel—in the evening a sermon adapted to the season, from 1 John, ii. 17, "And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever!" On the evening of the 1st of January, 1811, he preached an appropriate discourse at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel; and on the following Thursday, and three times on the Sunday, he preached at Mr. Styles'. On the Monday evening, being the first Monday in the month, the missionary prayer meeting was held in Brighton, when he delivered a most animated and impressive address from Matt. xiii. 16—17, "Blessed are your eyes for they see, and your ears for they hear; for verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." He continued another Sabbath in Brighton, and left that place some time in the following week. Passing through London, he went into Hertfordshire. On Sunday, January the 20th, he preached at Roydon, morning and afternoon, and at Hoddesdon in the evening. On the Tuesday evening he preached at Hertford, and slept again under his paternal roof. On Wednesday evening he preached at Stansted, and on Thursday evening again at Hertford. This was, I believe, his last visit to his native town, and to his father's house! The separation which then again took place between himself and his beloved family was final. The farewell which he bade to the scenes of his infancy and childhood was eternal! I cannot suppress the melancholy feeling which this reflection has awakened in my mind. I am arrived at length upon the eve of a mournful detail, which all along I have anticipated with emotions of distress. Alas! that one so useful should be so soon removed! And that ere we enter on the solemn engagements of his pastoral life, we should be compelled to notice circumstances so closely connected with his death!

The following Sabbath, January 27th, was the last he spent in London. On that day he preached in the morning at Hoxton chapel, from Phil. iii. 8, "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord." And in the evening at Tonbridge chapel, from 2 Cor. iv. 3. "But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost." The labors of this Sabbath completed his engagements at Hoxton and Tonbridge chapels; but on the evening of the following day, (Monday,) he took an affectionate leave of his beloved friends—the constituents—the tutors—the students—and the congregation at Hoxton, from the pulpit of that chapel. The crowd that pressed to

* Mr. Slate was formerly a fellow-student with Mr. Spencer. He was supplying the pulpit at Tonbridge chapel in the autumn of 1811, the period of Mr. Spencer's death. His discourse is founded on John v. 35, "*He was a burning and a shining light.*" It was afterwards published—and has reached a second edition. The sentiments it breathes are honorable to the author's character as a man, a Christian, and a friend.

hear his last sermon (for so it proved) in London was immense. One common sentiment of attachment and grief seemed to pervade the assembly. A friend charged him on that occasion not to play upon the passions. Not that he was in the habit of doing this; but there appeared on this occasion a probability that he might. To that suggestion he replied, that "neither his feelings nor his conscience would admit of such trifling." He addressed the people on this interesting occasion from those memorable words of Paul—Acts xx. 24, "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto me, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus."*

Thus were Spencer's labors in the metropolis closed for ever—labors—the renewal of which thousands anticipated with delight. But he was ripening fast for glory—and rapidly advancing to the termination of his course. Yea, the impression of his excellence—the feeling of regret at his departure—was yet strong and lively in the hearts of many, when the tidings of his death shed a deeper sorrow through the scenes and circles which he had edified by his public instructions, or enlivened by his private friendship!

It was on the 28th of January, that Mr. Spencer preached his farewell sermon at Hoxton chapel—and it was on the 15th of August, in the same year, in the same pulpit—and to nearly the same congregation—that his funeral sermon was delivered by the Rev. Henry Forster Burder, one of the tutors of the academy. In that discourse, a just and elegant tribute was paid to the mingled piety and talent which formed the charm of his ministry. From the known endowments of the preacher, and from the opportunities which he enjoyed of obtaining a correct estimate of Mr. Spencer's powers, that tribute must derive considerable propriety and force: and as it chiefly regards his ministerial labors in London, I shall close these imperfect memoirs of them with an extract from it.

"During the last two years of our valuable friend's residence at Hoxton, he was very frequently engaged in preaching in London and its vicinity. As this chapel has been, on many occasions, the scene of his labors, and has been often thronged with the multitudes attracted by his abilities and piety, I need scarcely attempt an estimate of his pulpit talents. That they were eminent—that they were brilliant—that they were captivating—will not, I think, be denied by any who witnessed their exhibition. He undoubtedly displayed no small degree of pulpit eloquence, and his eloquence was distinguished by characteristic features. It was not the kind of eloquence in which a youth of genius might be expected most to excel, and of which luxuriance of imagination constitutes the chief attraction; it was not a peculiar vivacity of fancy, which gave life to his addresses, although in this respect they were not deficient; but they rather owed their effect to the energy and animation infused by the ardor of his soul, and to the unaffected fervor of his religious feelings, the impression of which was aided by no small advantages of person, voice, and elocution. In endeavoring rightly to appreciate his qualifications for the duties of the Christian ministry, I must not omit to notice the truly edifying manner in which he conducted the devotional exercises of the pulpit. His gift in prayer was peculiarly excellent. The language of his petitions seemed to breathe the ardent aspirations of a heart alive to God, and accustomed to enjoy fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.†

That he was maturing fast for the enjoyment of his reward, even when he left London to commence his pastoral engagements, is a conviction indelibly impressed upon the minds of those who were accustomed to attend his preaching, or mingle in his society. They remember certain expressions, both of countenance and language, which seemed to indicate a tone of piety—a spirituality of feeling—too exalted for a long continuance here. And it is to be regretted, that such expressions, at the time so powerful in their influence, and so carefully preserved by a tenacious memory, no pen—no pencil can portray. Hence the sermons of animated and extemporary preachers, when introduced to us from the press, lose half their force and beauty. The scope of the discourse—the process of the argument—may be indeed preserved; but the unpremeditated, momentary flashes of holy fervor, and of brilliant genius, cannot. The eloquence of the eye—the expression of the countenance—the meaning which is sometimes thrown into every limb and muscle of the frame—are wanting. And though 'tis pleasing to possess a memorial of those, whom living we revered and loved, yet the imperfection of the copy only deepens our regret at the loss of the original. In the preaching of Spencer, it seemed as though he saw before him every object he described—and felt the full force—the vast importance of every subject upon which he spoke.

Preaching one evening at Back-street, Horsley Down, and speaking of the reward of the faithful gospel minister, "Methinks," said he, "I already hear the melodious accents of the Saviour's voice, saying '*Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord.*'" It was remarked, that he appeared as though he heard a voice personally addressing him. His anticipation was in a very few months realized!

Anxious for the usefulness and variety of his ministry, he begged of his friend, upon his leaving London, to send him any useful pamphlets or works which might come out; "Let me know," said he, "when popular ministers are in town—the texts they take for particular occasions—festivals, &c., the settling or removal of my fellow students," &c.

The last time he was with his friend alone, prior to his setting off for Liverpool, their approaching separation was, as may be well imagined, the topic of discourse—when, with his own peculiar affection and energy, he said—

"Through Christ when we together came,
In singleness of heart,
We met, O Jesus! in thy name:
And in thy name we part.

We part in body, *not in mind,*
Our minds continue one;
And each to each, in Jesus join'd,
We happily go on.

Present in spirit still we are,
And intimately nigh;
While on the wings of faith and prayer,
We Abba! Father! cry.

O may thy Spirit, dearest Lord,
In all our travels still
Direct and be our constant guard
To Zion's holy hill.

* See Appendix No. IV.

† See a sermon, delivered in Hoxton chapel, on the death of the Rev. T. Spencer, by the Rev. Henry Forster Burder, M. A. one of the tutors of the Hoxton academy—page 32.

Oh! what a joyful meeting there,
Beyond these *changing* shades;
White are the robes we then shall wear,
And crowns upon our heads.

Haste, Lord, and bring it to the day
When we shall dwell at home,
Come, O Redeemer, come away;
O Jesus quickly come."

On Sunday, 3d of February, 1811, Mr. Spencer commenced his stated, pastoral labors at Newington chapel, Liverpool. He was then just twenty years of age—possessed of every endowment that could render him eminent as a minister—and every amiable disposition that could endear him as a friend. The people of his charge, together with numbers who participated with them in their joy, hailed his entrance on his sacred duties with delight. From him they fondly anticipated a long series of varied and useful instructions—on him they gazed with admiration, as affording them no mean example of a holy and devoted life—and to him they looked with pleasure as their children's friend. That he was prepared to meet these high expectations, none who have contemplated the superior endowments of his mind can, for a moment, doubt—his literary attainments, though not splendid, were respectable—his theological knowledge was considerable—his acquaintance with mankind indeed was scanty; he had only moved amongst the excellent of the earth; but this, while it might expose him to certain inconveniences, gave him this advantage—that he appeared in all the native ingenuousness of unsuspecting youth. His love of study was great, which insured a constant supply of interesting materials for his public ministry—whilst he possessed a facility, an ease, an elegance, in the communication of his thoughts, displayed by few. To all these, he added the graces of the Spirit in no common degree—the glorious attributes of a soul eminently devoted to God—a solemn awe of his sacred office—an habitual reference to the final account he should be called to render—and an ardent zeal for the Redeemer's glory! Such was Spencer when he entered on the duties of his stated ministry!

But I shall justify this sketch of his character by some extracts from his letters.

In one dated Brighton, January 9th, 1811, he says—

"I dread the termination of the happiness I now enjoy. It will be the commencement of a long and agonizing separation. Oh! that henceforth I may live more devotedly to God than I have ever yet done. I can truly say this is my desire; for to be a preacher of the gospel, and not to feel its *due abiding* influence on the heart, is awful indeed. Since I have been here I have trembled for myself, when I have recollected the numerous follies of the four years I have spent at Hoxton. The Lord pardon me, and teach me to be more holy. Pray for me. Affectionately yours, ———"

Mr. Spencer is certainly a striking example of what some persons are unwilling to admit—the possibility of a close and humble walk with God, even amid the snares and temptations of an academy. That in colleges, even the best regulated, temptations to levity exist, cannot be denied. Where many young men, of a lively turn of mind, are associated, it must be so. But although such a spirit may be partially, and at intervals encouraged—yet where there is true piety, the mind will be elevated above their *habitual* influence, and occasional instances of failure will excite to diligence for the future, whilst they awaken deep regret and poignant sorrow for the past. If to this there was a natural tendency in Spencer's constitution, how sweetly is the influence of better principles displayed in the humility with which he confesses and deplores his error. If upon this page the eye of a cold, phlegmatic, stern professor should dwell, let it not be averted in disgust, when it beholds this amiable youth's confession of an error, of a temptation to which he is incapable—and to others, if such there be, who happy to discover in such a character, any thing like the shadow of a fault, should be preparing to pronounce a censorious and malignant judgment, I would say—"*Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.*"

The following letter was written the day after his arrival in Liverpool.

XXXII.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

Liverpool, February 2d, 1811.

"My dear friend—I am safely arrived at the scene of my future labors. My journey, though long, was far less irksome than any one I have before undertaken. The roads were bad; this made us late in our arrival at Liverpool. We did not reach it till a quarter before twelve last night. The short time that I have yet spent here has been quite *pleasant*—it has been *happy*. The serious people of the congregation have already paid me many kind and Christian attentions. With the blessing of the Master whom I serve, I expect to-morrow to spend a very delightful Sabbath. My best feelings for the glory of our Lord and the increase of his kingdom, will I hope be more strongly excited than ever they have yet been. I cannot but think that the Head of the Church has some great work to accomplish in Liverpool, and the desire of my heart is that I may be the instrument employed to effect it. Oh! for a large measure of the influence of the blessed Spirit to render me ardently pious, and to keep me zealous in my endeavors to do good to souls. I know *here* are numbers who *pray* earnestly for me, and whilst these pious people besiege the throne of grace on my behalf, I will not fear that my God will desert me. To be holy and to be useful at this moment, appears to be the first wish of my heart. Do you say, 'indulgent God let it be accomplished!'

"I am tired with my journey and pressed for time. Believe me in the bonds of Christian affection, Sincerely yours,

"Thomas Spencer."

According to his anticipation, he did enjoy on the Sabbath a happy day, although in the morning he was considerably agitated by the peculiarly solemn circumstances of his new and most responsible situation. In the morning his text was admirably adapted to the occasion. Gen. xxviii. 22—"*And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, if God will be with me, and keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace: then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house, and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.*" In the evening he preached from 1 Cor. xv. 49, "*And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.*" In the course of the ensuing week, he wrote as follows:

XXXIII.

Liverpool, Feb. 7, 1811.

"Oh! what a memorable day to me was the first Sabbath I spent in this place; every circumstance that took place appeared worthy of attention and big with events; never before had I entered a pul-

pit, with those awful, solemn feelings with which I was impressed that morning. The idea of appearing in a new character, of entering on a station which I have no view of relinquishing till the day of my death; the weight of responsibility which attaches to the ministerial character; the dread lest I should act in any way unworthy of my sacred office; all these things would naturally impart an unusual solemnity to the mind. ON THAT DAY heaven is my witness of the holy resolutions I formed. Oh that God may ever enable me to put them in execution."

The attention which his labors had excited, while an occasional supply, was repeated, now that he had commenced his stated ministry. Soon the chapel became again crowded to excess. The town was filled with his praise—the most respectable of the inhabitants were perpetually disappointed in their attempts to hear him, not being in any way able to gain admittance to the chapel, so excessive was the throng. His coming seemed to be the commencement of a new era in the religious interests of Liverpool—at least amongst the dissenters. The prejudices of many were gradually subdued. The tone of public sentiment, with respect to that class of Christians amongst whom he labored, considerably raised. Many, by no means anxious to conceal their opposition to his principles, were compelled to pay a just, though reluctant tribute to the fascinations of his eloquence; and many whom the fame of that eloquence brought beneath the sound of his voice were savingly converted unto God; and of these, some are at this moment honorable members of the church of which he was the pastor. So far from being elated by his popularity, and rendered vain by the uncommon attention he excited and received from all ranks—every Sabbath, while he grew in public estimation, he seemed to sink in his own esteem, in humble acknowledgments of his own unworthiness, and in a yet deeper sense of his awful obligations. The next is an extract of a letter to his father.

XXXIV.

Liverpool, Feb. 26, 1811.

"I assure you I have every reason to believe, that this is the sphere in which Infinite wisdom intends me to move. My congregation is vast every time I dispense the word of life. A general spirit of hearing seems excited in this large town—the prospect is in every respect encouraging, and I am induced to hope, that great good will be done. I feel the awful responsibility that attaches to my employment; and when I recollect the multitude of souls committed to my care, I tremble, and exclaim, '*Who is sufficient for these things?*' I often think how different is my situation now, to what it was when I lived at my father's house. I am called to an active and laborious scene. Once it was enough for me just to execute your wishes, and then in the quiet enjoyment of our own family circle to experience satisfaction and comfort. Now God has blessed me by making me a blessing to others. May he preserve me faithful, and make me an honorable and holy Christian!"

In another letter to his father, dated April the 9th, 1811, he says—

"The interest excited in this town is still lively and great. I trust much good is done. Prejudices are removed, convictions are impressed on the mind, and the cause of Satan appears to tremble under the influence of the doctrines of the cross."

This is indeed a portrait worthy the attention of the candidate for the Christian ministry—the student and the minister. It is charming to behold such excellence, so universally applauded, veiled from its own observation by such deep humility. Some have indulged in speculations on the probable influence of Spencer's popularity upon his character, had he been spared. It is *possible* that its influence might have been injurious; he was a *man*, though he was a *Christian*. But it is ungenerous and unjust to his memory to cherish any gloomy suspicions on the subject, when, long as he *did* live, he sustained the Christian character with unsullied purity, and descended to the grave the same holy, humble, and devoted youth, as when emerging from the obscurity of his birth, the world first witnessed his unfolding powers.

To the extracts already made, illustrative of his humility, I shall add another—which as it is without date, may be well introduced here.

XXXV.

TO A MINISTER.

"I have at length taken up my pen to return you my sincere acknowledgments for the lively interest you take in my welfare and happiness, and especially for the excellent advice you have given me, as to the faithfulness of my preaching, and the circumspection necessary in my conduct. Oh! never may I be left to indifference in the statement of those glorious truths, which may well demand the glowing fervor of our souls, since their importance is declared to us by the blood of the Lamb! May the same Saviour be honored by my feeble ministrations, whom I know you delight to extol. You have been long engaged in endeavoring to give Him a high place in the affections—and a throne in the hearts of the people. This, however, is a glorious cause, in which I have but lately embarked; yet may the same Holy Spirit, who has enabled the heralds of salvation in every age to testify of Jesus, make *my* tongue ever to tell his excellence, warm my heart to feel his love, and influence my conduct to show forth his praise! I think I hear you add, Amen!"

The following is also without date:—

XXXVI.

TO —— ——.

Liverpool.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I earnestly wish for you the support and the care of our constant and unchangeable friend, the Lord Jesus Christ: every day seems to convince me of the necessity and the happiness of a close walk with God: let us be always trusting in God, and praying to him, and there is no doubt but he will preserve and bless us. I was much pleased with an instance of resignation to the Divine will I lately met with. A pious and valuable member of our congregation lost his property, to a considerable amount, by an alarming fire. I was with him soon after it happened, and it would have done you good to have heard him say, with so much calm and sacred acquiescence as he discovered, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." I could not but wish that in all times of trial, I and my friends might have the same God to strengthen and fortify the mind as he had. Indeed you were mistaken, my worthy friend, when you judged my letter to you an expression of joy at separation from my friends. No, no. There is not a heart in the world that feels more truly and sincerely on such occasions than my own; but I wish ever to remember the great object of my existence, and of my call to the ministry—not selfish ends but the glory of my God; and when he commands, whatever flesh and blood might suggest, or carnal wishes desire, I must immediately obey. It is this thought, and the persuasion that I am employed in the vineyard of the

Lord, *just according to His will*, that give me composure and peace of mind; and I can witness that prayer unloads and eases the mind as much at Liverpool as any where else. Here I hope I have felt such salutary convictions of the awful responsibility of my work, as I never knew before, and as I hope I shall never forget; and happy am I to find, that *here* there are many of the Lord's jewels, his choicest favorites, many who call on the name of the Lord Jesus, both theirs and ours, out of a pure heart and faith unfeigned. In our prayer meeting, I have enjoyed a heaven begun below, and that kind of devotion which can well repay me for the sacrifices I have made. I suppose you have heard of the prospects of usefulness which open themselves before me; may I have grace to improve every hour of my time to the service of my God, and to maintain that holiness and integrity of conduct which will recommend the glorious gospel I proclaim. According to my arrangements, I expect to be in town in May. Remember me affectionately to our friends. I often think of the pleasant opportunities we have enjoyed together, and often wish you resided here. Whenever you see Mr. H———, of W———, give my respects to him. I highly esteem him, because he discovers much of the image and spirit of Christ; and these are excellencies which must be loved by us, if we are Christians, wherever we find them. May the God of peace be with you, and ever keep you near himself. Pray for me, that I may have all needful grace and assistance. Write as soon as possible, and ever view me

"Your affectionate friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

But scarcely had Spencer entered on the full discharge of his public duties at Liverpool, when severe affliction in the endeared circle of his connections at Brighton called him to that place. A letter written about this period, displays the agonized state of his feelings—but abounds with expressions of holy acquiescence in the Divine dispensations. He left Liverpool on the 18th of March, accompanied by the valued friend, under whose roof he still resided, and whose guest he was during his first visit. Arrived in London, the following hasty note bespeaks the anguish of his mind.

Ludgate street, Tuesday night.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—This moment I am within a few doors of you, but cannot reach you. Mr. H—— is with me: we have just got in from Liverpool, and start for B. to-morrow, at seven o'clock in the morning. I shall write to you from Brighton. Pray for me: I am in unutterable distress. Farewell!

"T. SPENCER."

The Sabbath after his arrival in Brighton, he did not engage in any public service. Much of the day doubtless was spent in administering comfort to the afflicted. The fears which he had sometimes been induced to harbor, were not, however, realized; health slowly returned. His friend was under the necessity of hastening to Liverpool, after the lapse of a few days—but Mr. Spencer remained at Brighton. His affectionate heart dictated the following letter, to welcome his friend on his arrival home.

XXXVII.

TO MR. H———.

Brighton, Thursday morning.

"MY DEAR AND VALUED FRIEND—I am pleasing myself with the idea, that before this reaches Liverpool, you will have shared the hearty and affectionate welcome of a beloved and happy family: this is a blessing which you know how to improve and enjoy aright, and for which I am persuaded you will express the sincerest gratitude to the God of our mercies. May the same kind and watchful Providence, which has I trust led you to your home in peace and safety, also preserve and defend me, that I may be again restored to the church and congregation at Newington, and be enabled to pursue a course of active and useful labor in the service of the Master whom I hope I really love.

"I frequently think that by this visit to Brighton on so mournful an occasion, I shall be better fitted to sympathize with the afflicted in general, and be taught how to commend them to God. Before this I had not been at all familiar with scenes of sorrow and distress. In the two sick rooms you visited last Monday evening, I have learned lessons which I shall never forget, and the benefit of which may probably be communicated to the church of Christ, as well as to myself.

"Our Redeemer himself, in order to be rendered a merciful and compassionate high-priest, was '*tempted like as we are;*' endured the various ills and sorrows that flesh is heir to; and hence (oh! blessed sympathy and kind relief) he is able to succor them that are tempted.

"Next Sabbath morning I intend to preach at the Countess' chapel, and in the evening at Mr. Styles': pray for me, that I may be supported and blest. It is still my design to reach Liverpool on Friday night: tell our friends, that they may expect to see me in the pulpit on the following Sabbath. May I be there richly laden with the good things of the kingdom;—may I be animated by a mind fraught with rich and heavenly favors. I am sure that if my God restores those who are so dear to me to perfect health and strength, my heart, hard as it is, will not be insensible to the feeling of gratitude. No;—it will leap as doth a hart; it will pant with the sensations of unutterable joy. I have received a very kind letter from our worthy friend, Mr. N. H.———; do tell him it afforded me real pleasure, and give him my hearty thanks for his solicitude for my happiness. I hope you are going on well with the new chapel business; if possible, let us make Satan tremble; against the kingdom of darkness let us use the most active and unwearied exertions, and God shall bless us in our deed. I wish I could have attended the meeting of the Bible Society; my absence however, was unavoidable. Give my affectionate regards to my dear friend Mrs. H——— and to your dear children. I hope I shall soon see you all happy and well. Your unremitting kindness to me has produced impressions upon my mind which will never be obliterated. I shall be happy again to mix with your family circle, and to occupy my own pulpit. To the hearers at Newington I intend to show my regard and best wishes, by constantly laboring in their service.

"I am more than ever yours,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

The uncommon attention excited in Liverpool by Mr. Spencer's ministry, soon suggested the necessity of providing more accommodation than Newington chapel could afford, for the numbers who were anxious to enjoy the benefit of his stated labors. At first the idea of enlarging the old place of worship presented itself; but some difficulties arising, this was relinquished, and early in March it was resolved, that a chapel capable of accommodating two thousand persons should be erected—a committee of management was appointed—and an eligible spot of ground soon selected for the purpose. A most judicious plan for the building was proposed and adopted—the dimensions of which were thirty-two yards long outside, and twenty-one yards and a half broad outside. A liberal subscription was soon obtained, and the affair was in a state of such

forwardness on his return from Brighton, that on the 15th of April, Mr. Spencer laid the first stone of the chapel, in the presence of an immense assembly—computed to consist of about six thousand persons. On that truly interesting occasion, he delivered an appropriate address, and solemnly dedicated the place to God by prayer.*

About this time Mr. Spencer removed from the hospitable abode of his early friend, with whom he had resided on his first coming to Liverpool, in order to lodge with Mr. Thurstan Lassel, in the Park Road; a pleasant situation, about half a mile from the town. It was the lot of Spencer to be beloved in every circle which he entered—and none who were honored to behold his excellence, and enjoy his friendship, ever resigned him, without feelings of the deepest regret. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of extracting a sentence or two from the willing testimony which that friend has borne to the sterling worth of his most amiable guest. I am the more anxious to do this, as it will unveil his character in private life, and show us, what he was as the member of a family.

"We had the great advantage of Mr. Spencer's pious conversation and fervent prayers in the family for near four months, for he did not leave us till the latter end of April; it was indeed a pleasant, and I trust, a profitable season, which we often review with great delight. With what pleasing emotions have we often surrounded our domestic altar, and witnessed the fervor of his addresses to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. In this delightful employ, he never seemed to engage with half a heart, his whole soul was alive to the service of his God: he was serious in a serious cause, nor did any circumstances that arose ever seem to unfit him for the discharge of religious duties. Morning and evening he generally engaged in prayer at family worship; the variety he produced on these occasions has often astonished us; it was impossible to trace any thing like repetition, every prayer seemed quite new, and gave fresh proof of the powers of his mind, and the ardor of his soul.

"Mr. Spencer naturally possessed an amiable disposition, and was innocently cheerful; no one could say that gloom or melancholy was connected with his religion. In his manners he was simple and unaffected; any thing like ostentation or parade he disliked exceedingly; he would always, if possible, avoid mixing with large parties. The company of serious, pious, plain Christians was his delight. He was kind, generous, and tender-hearted; the wants of the poor and necessitous he was ready and willing to relieve; 'to do good and communicate he forgot not, knowing that with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'"

But whilst all around him was prosperous and happy—whilst his ministry was successful beyond his most sanguine expectations; and hundreds were eager to administer to his comfort; his heart was the victim of anxiety and grief. The continued and alarming indisposition of his friends at Brighton, inspired his delicate and susceptible mind with the most gloomy and agonizing fears. It was well. His Heavenly Father saw he needed some thorn in the flesh, under the circumstances of his unexampled popularity, to prevent his being exalted above measure—and to preserve his soul in a frame of holy solemnity, and humble reliance on himself. Lest the sun of his prosperity should dazzle him too much, these friendly clouds were permitted to intervene. Their salutary influence may be traced in the following letter:—

XXXVIII.

TO MR. JOHN HADDON.

Liverpool, April 16, 1811.

"My dear friend—The melancholy state of depression in which I have been held so long, must form my excuse for neglecting the sacred duties of friendship, in not writing before this to you. Oh! how soon can Jehovah blast our hopes of happiness from creature comforts, to convince us of the uncertainty of all earthly good! We *must* 'walk by faith,' and live in the exercise of a lively hope, that we shall obtain a better and more permanent rest. I scarcely dare, for my own part, anticipate any other kind of happiness on earth, but what may arise from communion with the Saviour, and the delightful work in which I am engaged, which, I must say, amidst all my trials affords me increasing happiness and pleasure. Thanks be to God, the work of the Lord is prospering in my hand; and though I may not have much pleasure in this world myself, I hope I shall be the means in the hands of the Holy Spirit, of putting into the possession of my fellow creatures, real and substantial felicity; *this*, the gospel I am enabled to preach is sent to confer. The next week I expect to go to my lodgings. I shall reside in a retired, rural and delightful spot, with a family (three only in number) who belong to the congregation in which the Lord has graciously called me to labor; it is about half a mile from the town, away from all bustle and noise, commanding a most delightful and enchanting prospect of both land and water. My study affords a most extensive view of fields and hills, the river and the adjacent county, (Cheshire.) I am persuaded it is every thing I could wish for as a plan for my residence. In that pleasant study* I expect to spend much time, and enjoy some degree of pleasure; and my dear friend will believe me when I assure him, that amidst the afflictions which our righteous Father judges the best schools for me, it would tend to alleviate my sorrows, and cheer my spirits, could he be in my new study, and as he did in my old one, occasionally spend an hour or two with me in social chat.

"Yesterday I laid the foundation stone of my new chapel, gave an address upon the spot, and dedicated the place to God in solemn prayer. The auditory consisted of not less than five thousand people, who were all fixed in their attention. May I, on that ground, often find a solace for my cares, in the public worship of God! May he bless the undertaking! May his eyes and his heart be there perpetually!

"Farewell, I *must* break off by assuring you, that I am sincerely yours,

"Thomas Spencer."

The week following that in which he laid the foundation stone of the new chapel, Mr. Spencer made an excursion into the country, and preached on

* For the oration delivered at the foundation of the chapel—and also for an account of the services performed at its opening in May, 1812—see Appendix, No. V.

* To me it is a melancholy reflection, that I should so soon become the occupier of a spot in which he had fondly pictured to himself many years of pleasure. In his own study; on his own table; in his own chair; I am now drawing up these memoirs of his life; around me are the fruits of his short but laborious exertions; and immediately before my eyes the path by which he descended to his grave! From every object within my view, I am admonished "*work whilst it is day, for the night cometh, when no man can work.*" I would that every loiterer in the vineyard of Christ were attended by mementos such as these.

the Tuesday evening at *Darwen*, and on the Thursday evening at a meeting of ministers at *Blackburn*.

During this journey, he suffered much from the complaint to which he was subject; but although laboring under the pressure of severe indisposition, in the pulpit he rose superior to the influence of languor and pain; and his exertions on that journey are still spoken of by those who witnessed them, and they were many, with delight.

On his return to Liverpool, Mr. Spencer received a melancholy summons to Chester, to attend the funeral of his early and amiable friend, the Rev. Ebenezer White, and to deliver the oration at his grave. His obligations and attachment to that excellent man have already been recorded. When arrived at the scene of death, his delicate mind seemed overwhelmed in an agony of grief. He stood weeping in unutterable distress over the cold remains of his departed friend. His bosom formed for friendship, and even then the seat of no ordinary sorrow, was ill prepared to sustain the pressure of a stroke, by which he was suddenly bereft of one who had discharged for him the relations of the father, the tutor, and the friend! Mr. Walter White, who was the witness of his grief, has thus described it:—"I shall not easily forget this dear young man's behavior on the evening preceding my brother's funeral at Chester. We were standing together by the side of the coffin, viewing the corpse—he wept excessively, and clasping his hands with great emotion, exclaimed, 'Oh! that I may but finish my course like him!' and turning to me, he said with his usual energy, 'Oh! what a fine thought it is, that the *bodies* of the saints are purchased by Christ as well as their souls.' And then passing his friendly hand gently over my brother's face, he said, with great emphasis, 'This body is the purchase of Christ: it cannot be lost—it must revive again—all these limbs must resume their activity. Oh! with what fine sentiments and ideas does the Christian religion furnish us to what any of the heathen systems did!'"

Though excessively agitated in his whole frame, he yet sustained himself to deliver at the grave a funeral oration, characterized by tender and solemn eloquence—the eloquence of feeling and of piety.

His letters to his friends for some time after this event, contain occasional allusions to the death of Mr. White—and in a way which proves how much he loved him—how deeply he deplored his loss. In one he says—

"I have lately been visiting a scene of death at Chester: my worthy friend Mr. White is now no more in this world; but I doubt not, he shines illustriously in another state of existence. When I was eleven years of age he came to Hertford, and used to spend a great deal of time with me; ah! little did I then think I should have to deliver a funeral address at his interment, and so far away too from the place with which we were then familiar. Peace to his ashes, and eternal joy to his departed spirit! and ere long may I meet him in that blessed state, where disappointments will no longer be his lot or mine."

On the Sabbath evening following, Mr. Spencer preached a funeral sermon for his friend, in his own pulpit at Liverpool, from Deut. xxxiv. 5, "*So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord.*" The sermon was solemn and impressive. Thus we record the mortality of others, and drop into eternity ourselves. On that Sabbath evening three months, his own funeral sermon was preached in the same pulpit.

The following letter was written the day before the funeral of Mr. White:—

XXXIX.

TO MR. HADDON.

May 13th, 1811.

"My dear friend—I am ashamed when I think of the length of time which has passed since I last wrote to you; but indeed since then I have scarcely written to any one, so much have I been occupied. What a beautiful and admirable narrative is the Dairyman's Daughter; if you can, get me two hundred of them, and send me the very first opportunity: they are just the kind of publication I want for several of my hearers. Procure me too some of the Negro Servant, and of all the interesting modern tracts, which your own discretion may suggest. The Rev. Ebenezer White, of Chester, has entered into the joy of his Lord. He was formerly settled at Hertford. I knew him, and highly esteemed him. I am going to his funeral. Oh! how uncertain is human life! how necessary that habitual frame of piety which the Holy Spirit can impart to his believing favorites! May we both enjoy the sanctity of religion, love it for its *purity*, and be enabled to discern its holy excellencies! then we shall show that our regeneration is real, and our hope of heaven well supported. God is showing me more and more of the uncertainty of all things here, and the necessity of living the blessed life of faith upon the Son of God, who, I sometimes think I can say, "*loved me*, and gave himself for me." I study a good deal, and find increasing pleasure in it. In visiting, as yet I have done but very little. The families I am most intimate with, are the *serious*, the pious followers of Christ; for I find that these alone can help me to comfort under my own trials, or in any way do me real good. But I know I must not be selfish. I must labor to do good in any way I can possibly think of.

"I am much pleased with my lodgings; the situation is so retired and beautiful, that it is every thing I can wish. I doubt not but you continue to pray for me, and I need your prayers. I feel the awful responsibility of my work, and my own unfitness for it. I long to "*present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.*" Remember me affectionately to all our friends.

"I am sincerely yours,

"Thomas Spencer."

Mr. Spencer seemed now to become more and more interested in his important work; the scenes of every day appeared to present it to his mind in some new and interesting light. The powers of his soul were absorbed in its concerns. He could think and speak of nothing else. In the pulpit, or in preparations for it—in serious conversation with his friends—or in the chambers of the diseased and dying, he was at home. He lived but for the discharge of his high obligations; and in the prosecution of his arduous work he was both useful and happy. With astonishing rapidity his character and talents ripened. He seemed to grow daily in favor both with God and man. All that *saw* him, admired him, there was something so engaging in his manner—all that *heard* him, respected and revered him, so serious and important were the truths which he delivered—all that *knew* him, loved him, for his was every amiable quality that could excite and retain the best affections of the human heart.

Valuable as our public institutions for the education of students for the Christian ministry really are, they can afford but an inadequate conception of the complicated duties of the pastoral office. The work of the pulpit is perhaps, after all, not the most difficult or trying part of the pastor's employ—and the reason why so many fail when called into active service in the church of God, is probably

this, that they never calculated upon one half of the engagements which then press upon their regard. They had formed a most incorrect estimate of the numerous claims which the office of the ministry involves, upon their time—their talents—their patience—and their faith. They had imagined, that in the composition and delivery of sermons was the chief of their labor—and that when this duty was discharged by far the heaviest burden was removed. The visitation of the sick, with all the peculiar delicacy, prudence, affection, and faithfulness which it requires—the consolation of the distressed, with all the caution and skill which the varieties of their grief demand—the reproof and admonition of the irregular, with all the mingled tenderness, constancy and fidelity, which, in such difficult cases, must be exercised—the care of the young, with that adaptation of temper and manner to their capacities which, in the work of catechising, familiar conversation or public instruction, is absolutely necessary—the advising, comforting and relieving the distressed, the embarrassed, and the indigent, who all press to him for counsel, solace and relief;—these, and unnumbered other duties connected with the pastoral office, are perhaps but seldom contemplated with sufficient seriousness amid the exercises of a college. And even in the *public* engagements of ministry, the circumstances of the *pastor* differ materially from those of the *student*. The pulpit compositions of the student are *general;* those of the pastor must be *particular*. The student has no individual case to suit; the congregation to whom he preaches are strangers to him; the pastor has as many cases as there are people committed to his charge. The student can select his topics, and adapt his preaching to the tone of his mind—or if peculiar reluctance should be felt, may enjoy the repose he wishes, and not preach at all; but the pastor *must* appear at the stated hours of worship, whatever be the frame and temper of his soul. Often he is called to the discussion of subjects but ill adapted to his feelings; and it becomes his duty to administer consolation to others which *his* bleeding bosom needs, but cannot take. He must sometimes cover with a smiling countenance an aching heart; and his lips must exhort to tranquillity and confidence in God, whilst over his own spirit broods the cloud of anxiety and sorrow! Happy shall I be if the perusal of these imperfect memoirs tend to excite in the breast of any a spirit of Christian sympathy and prayer for the ministers of the gospel; or if these statements of the labors and anxieties of their office, shall induce those to pause and count the mighty cost, who may be thoughtlessly pressing forward to the arduous work. Let such remember the worth of souls—the guilt of becoming accessary to their ruin—and the solemn account all must render at the bar of God, who have taken upon themselves the responsibility of seeking, by every possible method, to promote their eternal interests.

These considerations seemed ever present to the view of Spencer. The feelings of an affectionate and faithful pastor's heart breathe in every sentence of the following letter.

XL.

TO MR. HADDON.

Liverpool, May 31, 1811.

"My dear friend—You really must excuse my apparent neglect in not writing you before; but if you knew the number and pressing nature of my avocations, you would not wonder. I now feel, and deeply too, the dreadful responsibility of my employment. I have sick beds constantly to attend—a numerous congregation committed to my charge—a character to sustain, which ought ever to appear *free*, even from the very *appearance* of evil—and all this with the most depressed state of feelings, and but little experience of the arduous duties the course of the Christian ministry embraces. Often do I exclaim, '*who is sufficient for these things?*' Oh! that I may find that my sufficiency is of God. I am led at times to derive encouragement from the good which I trust the blessed Spirit has accomplished by my feeble labors; but then I think again of my youth, my inexperience, my exposure to the fiery darts of the wicked one, and the *possibility* of my eventually becoming '*a cast-away.*'

"Oh! there are many feelings of this painful class in my mind, which few can share, which I cannot dare frequently to communicate.

"All this and much more, do I daily feel. I wish you were with me. I could say a thousand things I cannot write, and you might console me with the comforts wherewith you yourself are comforted of God! Do pray for me, for I need it more than ever now. Often do I dispense to others that consolation I cannot take myself.

"Thank you a thousand times for Cecil. Oh! they are admirable; what a character was he. Oh! that the Head of the Church would but make me like him. The tracts are just what I wanted; may a Divine blessing attend the distribution of them. Farewell!

"I am yours affectionately,

"Thomas Spencer."

In another letter he writes:

"Cecil's works are a high treat indeed: you cannot think how I enjoy the perusal of them. There are such valuable hints for ministers—such inestimable directions, that I hope I shall evince the benefit of reading them, to the last hour of the day in which I am appointed to work!"

The church and congregation at Liverpool now became anxious for Mr. Spencer's ordination, and Thursday the 27th of June was appointed for that solemn service. In the following letter he announced it to his early friend and patron, Mr. Wilson, whose presence on that occasion he earnestly desired.

XLI.

TO THOMAS WILSON, ESQ.

Liverpool, June 4, 1811.

"My dear sir—I am happy to inform you, that Thursday, June the 27th, is the day appointed for my ordination. Will you allow me to expect the pleasure of your presence and society on that solemnity? If you were here, you would be pleased with my prospect of usefulness, and you would be able to suggest some hints to our friends about the new chapel. Little things are apt to be neglected, and their neglect, though apparently trifling, would spoil the whole concern. We may well congratulate each other on the triumph the dissenters have obtained over an intolerant and oppressive spirit. They have imagined a vain thing: the Lord reigneth, let the people tremble. You know the great depression of spirits under which I have for some time labored; may the Lord appear a present help in this time of trouble. The walls of Zion are to be built, it appears, in troublous times, for such they are to me; yet I would submissively commit my cause to God; he may ordain that the benefit of his church, and the good of others, shall be promoted by the ills I endure. You know poor White, of Chester, has received the end of his faith—the salvation of his soul; I delivered the oration over his grave. Mr. Fletcher, of Blackburn, preached his funeral sermon. We are all dying creatures,

hastening to the world of immortality. I think that lately the world has appeared to me in its true light—"*it passeth away.*" May we by every dispensation of Providence be rendered more meet for the inheritance of the saints in light: in due time may we be clothed upon with our house, which is from heaven. Present my kind respects to Mrs. and Miss Wilson. I hope you will try to visit Liverpool by the time mentioned. Wishing much to see you, I remain, dear sir,

'Affectionately yours,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

The day of ordination at length arrived. The chapel in which Mr. Spencer preached being but small, that service, which, amongst dissenters of the congregational order, is remarkably solemn, was performed at the chapel in Byrom-street, Liverpool, which was handsomely granted to the people at Newington chapel for that special purpose. It was indeed an interesting day. The services were commenced by the Rev. Mr. Evans, of Stockport, who read suitable portions of Scripture, and implored the Divine blessing upon the sacred engagements of the day. The Rev. Joseph Fletcher, M. A., of Blackburn, then delivered an admirable introductory discourse, and received from Mr. Spencer his confession of faith, together with answers to the questions usually, on such occasions, proposed to the minister to be ordained;* Mr. Spencer then kneeling down, surrounded by his fathers and brethren in the ministry, the Rev. John Cockin, of Halifax, offered up, with deep solemnity, the ordination prayer, accompanied by the imposition of hands. To this act of ordination succeeded a most impressive and affecting charge from the Rev. William Hordle, of Harwich, Mr. Spencer's former tutor and friend. The passage on which this excellent address was founded was Col. iv. 17. "*Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.*" The Rev. Mr. Roby, of Manchester, preached to the people of Mr. Spencer's charge, upon the duties which devolved on them in the relation that day publicly recognized, from Gal. iv. 18, "*It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing.*" The service was throughout most affecting and impressive; it was characterized by a peculiar solemnity, both in the feelings of the ministers and the people. The tender frame and delicate mind of Spencer was nearly overwhelmed by the awful considerations which then pressed upon him. Had the melancholy event which so rapidly succeeded this interesting service been at that time certainly announced, a seriousness more suitable to the occasion could hardly have been inspired; and indeed in Mr. Hordle's charge there were passages which in the sad sequel of this history appear most singularly appropriate—bordering even on the prophetic! One in particular deserves to be recorded:—

"You, my dear young brother, must die, and stand at the bar of God. Your ordination service may be only a prelude to your funeral service, for what is man? Man is but of yesterday, and his days are as a shadow. How often have we seen the sun go down while it is yet day! and while the church has been pleasing itself with the prospect of enjoying the pious fervent labors of an endeared minister for years, has an unexpected stroke separated them for ever! Mourning survivors wondering have said, '*Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.*'"

Too often such remarks as these are passed by unnoticed by the thoughtless—are merely considered as expletives to supply the want of other matter—or splendid furniture to decorate and give effect to the address. The anticipation, though founded in reason, warranted by Scripture, and authorized by experience, is yet unaccompanied by any just assurance of the event it realizes; and its connection with any special decree of God is concealed from mortals. But there are seasons when the lips of holy men seem to utter something more than those vague admonitions of death, which, from their frequent recurrence, or the uncertainty of their immediate accomplishment, lose their power to impress. And to those who admit the doctrine of divine influence upon the minds of men, and more especially upon such as are appointed to state and enforce the solemn doctrines of revelation to mankind, it can be no source of astonishment that God should sometimes direct the thoughts and expressions of his ministers into a current adapted to certain ends he has to answer, or particular events he intends shall shortly come to pass. With respect to the passage above cited, and its corresponding event, persons will form their own opinion. I cannot, however, but regard it as adding somewhat to the force and propriety of observations such as these, since here was another instance, in which the event anticipated by the speaker as *possible*, though at the time, perhaps, regarded by the hearers as highly *improbable*, was but too surely realized!

Mr. Spencer was now fully invested with that sacred office, which from his infancy he had desired; and he set himself diligently to the discharge of its momentous duties. That he felt its importance, was evident to all. His habitual conduct and conversation proved it. To his most intimate friends he freely expressed his anxieties respecting it, and earnestly did he implore an interest in the prayers of his people and his brethren in the ministry. In the assurance that he labored amongst a praying people, he felt confidence: and no consideration is more adapted to relieve the mind of a faithful minister than this—while it pours unseen a thousand blessings on his head, it secures to his labors an affectionate attention, and an earnest desire rightly to appreciate and improve them. That which persons make the subject of earnest prayer, they will usually value; and it is hardly possible but that good must be uniformly the result, when both minister and people come from their closets, which have witnessed their fervent intercessions for each other, to the house of God. The apostle knew how to estimate the prayers even of the meanest Christians who enjoyed his labors. "*Brethren, pray for us.*"* It is true that a people will for the most part take the cast of their religious character from that of their minister: if he be much alive to God, and zealous in the discharge of his ministry, he will communicate the sacred flame to all around him, and cause his people to reflect on every side the light his preaching and his example shed. But, on the other hand, are there no instances in which the reverse of this has been the case; the minister has been gradually disheartened and dispirited by a cold, supine, and worldly-minded people, who have continually thwarted him in his generous designs—counteracted his benevolent efforts—and quenched, by indifference and neglect, the ardor of his zeal. Instead of assisting him in his glorious work, they have hung like weights about his garments; and instead of acting as pioneers to prepare the paths

*For Mr. Spencer's confession of faith, &c., see Appendix, No. VI.

* See an admirable sermon upon this subject by the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, preached at the settlement of the Rev. Henry Forster Burder, A. M. at Hackney. Every pious minister, who knows its worth, must wish to see this excellent discourse in the hands of his people.

of Christian benevolence for his willing feet to tread, they have clogged up the avenues with obstacles, and lined the way with insuperable difficulties. The spirit of the man has been broken by perpetual disappointment—vexation has gradually enervated his mind—and by slow and imperceptible degrees he has sunk into torpor and indifference—and the languor of the pastor has at length presented an unhappy counterpart to the supineness of the people. And even where neither the cause nor the consequences obtain to so alarming and fatal degree, still it is to be deplored that any approach to them should be suffered to exist. Here the stated attendants on a gospel ministry may often find a reason for that want of pleasure and improvement which sometimes they deplore, though most unjustly, at the preacher's cost. If prayer, special and fervent, for a blessing on their pastor's labors, has been neglected, the mystery is at once developed. For they have no right whatever to expect a blessing without prayer; and as they have no *right* to expect it without prayer, neither are they in a suitable frame to receive it; and thus it often happens, that where the prayerless soul departs empty away, the humble and earnest petitioner obtains a rich and suitable supply from the same table, and of the same food. It is *light bread* to the one, but it is life-giving and substantial provision to the other. "*Ask and ye shall receive.*"

On the first Sabbath in July Mr. Spencer dispensed, for the first time, the solemn ordinance of the Lord's Supper. It was a time of love—a season of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. The sweet impression of that happy day still remains, and its memory is yet dear to many. On the following Monday at the social prayer meeting in the evening, in the bosom of his people, he again solemnly dedicated himself to God, and renewed his vows to consecrate all his powers to their service in the work of the ministry. Indeed, all he wrote, or said, or did, indicated the holy fervor of his soul. Tenderly alive to the sacred delicacy of his character, he was anxious to sustain it well, that the cause of Jesus might not suffer by any spots it might contract. Conscientiously awake to every call of duty which his most responsible station might involve, he was ready to obey them all—that the ministry might not be blamed! The following letter is from his correspondence about this time, and may be numbered with the last he ever wrote. The expressions which I have copied, are mingled with others sacred to the privacy of friendship. They promise pleasures never realized—unfold prospects suddenly destroyed—and record arrangements he was *not* permitted to fulfil!

XLII.

TO MR. HADDON.

Liverpool, July 8, 1811.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—

* * * * * * * *

"The ordination has, for the last fortnight, occupied almost the whole of my attention, and the impression, the solemn, the holy impression, of which I trust I shall never forget. Yesterday for the first time in my life, I administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and found it to be indeed '*a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.*' My duties are more and more *important* and pressing. Conversations upon religious experience with candidates for admission into our church, the baptism of children, and the calls of the sick and dying, must necessarily engage much of my attention. But I can sincerely bless God, that amidst all the depression of mind I have suffered, my work has been my delight. The duties of the ministry have often refreshed, instead of oppressing me. The pleasure of the Lord has prospered in my hands. I love the service of the Head of the Church better than ever I did: when I am watering others, I find that Jehovah the Spirit waters my own soul too! Oh! is not this an encouraging token for good?——— In great haste,

"I am ever your affectionate friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

In the mean time, Mr. Spencer was not confined to his own pulpit. He gave his brethren in the ministry tokens of his affectionate regard, by officiating for them in their respective places: and he also made several excursions into the country. Mr. Spencer did not encourage the idea, that as he had become by voluntary consecration the minister of a *particular* church, the church in *general* had now lost every claim upon his kind attention. Nor were the people amongst whom he labored of a disposition so selfish and narrow, as to wish to confine his exertions exclusively to the spot they occupied. That the first and constant regards of a pastor are due to the people of his charge, none can dispute; but with the work of the pastor, to a certain extent, may with the greatest propriety be added that of an evangelist. There are surrounding districts that will often cry to him for help, which he is bound to render—there are destitute societies to whom he must minister consolation and instruction, in token of his brotherly love—and there are interchanges of friendship, which promote union, which relieve the mind, and which will ever be found beneficial to the churches by whom they are encouraged. Intercourse with society informs the judgment—corrects the views, and expands the mind. Long labor in one appointed sphere, however important and delightful the duties it involves, and especially where all the powers of the mind are ever on the stretch, must produce at length weariness, sameness, monotony. A visit to another scene—intercourse with other connections—refreshes and revives the wasted spirits and the weary frame. And the church, however they may value their pastor's ministry and regret his absence, will not eventually be losers by the temporary privation they may suffer.

But we must, however reluctant, pass on to the closing scenes of Mr. Spencer's life. As his death was sudden, I have none of those sayings or sentiments to record which occupy the last pages of most biographical sketches of departed saints; and yet his friends remember, with peculiar pleasure, in what a holy frame of mind he appeared to be during the whole of the week previous to his removal. If I should be more minute than may be deemed absolutely necessary in what remains of these important memoirs of this lovely youth, I trust that I shall be forgiven. I write for friendship; and to his friends it must afford peculiar gratification to follow him through all the scenes he visited, and mark the slightest movements of his mind during the last week of his residence on this earth.

On Sabbath day, July 28, being the day appointed for a collection for the new chapel, Mr. Spencer preached a most excellent sermon in the morning from Ezra ix. 8. "And now for a little space grace has been showed from the Lord our God to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving in our bondage." In the evening his text was Acts xiii. 26, "To you is the word of this salvation sent." On that day he exerted himself greatly, and complained much of a pain at his heart, but did not seem at night particularly fatigued. The following day he spent chiefly in conversation with his friends respecting the state of the church, and some candidates for communion who were to be visited and received during that

week—he dined at the house of a friend—in the afternoon visited the sick room of one of his members—and in the evening attended the prayer meeting at the chapel, when he recapitulated the outline of a sermon which had been preached on the Wednesday evening preceding, by the Rev. Mr. Davies, of London. His memory was remarkably retentive, and he gave in that exercise a proof of its powers, which astonished all that heard him. That evening he slept in Liverpool, and early on Tuesday morning he went with a friend to Prescot and laid the foundation stone of a new chapel there, and delivered an address adapted to the occasion, in the presence of a large assembly. From the ground he retired to the house of a gentleman in Prescot, whose child he then baptized, and so proceeded immediately to St. Helen's, a town about four miles distant, where he preached in the evening. On Wednesday afternoon he returned much fatigued to Liverpool, but preached in the evening with great animation, from a text selected for him, by one of the young persons of his church; Rev. xi. 2, "Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love." The Rev. Mr. Wray, the missionary at Demerara, was then in Liverpool, and was at the chapel. A friend who saw Mr. Spencer in the vestry after service, observed him to be much exhausted, and heard him say, for the first time, "Oh! I did not feel comfortable in seeing a brother minister in the congregation this evening." Usually he did not fear the face of man. On Thursday, about noon, one of his deacons called upon him at his residence, and he was occupied the whole day with him in visiting those who were to be received into the church; his conversations with the respective candidates were truly admirable and appropriate, and such as will remain in the grateful memory of those who had the happiness to enjoy them. On Friday he was occupied until the afternoon in writing letters to his friends. I am able to present the reader with extracts from two of them.

August 2, 1811.

"I find growing pleasure in my ministerial employment; this evening I have to admit eight new members to church communion; indeed when I accepted this situation, I never conceived that I should have half the engagements or duties to attend to, which I now find must be accomplished, if I would merit the character of an active, useful minister of religion. I think my recent afflictions, and the solemn duties which now devolve upon me, have in a considerable degree chastened my character, and imparted, perhaps, a seriousness to my general deportment, which may prove highly advantageous to me in future life. How long this will *last* I cannot tell, but I think affliction adds a weight to a character nothing else does, and especially to young people and young ministers. I have lately been preaching in the villages round Liverpool. Oh! let us aim to glorify God and then trust all our concerns in his hands, that so at the last we may be accepted of him."

In another, to his father, he says:

"I was much hurt at the account of my mother's* illness; I hope no distressing circumstances have arisen, and by this time, perhaps I may indulge the idea that you are better yourself. Oh! how necessary that we should all seek a better country, since here there is so much change, affliction, and wo. May every trial be sanctified to us all, and we be meetened for the inheritance of the saints in light."

Having concluded his earthly correspondence with his distant friends, for ever,† he left his residence and resumed his pastoral visits amongst his people and the candidates who were to be that evening received. At the church meeting he was particularly lively; with holy joy he welcomed the new members into the communion of the church, and as he gave to each the right hand of fellowship, he addressed a short but most affectionate and solemn exhortation, admirably adapted to their respective ages, stations, and feelings.* Indeed, all the duties of the pastor's office were conducted by him with propriety and an ease, which years of experience are frequently unable to supply. With the unaffected simplicity of youth, he tempered the dignity of age—he seemed to be at once at home in the duties of his new and important station—never embarrassed or confused; he appeared to have an intuitive perception of what belonged to his character and office, in every case as it arose; and following the inward suggestion, he acquitted himself well, and discharged with undeviating consistency the high responsibilities he bore.

After the meeting, Mr. Spencer spent the evening in serious conversation with a few friends; leading with great fervor the devotions of the family, and closing a day of sacred duties, with uncommon calmness and placidity of mind.

The following morning, Saturday, he spent in his study, in preparations for the pulpit. In the course of the day he wrote to a young lady, one of the number received, the preceding evening, into his church—at the close of the note he said—

"I suppose you anticipate to-morrow with feelings of solemnity; you will appear in a new light to the church of Christ, and the spectators of our holy solemnities; we shall share to-morrow Zion's chief feast. May the blessing of the God of ordinances be upon us all. Wishing you the enjoyment of per-

* His step-mother.

† His correspondence with his beloved and honored parent has been recently renewed. Spencer's father sleeps the sleep of death; his body rests in his bed, but his spirit walks in its uprightness. He was a venerable saint. Few have felt the pressure of trials such as his, and few have displayed a spirit more uncomplaining and resigned. He walked with God. Repeatedly before his departure he assured his family that he was going to glory. And on the 25th of December, 1812, his happy spirit was dismissed to the enjoyment of its rest.

* At the church meeting, with great emphasis, he gave out the following hymn, from Kelly's collection:

RECEIVING A MEMBER.

"Come in thou blessed of the Lord,
Enter in Jesus' precious name;
We welcome thee with one accord,
And trust the Saviour does the same.

Thy name, 'tis hop'd, already stands,
Mark'd in the book of life above:
And now to thine we join our hands,
In token of fraternal love.

Those joys which earth cannot afford,
We 'll seek in fellowship to prove;
Join'd in one spirit to our Lord,
Together bound by mutual love.

And while we pass this vale of tears,
We 'll make our joys and sorrows known;
We 'll share each other's hopes and fears,
And count another's care our own.

Once more our welcome we repeat;
Receive assurance of our love;
Oh! may we all together meet
Around the throne of God above."

fect health, and much communion with your best friend,

"I remain, &c.

"THOMAS SPENCER."

After dinner on the Saturday, the conversation turned upon a passage in Ezekiel—"*I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant;*" from which Mr. Spencer took occasion to speak much at large upon the nature and stability of the covenant of grace. In the evening he met the Rev. Messrs. Charrier, Lister, and Wray, the missionary, together with Mr. Laird, of Greenock, and others, at the house of a friend. It was a pleasant interview, and in reflection has afforded to the persons who composed that social party the sincerest pleasure. To his most intimate friends, it is a source of much satisfaction, that his pastoral engagements that week were such as every day to bring him into their society—so that they had constant intercourse with their departed friend—and passing with him from house to house can look back and say, "*Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked to us by the way, and opened unto us the Scriptures.*"—Like the companion of Elijah, they walked with him in close connection from spot to spot, charmed and edified with the holy strain of his discourse, and the rising lustre of his character; but all unconscious, that whilst they were thus conversing with him upon earth, *the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof* were preparing to conduct him triumphantly to heaven. But the scene closes rapidly upon us. On the last Sabbath of his life, August 4th, he rose with unusual health and spirits. The family with whom he resided always beheld him with peculiar interest on the morning of the Sabbath, such an air of angelic mildness and composure sat upon his countenance—and so deeply did he seem absorbed in the contemplation of the sacred duties of the day. That morning he preached from Jer. xxxi. 3—"*I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee.*" The way of his discussing the subject was simple and interesting: I have drawn thee—to the cross—to the throne—to the church—were the leading ideas in the discourse. It was particularly adapted to the occasion, so many new members being that day added to the church. He afterwards administered the Lord's Supper in a most solemn and affecting manner. Such as witnessed the scene—and the number of spectators was about three hundred—bear an unanimous testimony to the deep solemnity by which it was characterized. His appeals to the conscience were so close and overwhelming—his invitations to the faint and weary were so pressing and tender—his countenance—his voice—his whole manner were so expressive of holy fervor, that every eye was fixed—every heart seemed moved. How long the impression will remain I cannot tell; but the emotions enkindled by the transactions of that day are yet lively in the hearts of many—and numbers love to converse upon it, as one of those rare and highly favored seasons, in which the distance between earth and heaven seems annihilated—and so transporting is the joy, that *whether in the body or out of the body*, the happy Christian can scarcely tell! To a friend, who afterwards hinted that he appeared to be very happy in prayer at the Lord's Supper, he replied—"O yes; I thought I could have prayed, and prayed, and mounted up to heaven!" At the close of that memorable service—one, the ardor of whose feelings age had checked, observed, that "Mr. Spencer seemed that morning twenty years older in experience than he really was." At dinner he mentioned to the family, that he had received that morning a letter from a friend in London who had been formerly reluctant to his settlement in Liverpool, as though it were not the sphere designed by Providence for him. He then expressed the full conviction of his own mind, that he was precisely where he ought to be—under such an impression, he observed, that he was perfectly satisfied and happy; and added, "if it had not been the will of God, I should never have settled here."

In the evening, in the midst of a throng, such as is rarely witnessed, and from which hundreds departed unable to gain access, he preached from Luke x. 42, "*One thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her.*" His chief object in this sermon was to show, that communion with the Saviour is the one thing needful. Throughout the whole discourse, it seemed as if all the powers of his mind, all the ardor of his soul were infused into his composition, and his delivery. In the application, he was uncommonly urgent with the young—earnestly exhorting them to an immediate decision on the side of Christ—representing to them the folly and the danger of deferring the important concerns of salvation and eternity to an uncertain futurity—and assuring them, that *very soon* he should meet them at the bar of God, and that there he should be a swift witness against them. By those who are best able to decide, it was observed, that his last sermon was perhaps the most adapted for usefulness of any he had preached—and this observation, which was made immediately after its delivery, has been since most amply confirmed, in instances perpetually presenting themselves, in which that sermon proved instrumental in effecting the happiest impressions, many of which have issued in a saving change.

After the labors of the day he went to the house of a friend to supper; he did not appear to be unusually fatigued. With great fervor he led the devotions of the family. He read a portion of Scripture, and gave out the 165th hymn of the 2d book. He was remarkably copious and earnest in prayer—commending especially to God—the family—the church—the members who had recently joined—the missionary, (who was present) and every object to which his holy and benevolent mind recurred. At supper the conversation was pure and spiritual—such as the book of remembrance in heaven preserves—such as will not easily be forgotten upon earth. The subject was sudden death. The countenance of Spencer, always animated, was lighted up with holy joy as he discoursed upon the glory of departed saints—he seemed to realize the scenes he attempted to describe, whilst he expressed his own conceptions of the transport and surprise in which the disembodied spirit will be lost, when first admitted to the immediate presence of God. He spoke much upon the blessedness of putting off the garments of mortality in a moment, and being caught up unexpectedly and instantaneously to heaven! He seemed to lose the memory of the day's fatigue in the interesting theme, and frequently observed, that he had not for a long time felt himself so free from weariness. A little after eleven, he parted with his friends for ever. Never did they discover more of the warmth of his friendship, or the ardor of his piety, than in this last, happy interview. His countenance seemed irradiated with smiles of ineffable benignity—his whole deportment indicated a mind abstracted from the world, except so far as bound to it by the benevolent desire of doing good, and wholly devoted to communion and fellowship with God. So mature indeed did his character appear—so ripe did he seem for glory, that some of his friends could not but entertain a presentiment of his early removal. Though not then elevated to a higher sphere, he still appeared mysteriously weaned from earth. His loins were

girt, and his lamp burning with unusual brightness, as though he expected the coming of his Lord. In its anticipations of future glory, his happy spirit seemed to try its pinions, preparatory to the glorious flight it was about to take.

On Monday morning, August the 5th, the last day that dawned for *him*, he rose rather later than usual; his mind was too active for his body; the exhausted frame required rest. After breakfast, he received a visit from a young lady, one of the members lately admitted into the church. He entered the room with a cheerful smile; and the family having retired after some general conversation, he said, "Well, M———, you are now a member of a Christian church; yesterday you solemnly professed your faith in Christ, while the attention of many of our fellow creatures was fixed on you; God also beheld your profession—all heaven and hell witnessed the solemnity." On her expressing some fears lest she should be unable to act consistently with the profession she had made, he replied, "Live near to Christ—be much in communion with your own heart—be very frequent in addresses at a throne of grace, and there is no fear of you." Then referring to the long and agonizing distress which he had suffered through the alarming indisposition of his dearest connections, and which seemed now happily removing, he said, "This severe affliction has not been sent, but for reasons the wisest and the best; from it I have learned many lessons, and have enjoyed much of the presence of God under it. O may my heart be filled with gratitude to Him who is the author of all our mercies." He frequently bathed; he found it beneficial to his health. He purposed doing so that day, and had expressed his intention in the morning. He had just repeated the first verse of Cowper's admirable hymn—

> "God moves in a mysterious way,
> His wonders to perform;
> He plants his footsteps in the sea,
> And rides upon the storm,"

when one of the family came into the room, and said, that if he intended bathing, it was time that he should go, as it would very soon be high water. He assented; but whilst a towel was being procured for him, he turned to his young friend, and said, "I can't tell how it is, but I don't feel so much inclined to go, to-day, as usual." She asked if it was thought good for his health—he answered "Yes, it will brace my nerves after the exertion of yesterday." And, indeed, he had an immediate object in view, for he had folded his paper, and prepared his pen, in order to compose a sermon to be preached in the course of the ensuing week, on behalf of the Religious Tract Society, in London; and he was anxious that, by bathing, his mind might be invigorated for study, as he had frequently observed it to have that pleasing influence. Mr. Spencer and his friend left the house together, when turning towards the water, he said, "I must go this way." They parted. His friend sought again the bosom of her family—he went the way whence he never returned!

The following pages of this history must be filled with weeping, and lamentation, and wo. They must detail as sad a catastrophe as ever humanity or religion mourned. With cheerfulness Mr. Spencer took the path which leads across the fields towards the Herculaneum potteries, a little above which it was his design to bathe. The eye of his friend, beneath whose roof he dwelt, followed him till distance hid him from his sight. Arrived at the spot which he had selected, not so much from a knowledge of the ground, as from the circumstance of its retirement, he asked a gentleman, who had been bathing, and who then was dressing, "if that was a good place to bathe at?"—he answered that it was, but that it was rather stony near the side, but better when further in. Mr. Spencer replied, "I rather think that it is a good place myself, and I don't like to bathe near the pottery, there are so many people." Mr. S. then asked again, "Is the tide nigh up?" to which he was answered, "About half past eleven." "Oh! dear," said Mr. Spencer, "it is near twelve." As this conversation passed, Mr. Spencer was undressing, and, at intervals, humming a tune. When undressed, he walked towards the water, and spoke to a workman belonging to the pottery, of the name of Potter, who also was bathing, and who directed him which way to come into the water. While walking in, Mr. Spencer observed, that it was very cold—to which Potter replied, "You will not find it so cold when in." Potter then plunged into the water about breast high, and when he next saw Mr. Spencer, he was swimming within his depth, but soon afterwards the tide swept him round an abrupt projecting rock, where the water was from six to seven feet. Potter himself, who is an expert swimmer, soon found the current driving him round the same rock; but he immediately, with difficulty, swam to the shore, when he looked about for Mr. Spencer, and, not seeing him, was much alarmed. At length, after the lapse of a minute or two, he saw the the top of his head floating above the surface of the water. Potter could not tell whether he was amusing himself or drowning. He however cried out to him; but receiving no answer, plunged in again, and swam to the rock, in order to render him assistance—but found it impossible—Mr. Spencer having sunk in seven feet water, and the currents being remarkably strong. Potter, with considerable trouble, and not till some time had elapsed, got up the side of the rock, and communicated the intelligence to Mr. Smith, of the potteries, who immediately ordered out two boats, which were directly manned and brought to the spot, when every exertion was made to find the body.

I have frequently examined the place; indeed, I take a mournful pleasure in visiting the scene; and I have sought the opinions of medical gentlemen respecting the *immediate* cause of Mr. Spencer's death. The spot is most unfavorable for safe and pleasant bathing. Whoever sees it at low water, is astonished that any person, acquainted with the nature of the shore, should venture there. There is a ridge of sharp and slippery rock, running in a curved direction, for many yards, into the water, and terminating abruptly; on either side of this most rugged ridge the fall is instantaneous, and from one to two feet. It is highly probable, then, that Mr. S. swimming, as was described, along by the shore, might bring himself up immediately on the edge of this treacherous rock, which being slippery, deceived him, and by suddenly precipitating him into deeper water, caused a spasmodic fear—a combination of instantaneous terror and spasm—which directly suspended the functions of life, and he sunk, without further agitation or conflict, in the arms of death.

> "So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
> And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
> And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore
> Flames in the forehead of the morning sky;
> So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,
> Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves;
> Where, other groves and other streams along,
> With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,
> And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,
> In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.
> There entertain him all the saints above,

In solemn troops and sweet societies,
That sing, and, singing in their glory, move,
And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes."

In the meanwhile, the gentleman whom Mr. Spencer first addressed, returned, and, discovering the sad event, apprized them that it was Mr. Spencer, the minister, who was lost. Potter renewed his exertions to find the body, assisted by the people in the boats, in which they at length succeeded, after it had been under water about fifty minutes. By this time the melancholy tidings had spread abroad; and happily some gentlemen of the faculty being in the neighborhood, and hearing of the event, hastened immediately to the spot, so that, ere the finding of the body, every thing was in readiness for instantly commencing the resuscitating process.

When drawn from the water, the body exhibited no symptoms of violence or struggle in the act of dying—the countenance was placid and serene—its features were perfectly undisturbed, and so lovely was its expression in death, that one of the medical attendants observed—a painter could not desire a finer object!

On the arrival of the body on the beach, the water was easily expelled, and being then wrapped up in flannel, it was immediately conveyed to the house of Mr. Smith, where, by the kind exertions of the family, every necessary arrangement had been made for its reception.

The apparatus having arrived from Liverpool, and three medical gentlemen being present to receive the body, the usual methods adopted in cases of suspended animation were instantly pursued. They were soon joined by three other gentlemen of the faculty, who rendered every possible assistance; every expedient was, in the course of the afternoon, resorted to—but alas in vain! and at five o'clock, in the opinion of all present, there remained not the faintest hope of restoring animation—the spark of life was totally extinguished.

Thus, in one sad moment, was lost to society and to the church of Christ, one of the loveliest of men—one of the most eloquent of ministers: upon whose lips, only the preceding day, hundreds had hung with delight, and the long continued and extended exertion of whose powers, in a larger sanctuary, the foundation of which he had but recently laid, thousands anticipated with eager desire! To tell how many hearts have bled, beneath this awful visitation, would require a fortitude which I do not possess—and constitute a volume, not surpassed, in the anguish which it would describe, by any similar catastrophe in the records of human wo. The tidings spread through the populous town of Liverpool, with a rapidity, such as, in cases of public calamity, is usually inspired. They circulated through all ranks, and excited one common feeling of regret in every bosom. They reached the exchange, and produced an extraordinary impression there; those who knew him, mourned the loss of one they loved—and those who knew him not, felt the agitation of that sudden shock, which the premature removal of such men occasions—they participated in the general sympathy—and deplored the loss of Spencer, as an event demanding general regret! Numbers hastened to the spot. Some incredulous, to obtain the sad assurance of the truth—and others to enjoy the mournful satisfaction of beholding that countenance in death, on which they had often gazed with transport, when kindled into radiance by the ardor of the soul that lately animated it. All was confusion and distress. Such a day has been seldom seen in Liverpool; a day of such dreadful gloom—such universal grief. From the countenance of every one, to whom the tidings came, one might have imagined he had lost a friend; whilst many, to whom by intimate acquaintance he had become peculiarly endeared—petrified at first with mingled horror and surprise, when recollection and feeling returned, yielded, for awhile, to the influence of the deepest sorrow.

The estimation in which Mr. Spencer was held in Liverpool was most decidedly marked after his decease. The public prints severally bore testimony to his worth, and pronounced a warm, but just eulogium on his extraordinary merits; the introduction of some extracts will not be unsuitable here.

"Mr. Spencer was about twenty years of age; in his person and countenance eminently prepossessing; and of manners most amiable, conciliating, and engaging. As a preacher, his talents were held in a degree of estimation, and possessed an extent of influence, which have seldom been equalled in the annals of pulpit eloquence. His discourses were rather persuasive and hortatory, than argumentative or disquisitive: they were addressed more to the imagination and affections, than to the judgment; and this apparently, not so much from any deficiency of talent, as from a firm persuasion, that, in matters of religion, the avenues to the understanding are chiefly to be sought in the heart. His sermons, thus constituted, were adorned with a felicity of expression, and delivered in an unremitted fluency of language, altogether surprising in extemporaneous discourses. These essential qualities of eloquence were assisted by an uncommonly distinct articulation, a tone of voice singularly melodious, and great gracefulness of action. Thus gifted by nature, and improved by cultivation, it is not surprising that he possessed the power of attaching an audience, in a manner that will never be forgotten by those who attended his ministry. Perhaps it scarcely ever before fell to the lot of any individual, at so early an age, to have diffused religious impression through so extensive a circle of hearers; and those who looked forward to the maturity of his powers, with the hope naturally inspired by his early excellence, will regard his loss as a public misfortune."

"The deceased was about twenty years of age, a youth of amiable and engaging manners; and his pulpit talents were so far above his years, as to obtain for him a large share of public admiration and popularity. His premature death has most deeply affected the feelings of his numerous friends, who looked forward to the maturity of his early powers with the highest hope of obtaining in him a most valuable accession to the dissenting ministry."

But at the solemnities of interment, the strongest demonstration of public feeling was afforded. The concourse of people assembled to witness or assist in the last sad token of respect to his remains was never, perhaps, equalled in Liverpool. Religion, Humanity, Friendship, and Genius, mingled their tears at his grave. The funeral took place on Tuesday, the 13th August, 1811: the procession moved from the Park about eleven in the morning, in the following order:—

The gentlemen of the Faculty;
Ministers, four abreast;
THE BODY,
The pall supported by ten ministers, five on each side:
The mourners;
Friends of the deceased,
To the number of one hundred and thirty,
With white hat-bands and gloves,
Six abreast.

All the streets through which the procession passed were crowded to excess, as also were the windows and balconies of the houses. But the greatest

decorum was observed; and a seriousness, according with the solemn occasion, was manifested by all. The corpse was borne into the chapel, late the scene of Mr. Spencer's labors, and the Rev. Mr. Charrier of Bethesda chapel, read part of the 15th chapter of 1st of Corinthians, and the 4th and 5th of the 1st of Thessalonians, and offered a most solemn prayer At the grave an eloquent and impressive oration was delivered by the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, A. M. of Blackburn, The mournful service was concluded by a prayer from the Rev. Mr. Lister, of Lime street chapel.

"The whole scene," a Liverpool journal observes, "was affecting—it could not be otherwise. Every idea which could be associated with the spectacle was such as to excite the deepest sympathy. The flower of youth, scarcely opened, snatched from the stem of life by a sudden and rude attack of mortality: a minister, who lately fixed the attention of crowded audiences by the power of his eloquence, conveyed to the house of silence and darkness; the fairest prospects of honor and usefulness in life blasted; the warm hopes of his friends wrecked in a moment; and the deep, the dreadful wound inflicted in the feelings of relatives, and the dearest connections. Such, however, are the appointments of a supreme governing Intelligence, to which human choice and wishes must bow with reverence, supported by the general principle of the justice, wisdom, and benevolence, which direct the affairs of men. Similar afflictions are of frequent occurrence in private life, though they there pass unnoticed. Public characters excite attention both in their zenith and fall; and so far as society is bereft of virtue, useful talents, and active zeal, their death is a public calamity."

On the following Sunday evening, a funeral sermon was preached at Newington chapel, by the Rev. William Roby, of Manchester, from Heb. xiii. 7, 8, "Remember them who have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation: Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." This sermon, so admirably adapted to sooth the disconsolate congregation to whom it was addressed, has been presented to them, by its respected author, from the press.

But not in Liverpool alone was the shock of Mr. Spencer's death felt—or the loss occasioned by his sudden removal deplored. Scarcely was there a district in Britain to which the melancholy tidings did not reach. The universal esteem in which the beloved youth was held, was manifested by the numerous sermons which were preached throughout the country, to embalm his memory, and to improve his death. In London several were delivered—many singularly eloquent and appropriate; several have issued from the press, and have been noticed in the preceding pages. The sympathy awakened for the mourning church, was as general as the regret occasioned by their pastor's death. Of Spencer it may be truly said, "*devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him,*" whilst the situation of his bereaved people, excited in every bosom compassion and grief, "*for they were left as sheep without a shepherd.*"

It now remains that I present the reader with a general sketch of Mr. Spencer's character. The opportunity afforded in such works as these, of illustrating great and important principles, in their influence upon human conduct, ought to be seized with avidity, and improved with care. In this respect Biography is particularly valuable, and possesses a considerable advantage over general history. The subjects and characters of general history are numerous, complicated, and often but indistinctly seen—here the object is single. The mind dwells without diversion or distraction, on the character presented to its contemplation. Being relieved from the toil which variety occasions, it has leisure to dwell upon its several features, and to observe their mutual influence or associated harmony. The scenes and events of an individual's life, when faithfully and judiciously recorded, are admirably adapted to develope the formation of character—whilst lessons of wisdom, and principles of action are better understood and more correctly appreciated, when drawn out in the scenes of actual life, than they possibly can be, when simply, and abstractedly delivered. And, moreover, the peculiar sentiments which the delineation of certain characters is especially calculated to illustrate, are better remembered when associated with names, with places, and with deeds; whilst they make a far deeper impression upon the heart, from the circumstance that their nature and tendency are at once demonstrated, by the actual consequences to which, in these individual cases, they have led. In the pages of the biographer, the man lives again for us. "Being dead he yet speaketh." We are put in possession, in an hour or two, of knowledge, which it cost him years of anxious labor to acquire. We obtain confidence—we awake to an honorable ambition—we feel the animating influence of hope, whilst we mark the excellencies of his character, and the successful labors of his life. Self-examination is induced, by a contemplation of his failings—and caution, by a disclosure of his errors. Humility is promoted, by observing with how much imperfection the noblest and the loveliest qualities in man are unhappily combined—and the provision which the gospel makes for our final acceptance with God, derives importance and value from the assurance, which every faithful piece of biography must tend to establish—that the purest character—the fairest life, must sink before the high standard and demands of Jehovah's perfect law.

In calling the attention of my readers to views of Mr. Spencer's character, I am aware that the objection may be started—that in one so young, a character could hardly be formed at all. The objection is founded in reason. But although his character had not obtained its maturity—or assumed those fixed and established habits, with which years and experience would have invested it—still it had arrived at such a stage of its progress, as already to present strong lines, and obvious features. Some, so deeply marked as to be recognised by all who knew him—and others, upon the infancy of which, the eyes of his most intimate associates dwelt, with unspeakable delight. And, young as it was, the character of Spencer at the age of *twenty*, was such, as even an *aged* Christian might not blush to own. I have often gazed, with pleasure, on the animating picture which my fancy drew, when it has added years of experience and of culture, to what *was* the character of Spencer at his death, and imaged to itself what, after the lapse of time, that character might possibly have been; and when recalled from the delightful reverie, I have mourned that the lovely object existed only in my fancy. But we do wrong to mourn. His removal from our world was the dictate alike of Infinite Wisdom and Love. And the time appointed for his departure was the best. His character had attained that degree of maturity, for which God had destined it, on earth—he had performed the service which he was called to accomplish in the church. His sun rose with almost unexampled rapidity to its meridian—his work was completed with prodigious speed—yet, having reached his appointed elevation, and performed his allotted labor—*that* was the suitable period for his removal. He had witnessed as much impression and effect, in his short ministry, as many an aged

pastor would rejoice to observe, after years of incessant toil. Can his death be considered then as premature? If one laborer accomplishes his share of the day's exertion an hour or two earlier than his companions, may he not be permitted to retire to his rest before them? Spencer has finished his course—he rests from his labors—and his works do follow him.

As A MAN, he WAS GENEROUS—FRANK—INDEPENDENT—UNAFFECTED—UNSUSPECTING—and SINCERE.—*Generous;* his heart, his hand, and his purse, were ever at the service of the needy, and cheerfully devoted to the cause of Christ. An instance of his generosity has been recorded in the preceding narrative—that of his usually adding to the collection, when he preached for the benefit of a poor church that had an aged minister. One of the last acts of his life was an act of benevolence; he had no money about him, at the time of his death, for he had emptied his pockets to a poor person, previous to his leaving the house on the morning of that awful day. Had he lived to be the possessor of a house, and the head of a family, from *him* the apostolic injunction, "*given to hospitality*," would have met with a spontaneous acquiescence. Unhappily, this qualification of a Christian bishop, some of our worthy pastors have it not in their power to display!—*Frank;* he was open and ingenuous; his sentiments were ever undisguised; his language spoke correctly what he thought and felt; and his countenance was an index to his mind. Truly was it said of him, that he carried his heart in a crystal vase, so that all could see it. His opinions he never attempted to conceal; his attachments and his dislikes were, with equal freedom and sincerity, declared. The prudent will say, it displayed but little knowledge of mankind; true: he was ignorant, and therefore unsuspecting, and often unguarded. He did not calculate upon treachery under the garb of friendship—or censorious observation, in the social circle. Alas! that experience should only tend to make a man suspicious, and intercourse with society render him sceptical in his opinions of his fellow men!—*Independent;* perhaps too much so, for his station as a minister of the gospel, and especially as the pastor of a church. He had his partialities and predilections—every man must have them—he cannot be brought, by any discipline, to love that which is totally uncongenial to his taste and habits, however he may be inclined to cherish and testify a deference and respect. But these predilections, Spencer was ever ready to declare; and such was his independent spirit, that no consideration of interest could induce him to utter a compliment or pay an attention which was foreign from his purpose, or repugnant to his feelings. To *all*, he cheerfully paid the regard which the obligations of his station claimed; but only with such as his heart and feelings approved, did he share the social intercourse, or the endearments of friendship. And, surely, a man in public life, whilst he pays to all around him such attentions as the functions of his office involve, has a right to select the individuals with whom he will share the social hour, or to whom he may commit the more sacred and retired feelings of his heart. Yet, even here, prudence would suggest certain cautions, particularly adapted to the very delicate circumstances in which the pastor of a church is placed.—*Unaffected;* every thing like affectation and display, he abhorred—every thing feminine and soft in manners, he excessively disliked. His own were the reverse; they were characterized by impetuosity and boldness—a decision and a promptitude marked every thing he did. There was often a carelessness about his dress, arising from that indifference to show and decoration, which, in every thing, he displayed. So neglectful was he of his appearance, that he did not wear a watch, till urged repeatedly by the want of it, he at length purchased one. He observed to a friend a circumstance connected with the purchase of this watch, not perhaps unworthy of insertion. He asked the man of whom he bought the watch, if what he demanded was his lowest price? "Yes, Sir," said the man; I heard you preach upon seeing Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God, and I will not overcharge *you*." He loved to preach in a gown; it tended, he said, to conceal his youth, and give weight to his sermon—otherwise he was indifferent about it. How far this may be considered as sufficient reason for wearing a gown, I cannot determine; certainly, there are matters of higher moment than this; and it is surely cause of regret, that great and good men should ever grow warm, and say or do strong things, upon a subject, confessedly so inferior in importance.—*Unsuspecting;* he formed an estimate of every individual's bosom by the ingenuousness of his own; no wonder then, if sometimes he should have erred, and the error prove a source of poignant anguish and unavailing regret. He who has never seen a storm, may, all unconscious of his danger, trust the syren sea; but he who has endured the tempest will mark well the signs of the sky, ere he tempt the treacherous element that has once deceived.—*Sincere;* to have his hand, was to possess his heart; and where he could not give the latter, he never presented the former. Whatever he said he uttered from conviction; and on every assurance, the firmest reliance might be placed.

As A FRIEND, he WAS WARM—DISINTERESTED—and AFFECTIONATE. The *fervor* of his friendship is sufficiently displayed in the correspondence preserved in the preceding pages. His whole soul seems infused into his paper; and, if such were his letters, happy must they esteem themselves who were favored with his private walks and most retired intercourse. "His friendship, I can truly say," observes his most intimate companion, "has given me one of the most lively views that I ever enjoyed of union and communion with the spirits of *just* men made *perfect*. I shall not easily forget the impression of awe upon my mind while hearing him preach at White's Row, from these words:—'*Because there is wrath, beware lest he take thee away at a stroke, then a great ransom cannot deliver thee.*' I thought I surely can never more use the freedom of friendship with *him*. But at his descent from the pulpit, his sparkling eye, his friendly squeeze, and affectionate pressure of my arm to his side as we returned, convinced me that he was still the humble, interesting youth with whom I had taken sweet counsel, and walked to that house of God." Nor was he guided in the formation of his friendships by a principle of *interest*. This indeed governs the world in their associations:—

> "And what is friendship but a name,
> A charm that lulls to sleep,
> A shade that follows wealth or fame,
> But leaves the wretch to weep."

But he sought not high connections—exalted friendships—or splendid alliances—he shrunk from grandeur, pomp, and parade—he felt uneasy when surrounded by any thing like splendor—he preferred the calm mediocrity of life, as furnishing, for the most part, excellence in character, and comfort in intercourse!—Of his *affection*, it were in vain to speak—no language can describe all the tenderness of his affectionate heart—affection the purest and most refined. The following is the testimony of one who deeply participated in it:—

"And surely I may experimentally say, that a more affectionate spirit than that of Spencer never

animated a fallen son of Adam. When we first met he unbosomed himself, freely claimed my friendship, with an affection that overpowered me, and entreated the *fidelity* of friendship, charging me to watch him narrowly, and point out every imperfection. If ever the delightful scene recorded 1 Samuel xviii. 1, was reiterated, (and doubtless it often has been) it was when Spencer *had made an end of speaking*. But proofs of the affection of Spencer's heart are totally unnecessary. I shall mention one only. Soon after we became acquainted, he used to call generally on a Saturday evening —'Well, where shall you be to-morrow? with Mr. Foster, I suppose.' 'Why, I suppose so too, unless you draw me away.' 'I am sure I should be sorry to draw you away, if you do not see it right; I am sure you must be a loser by hearing me instead of Mr. Foster; yet if you could see right, I should be very glad.' When he preached in the country, he used, he said, to look round for a retired corner for me, such as I should like, if there. At Hoxton, he pointed out a seat for me, and when he rose from prayer, used to see if I filled it."

As a student, he was diligent—conscientious—and successful.—*Diligent;* to a habit of study he had been inured almost from his infancy—the elements of knowledge he obtained under peculiar difficulty—and had he not been inspired by an ardent love of that sacred work, for the honorable discharge of which, he deemed the acquisition of human learning necessary, his name would probably never have been known beyond the circles of his native town. But he longed for the acquisition of knowledge, not from a principle of self-gratification, or the love of fame, but as an auxiliary to his great design. Impelled by such a powerful principle, he sought for it with unceasing avidity—and labored in its pursuit with unconquerable ardor. But it was his lot to meet with a continued chain of obstacles to the free and ample gratification of his taste for learning. In his childhood, the circumstances of his family were inauspicious, and he was compelled, at a period when the powers of his mind were unfolding, to devote those hours to manual labor, which he would have gladly consecrated to books. The year he spent at Harwich was the only year of uninterrupted study he enjoyed; for very soon after his entrance into Hoxton academy he began to preach—and then, his popularity formed a most serious and insurmountable barrier—whilst, after his settlement in the ministry, the important duties of his new and extensive sphere of action forbade the indulgence of any pursuits in private, but such as bore immediately upon his *public* work.

These circumstances, however, taught him the value of retirement, and instructed him in the happy art of husbanding his time. This art he cultivated with conscientious care—and whoever contemplates the numerous papers he has left behind, and compares them with the public engagements he performed, must be sensibly impressed with a conviction of his diligence. He never entered the pulpit without previous preparation. Most of his sermons were written throughout, except the heads of application, in which he usually trusted to the ardor of his mind, enkindled by the subject which he had discussed, and guided by a holy influence. Not that he slavishly committed his compositions to his memory, and delivered them by rote. For, although his discourses were thus precomposed, and numbers of them remain, yet not one conveys a correct idea of what his preaching actually *was*. The reason is, that in the pulpit he followed, not so much the impression of his written language on the memory, as the holy and ardent bias of his soul, flowing in the channel which he had previously prepared. The sermon in the study was completely formed—correctly arranged—and well connected—but to the lifeless form, delineated on his paper, and impressed upon his memory, in the pulpit he imparted a living soul; a principle of ardent piety, which operated as a charm, the power of which few were able to resist.

Indeed, so uniform was his habit of preparation for the pulpit, that when called upon suddenly to address some young persons, he said to a friend, "I wish you would address the children for me this afternoon; I have not prepared any thing—I have not considered a subject for them, and I would not offer, even to a *child*, that which cost me nothing."

But although this was his usual custom, yet, when extraordinary circumstances conspired to render a departure from it necessary, he could, with the greatest propriety and ease, delight and interest an audience from the rich treasures of his exalted mind. One instance of his powers, in extemporary and unpremeditated address, is related of him in Liverpool. Some important affair of a public nature engaged the general attention of the religious world, on a Sabbath evening, when as usual he had to preach; and, anticipating a thin attendance, he had prepared a sermon adapted to the supposed state of his auditory—but, when he reached the chapel, and saw it filled with anxious crowds, waiting to receive from his lips the words of life—his ardent mind seemed instantly inspired—he immediately fixed upon a passage more adapted to the scene, and with his pencil sketched the outline of a discourse, which, perhaps, in the whole series of his ministry, he never excelled.

But Mr. Spencer's diligence did not expend itself on commentators and elaborate pulpit compositions —he endeavored to study Providence—to improve events—and, so far as he had opportunity, to read mankind. His sentiments on this subject may be in the recollection of the reader.* I believe he uniformly acted in accordance with them, and especially had an opportunity of doing this when he became the pastor of a church. The propriety—the importance—the utility of this kind of study, to a minister, is too obvious to need discussion. To its aid may be attributed, in a great measure, that adaptation to the ever varying scenes of the Christian life, which the sermons of Spencer usually possessed. He studied the characters of the people of God —he marked with care the variations of their experience—the alternation of their feelings—and the vicissitudes of their enjoyment. Indeed, his knowledge in this respect was most amazing, especially in one so young. He seemed to know, and sweetly to divulge, what every Christian felt and mourned —and he had a balm of consolation for every sorrow he awakened—every wound he probed—As a student he was

Conscientious. He was so, in maintaining a habit of study, after the restraints of the college were withdrawn. Too many imagine, that what is improperly called, finishing their studies; that is, concluding their academic course, is in fact the legitimate close of all mental labor. Upon the stores then acquired, they are to feed, through the long years of an extended ministry, the church of God with wisdom and knowledge. Alas! for the people over whom such a pastor presides. The stores of that mind must be but scanty at the best, and soon expended; what then but mental and spiritual famine must ensue. Ill does it bode for a congregation, when their minister is a lover of pleasure; a lover of society; a lover of mirth; more than a lover of study. People should remember this, and should act accordingly. They love to have things

* See page 229.

brought from the sacred treasury before them, *new* as well as *old*; but the *new* cannot be obtained without research, nor the *old* presented, in an attractive form, without thought. To all this, time, and that no scanty portion, must be devoted. And the hours of study must be taken either from the day, or from the night; if from the night, it impairs the health; if from the day, it must abridge them of their minister's society. A congregation, then, cannot with justice expect to see their pastor always in their social circles, and yet demand from him on the Sabbath, what much and intense application only can enable him to produce. A minister worthy of his people's affection cannot be too much esteemed, nor his society too highly valued; but even this authorized attachment may be carried to an injurious length; a people may desire too much; God may gratify their wish; he may send them a *busy body* in the form, and with the pretensions of a minister; and it may be said of them, "*he gave them their request, but sent leanness into their soul.*" For an unoccupied study, must cause, eventually, an empty mind.

Mr. Spencer was conscientious in the *direction which he gave to his studies.* Aware that he had but little time for preparatory labor, and a mighty work before him, we have already seen, that at Hoxton, whilst he performed with cheerfulness and credit the duties of his class, in the various departments of literature and science, yet he consecrated the first and most constant exercises of his mind to such studies as were immediately connected with preaching, and the pastoral office.* And when actually embarked in his most arduous profession, the little time he could procure for study he found too precious for the pursuit of any object whose claims, in connection with the ministry, might hold but a secondary rank. Hence he pursued not so much the study of general literature, as that of THEOLOGY. Aware that the sources of this sacred science, are the holy Scriptures, and that to understand them correctly, requires an accurate knowledge of their original languages, he cultivated with great care, the study of the Hebrew and the Greek. To the former of these tongues he was peculiarly attached —his early labors in it have been already stated,† and I believe that his proficiency bore a just proportion to his exertions. On Theology he read very extensively, and for the most part the productions of the puritan divines. His library was small—it was but in its infancy; but it was well chosen. His study, which remained precisely in the state in which he left it on the morning of his death, was an object of considerable curiosity to the inhabitants and visitors of Liverpool: many judicious and venerable ministers came to see it, and all expressed their admiration of the taste which he displayed in the selection of his books. There was scarcely a volume that did not bear most obviously on the work of the ministry. The cast of a man's mind may be gathered from an inspection of his library, if the volumes composing it have been of his own selection. Whoever should form an estimate of Spencer's character from his books, must pronounce him a sound and well informed divine.

As a student he was *successful.* If a man may be deemed successful who accomplishes what he proposes to himself, he certainly was so. He never desired to be a profound mathematician—an acute philosopher—or an accomplished classic—but a useful preacher—a good divine. As a preacher, few could compare with him—as a divine, he surpassed most of his contemporaries, of the same age and standing. But his attainments in classical literature were far from being scanty; that he had read the best Greek and Roman authors, with considerable advantage, was obvious from the purity and elegance of his style. And in the perusal of those English writers, most justly celebrated for the correctness of their reasoning, and the chasteness of their composition—he was well trained, whilst under the tuition of his excellent and revered friend at Harwich. Upon most subjects he was well informed, and could converse with ease. He disliked controversy, at any rate in public, however he might be disposed to try his strength in private. His chief excellence did not lie in the power of conducting a deep, an intricate, and long continued process of reasoning to a triumphant close. He rather excelled in clearly unfolding the more prominent features of the gospel—in stating with correctness the great truths of Christianity, and supporting them by arguments purely *scriptural*—for such discussions he was amply furnished. His knowledge of the Bible was most extensive, and his quotations from it were, in general, remarkably apt and striking. But it was in prayer, chiefly, that his familiarity with the Bible was observed. Not a sentiment escaped him, for which he had not suitable language borrowed from the Scriptures: and this rendered his prayers peculiarly rich, simple, and appropriate.

Of elegant accomplishments he possessed but little. I believe he never touched the pencil. He was fond of music, but he used no instrument, and though perpetually humming tunes to favorite hymns, he was not a good singer. He was much devoted to the love of poetry, especially that of Milton, Young, Cowper, and Kirke White. He was exceedingly attached to Kelly's hymns, and frequently repeated from them, with great fervor and delight. When a boy he courted the muse himself, but not with much success. Though not disciplined in the schools of fashionable life, his manners were easy, and his action graceful; and these, added to a lovely countenance, and an elegant form, rendered him interesting, both in his public engagements and in his private intercourse.

AS A CHRISTIAN, he was FERVENT—HOLY—and HUMBLE—*Fervent;* his piety was the ardor of an unquenchable flame. With him religion was no matter of mere profession and convenience; nor did it lose its impression by the frequent recurrence of its subjects and its duties—he seemed to live under its abiding influence—it was wrought into the constitution of his nature—its principles were the springs —its precepts the rule—its objects the end of all his actions. To this he ever had respect—what opposed it he heartily abhorred—what clashed with it he cheerfully resigned—what injured it he conscientiously avoided. His love to God was ardent. In this I think he much resembled Mr. Pearce, of Birmingham; and, indeed, often, when contemplating the life of Spencer, my thoughts have involuntarily recurred to certain traits of character preserved in the memoirs of that glorified saint.* His love to God shed a glorious lustre on his whole character and conduct; every thing that came within the sphere of his influence or operation was irradiated by it. But chiefly would I confine myself now to the influence of this noble principle upon himself. It inspired him with a love of piety: as a Christian he was eminent for

Holiness. He contemplated the character of God, and was attracted to it by its purity. "I shall not," says his friend, "easily forget the delight which sparkled in his eye when conversing upon the divine

* See page 215.
† See page 198.

* See Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Pearce, A. M. with extracts from some of his most interesting letters by Andrew Fuller.

attribute; holiness. 'How sweet,' said he, 'is that word *holy!*—*holy* Father—*holy* Saviour—*holy* Spirit—*holy* Scriptures. Surely if there is one word dearer to me than another, it is the word *holy.*'" During his residence at Hoxton, the same friend observed to a student in the institution, whose attention he wished to direct to the character of Spencer, "Perhaps you perceive youthful levity in him?" "No," he replied, "I have remarked him particularly, but it was for his *spirituality.*"

His ardent love of holiness enkindled and cherished in his bosom a corresponding hatred to sin; and so strong was this principle of love to God, that the dread of offending his purity sometimes amounted almost to terror, and enveloped his mind in most distressing gloom. A paper composed at one of these melancholy seasons of depression has been recently discovered; it is entitled,

"MISERABLE ILLS UNDER WHICH I DAILY GROAN."

BODILY.

An incessant bilious complaint.
General languor, nervous feeling, and head-ache.
The fatigues of my great and repeated exertions in preaching.

MENTAL.

The illness of——
The awful weight of responsibility attaching to the ministerial work.
The extreme distance between myself and my old, choice, and invaluable friends.
The impossibility I discover of visiting all the people I wish.
The little time I can appropriate to study.
The dreadful state of coldness and formality in religion, which I know the eternal God sees in me, and which, I fear, he hates me for.
The dread I often feel, lest, after all, I should dwell for ever in HELL FIRE!
Oh! God, who is sufficient for these things? Oh! cast me not away from thy presence; take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Oh! God be merciful to me a guilty and a wretched sinner. *Be it so*—for Christ's sake. Amen.
Monday evening, May 27, 1811.

But this was not the usual tone of his mind. Few there are so highly favored but that, sometimes, they are called to walk in darkness. The same apostle who declares at one period, *I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep what I have committed unto him until that day;* at another, cries, *O wretched man that I am, &c.* and again, *Lest, after having preached unto others, I myself should be a cast away.* This document is a commentary on a passage in one of Spencer's letters: "Be assured that I as well as yourself have walked in darkness, and complained that there was no light. Fluctuations in experience are, I am sure, my lot, &c." He was

Humble. For abundant evidence of the truth of this assertion, I need only appeal to his correspondence, his conversation, and his conduct; they each demonstrate that he walked *humbly with his God.* Indeed so prominent a feature in his character was humility, that his ministry derived from this prolific source a considerable portion of its excellence. "For," as a friend observed, "his deep humility and self-debasement leading him wholly to distrust himself, his affections ascended continually to the Saviour, and brought down that abundant supply of spirituality which animated both his sermons and his life."

A minister one day unguardedly said to him, "Mr. Spencer, I have been reading of your fame." "My fame, sir." "Yes; I have been reading in one of the public prints, that the Rev. Thomas Spencer has been preaching several eloquent and impressive sermons at Brighton; and if you will call at my house I will show you the newspaper." Spencer declined going; and his remarks afterwards were worthy of himself.

"I am strongly pressed to visit Mr. ——," said he; "I cannot; his circumstances are so much above mine, that it would be dangerous for me. If I get a habit of visiting the rich, I shall neglect the poor, and my expectation of usefulness lies among *them.*"

His humility led him early to solicit, and highly to value the *fidelity* of friendship. As he had a deep and intimate acquaintance with his own heart, he knew and deplored its corruptions; and turned with contempt from those professed and dangerous friendships, which only tend to feed the flame he was anxious to stifle and subdue. No friend of his was ever more faithful to him than Mr. B——; and few persons were more highly esteemed by him. Speaking of that gentleman, he said, "I owe him particular respect, and I wish to show it."

There was one instance in which his late attendance at a place of worship, where he was to preach, was unhandsomely attributed to pride. "He takes liberties," said they, "because he is popular." Let not his memory suffer by such an imputation. It is in my power to roll away from the character of our departed friend this cloud. It was his attention to the duties of the closet, and not his pride, which caused his late attendance that day. It has been already observed, that he always went from his closet to the pulpit. On that day he allowed himself the proper time for retirement, intending to take a coach from the city, where he dined, to Walworth, where he was to preach. But a sudden fall of snow engaged every conveyance, and he was obliged to walk; the distance was considerable, and the consequence was, he was too late. When an error in the conduct of a minister is committed, reasons are easily assigned, and unhappily those the most uncharitable come the readiest to hand; and few have sufficient generosity or justice to inquire whether that which they have chosen is correct or not.*

The following extract of a letter, dated July 3, 1810, shall close this part of our review of Spencer's character. It was addressed to one who feared that his popularity might have an unhappy influence upon his mind:

"A thousand thanks for the solicitude you express for my safety in the midst of the snares and dangers which appear to you to surround me; never may I be so left as to lose the dignity of the CHRISTIAN, much more of the MINISTERIAL character, by being pleased with so empty a nothing as popular applause; I cannot but recollect that this is a distinction not unfrequently bestowed upon the most unworthy of men, and it is so little calculated to afford any thing like happiness or peace of mind, that I hope I shall always be taught to esteem it a mere puff of noisy breath; that so being elevated above it, I may seek that reward alone, which a sense of THE SMILE OF GOD will ever bestow. Oh! my friend, may those pleasures be mine which arise from the testimony of my conscience, that I am seeking to please that Divine Being, 'whose frown can disappoint the proudest hopes, whose approbation prosper ever mine.'"

* It may be said that this incident is too trifling to be recorded. I do not think so. Nothing is unimportant which illustrates character; and it is in these *little* things, for the most part, that the character may be ascertained. Besides, the memory of the dead is sacred; and I should not discharge the duties which I have taken upon myself in the compilation of this volume, to the satisfaction of my own mind, were I to suffer any spot or cloud to remain upon the lovely character of Spencer which I am able to remove.

As a minister, we shall contemplate Mr. Spencer as a preacher of the gospel, and pastor of a church. Though for the most part these two offices are combined, yet those who understand their nature, and the duties they involve, must be conscious of the distinction which this division implies. Many a man is an admirable *preacher*, who is but ill qualified for the retired and constant duties of the pastoral office: and many a man is exemplary as a *pastor* who has little except his piety, which indeed is much, to recommend him as a *preacher*. As Spencer united in his own person the two offices, so did he eminently possess the qualifications of both.

As a Preacher his discourses were *purely evangelical:* this was the cast of all his sermons. He never preached to display himself,—but always to exalt the Saviour: this was his constant aim, and to accomplish it, he dwelt much upon the beauties of his character—the charms of his person, the fullness of his atonement, the perfection of his righteousness. He perpetually dwelt upon his willingness and ability to save; and in order to demonstrate the necessity and the value of his great salvation, he seldom failed to restore to the fallen, polluted, guilty, helpless state of man. He consulted not the inclinations, the passions or the prejudices of his hearers, but preached simply, faithfully, and affectionately, the most humiliating, as well as the most animating doctrines of the gospel. Whatever text he struck, living waters seemed immediately to flow. Whatever was the subject, or the occasion—his holy and ardent mind, ever panting for the salvation of immortal souls, connected with it truths and considerations the most solemn and important. His applications were forcible and impressive. There he wrestled with the people, with a fervor, resembling that with which, in prayer, he wrestled with his God. He seemed to exhaust every argument which might be brought to bear upon his great object, and to these he often added appeals and entreaties, the most tender and affecting. *Then* he seemed to lose sight of every consideration, but his own responsibility, and his people's good—and as though the congregation before him were the only people remaining to be saved, and as though every time of preaching was the only opportunity afforded him of using the means of their salvation, he besought them, as an ambassador for Christ, to be reconciled to God.

The general cast of his preaching may be gathered from his texts, which are freely scattered up and down in the preceding pages. By his confession of faith it will be seen, that his sentiments were most decidedly what have obtained, in the Christian world, the epithet, *Calvinistic*—exactly in conformity with the Shorter Catechism of the Assembly of Divines. To these doctrines he was most warmly attached, and as they were the subjects of his firm belief, so were they the constant topics of his discourse, both in public and in private. Valuing these doctrines so highly, and cherishing so deep a sense of their importance, we cannot be surprised that he should feel an express regret, when he saw them, in the sermons of ministers, neglected and cast into the shade. Perhaps, in his mode of expression on such occasions, he was sometimes incautious.* Admitting that it was so, we cannot but admire the principle. Where doctrines assume, in the view of the individual, an importance, similar to that which we are accustomed to attach to those grand principles which formed the basis of Mr. Spencer's ministry, we cannot be surprised if he expresses warmly his regret, when he beholds them undervalued or abandoned.

His discourses were *judicious*—he particularly excelled in the adaptation of his subjects, and the selection of his texts, to particular circumstances and occasions. His sermons were never flippant, nor bombastic—but always solid and simple—full of sound divinity, conveyed in language, which, by its copiousness—its elegance,—its fluency,—astonished every auditor. His skill in meeting the several cases of his hearers, has been already noticed. Every age and every rank received their portion from his public instructions: the aged were astonished at his deep experience; the young were charmed with his affectionate manner; and few, very few, were the instances in which the hearers did not depart, each affirming, that there was something in the sermon that exactly suited them.*

As a preacher, Mr. Spencer was remarkable for *Animation;* indeed, this was so strongly characteristic of him, that almost every other feature might have been resolved into this. Mr. Styles, than whom no man is better able to form and express an opinion of his worth, most correctly observes, "If I were to sum up Mr. Spencer's character in one word, comprehending in it only what is excellent and ennobling to human nature, I should say it was animation. His intellect was feeling, and his feeling was intellect. His thoughts breathed, and his words glowed. He said nothing tamely, he did nothing with half a heart." With him the animation of the pulpit was enkindled by the devotion of the closet. His communion with God was deep and habitual, and this rendered him most feelingly alive to the great truths which he delivered—whilst the ardent desire which he cherished for the salvation of sinners supplied, with constant fuel, the flame of his zeal. In the pulpit, he appeared to be abstracted

* Christians, and especially Christian ministers, should be sparing in the use of those broad and unqualified assertions respecting their brethren in the ministry, which are so easily *made*, yet so difficult to *prove*, and so injurious in their influence. It is easy to say, *he does not preach the gospel*, of a minister—who loves it, and propagates it with as much ardor as the censurer himself. He may not preach the gospel with the same phrases—in precisely the same style of language. Perhaps the censurer loves to dwell entirely on the *promises* of the gospel—on the *sovereignty* and *freedom* of Divine grace—on salvation as the *unmerited* gift of God by *faith* and not by works:—all this, the man he censures believes and preaches too; but then with the *promises* of the gospel, he blends the *threatenings*—and with the assurance that salvation is of *grace* and by *faith*—the importance of *obedience*, and of *holy life* as the evidence of saving faith.

* A passage in a sermon recently published by the Rev. Robert Hall, admirably describes this quality of Mr. Spencer's preaching. "Without descending to such a minute specification of circumstances, as shall make our addresses personal, they ought unquestionably to be characteristic; that the conscience of the audience may feel the hand of the preacher searching it, and every individual know where to class himself. The preacher who aims at doing good will endeavor, above all things, to insolate his hearers, to place each of them apart, and render it impossible for him to escape by losing himself in a crowd. At the day of judgment, the attention excited by the surrounding scene, the strange aspect of nature, the dissolution of the elements, and the last trump, will have no other effect than to cause the reflections of the sinner to return with a more overwhelming tide on his own character, his sentence, his unchanging destiny; and amid the innumerable millions who surround him he will *mourn apart*. It is thus the Christian ministers should endeavor to prepare the tribunal of conscience, and turn the eyes of every one of his hearers on himself."—*Discourse delivered to the Rev. James Robertson at his ordination, by Robert Hall, A. M.*

from every consideration, but those immediately connected with his subject, and his office. It was this holy fervor, perhaps, which constituted the great charm of his ministry. The simplest observations from his lips were invested, by his manner of expressing them, with an importance which demanded attention. The interest which he felt himself in the momentous topics he discussed, he communicated to his hearers; and it was impossible not in some degree to feel, when every one saw how eagerly intent he was upon promoting their eternal welfare.

"I remember," says a friend, "that one evening when we reached Hoxton, in good time for *him* but too late for *me*, as *he* was to preach, the chapel was thronged, and I stood in the passage through which he passed to the pulpit. His delicate frame was too weak to sustain the animation of his mighty spirit. His half-closed mouth, fixed eye, flushed cheek, and panting breast, pained me to the heart as he passed me, and loudly spoke my awful responsibility, possessed of such a friend and such a ministry. He afterwards told me that he generally was agitated in his way to the pulpit, but that when he reached it he seemed to feel himself at home. I once asked a medical friend, who heard him at Hoxton with me, 'how he heard?' '*Very* uncomfortably.' 'Why?' 'Because I saw that his preaching is at a physical expense to himself, beyond what you have any idea of. Every part of the service, except his repetition of the Lord's prayer, was at an expense which his frame is incapable of supporting.'"

As a preacher, he was

Solemn. He never degraded the awful dignity of his station, and his office, by *buffoonery* and *jests*,—he was popular—but he never courted popularity, by the practice of any thing that was *time-serving*, *crafty* or *mean*. As an eminent judge once observed, "he did not despise popularity, but he loved—not the popularity which he must follow—but the popularity that followed him." Who, but must behold with mingled sorrow and contempt, the low and disgusting arts, to which some men, who style themselves preachers of the gospel, will condescend, in order to gain the temporary admiration of the vulgar. There are some indeed, whose minds are unhappily so constituted, that they find it *impossible* to forego their humor, even in the pulpit. In such characters, while we deplore the failing, we esteem the men, and revere their excellencies. But where there is no talent to command respect—no superior worth to induce the exercise of forbearance and love, but mere tricks are resorted to for the sake of obtaining a name, every feeling is absorbed in that of mingled pity and disgust.

Mr. Spencer's preaching had a *holy tendency*. He loved the gospel, and gave to its leading truths the prominency in his discourses, but on them, as on a firm foundation, he built a superstructure of the purest morality. Whilst he directed his hearers to a higher source for acceptance with God, than obedience to the commands of the law, he never failed to enforce its precepts upon the practice of Christians, as the rule of their life. Upon the absolute necessity of holiness, both of heart and conduct, he constantly dwelt, and from every topic which he discussed, he deduced those practical lessons, which it naturally supplied.

But, although as a preacher he obtained almost unexampled popularity, he was yet remarkably

Modest and *unassuming*. No man would better take a hint, or receive reproof with greater humility and even thankfulness, but no man was more reluctant to give either, though he might have presumed much upon the importance which attended his station, and have dealt out his censures with a liberal hand.

"Do you think," observed a friend to him, "the expression, 'our realm,' which you use in prayer, quite right?" "Is it not?" "It may be so—but I never knew any individual except George III. and Thomas Spencer, use it, the one in his proclamations—the other in his prayers." Constantly as he used the phrase before—it never was known to escape him afterwards.

"Mr. S." said a gentleman, belonging to a certain congregation, to whom he was about to preach, "the people come in very late, in general. I wish you would reprove them for it this morning." "Oh, no, Sir," he replied, "it would ill become a visitor and a youth like me; it ought to be a stated or an aged minister."

He shrunk from the public notice to which he was exposed, and usually walked the street in great haste, and with downcast eyes, anxious to escape the gaze of men.

In the pulpit, Mr. Spencer was an interesting figure. His countenance had the fine bloom of youth. His voice was full tone and musical. His action was graceful and appropriate. He sometimes leaned over the pulpit, as if conversing with the people, with the greatest earnestness, and anxious to be so plain and explicit as that none should misunderstand. At others he stood with manly dignity, displaying with spontaneous ease, all the characteristics of genuine eloquence.

That as a preacher he was faultless, no one will be disposed to assert; but his faults were those of youth, which time and experience would have certainly corrected. He was sometimes too rapid—his zeal, like an impetuous torrent, bore him along, and would brook no check—by which his voice was often strained, and the usual placidity and dignity of his style somewhat interrupted. I conclude this sketch of his character as a preacher, by a note inserted at the close of Mr. Hall's discourse, above referred to:

"The sensation excited by the sudden removal of that extraordinary young man, (Mr. Spencer,) accompanied with such affecting circumstances, has not subsided, nor abated, as we are informed, much of its force. The event which has drawn so great a degree of attention, has been well improved in several excellent discourses on the occasion. The unequalled admiration he excited while living, and the deep and universal concern expressed at his death, demonstrate him to have been no ordinary character; but one of those rare specimens of human nature, which the great Author of it produces at distant intervals, and exhibits for a moment, while He is hastening to *make them up amongst his jewels*. The high hopes entertained of this admirable youth, and the shock approaching to consternation, occasioned by his death, will probably remind the classical reader of the inimitable lines of Virgil on Marcellus:—

> **O nate, ingentem luctum ne quoere tuorum.**
> **Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra**
> **Esse sinent.**

"The writer of this, deeply regrets his never having had an opportunity of witnessing his extraordinary powers; but from all he has heard from the best judges, he can entertain no doubt, that his talents in the pulpit were unrivalled, and that, had his life been spared, he would, in all probability, have carried the art of preaching, if it may so be styled, to a greater perfection than it ever attained, at least, in this kingdom. His eloquence appears to have been of the purest stamp, effective, not ostentatious, consisting less in the striking preponderance of any one quality, requisite to form a public speaker, than in an exquisite combination of them all; whence resulted an extraordinary power of

impression, which was greatly aided by a natural and majestic elocution. To these eminent endowments, he added, from the unanimous testimony of those who knew him best, a humility and modesty, which, while they concealed a great part of his excellencies from himself, rendered them the more engaging and attractive. When we reflect on these circumstances, we need the less wonder at the passionate concern excited by his death. For it may truly be said of him, as of St. Stephen, *that devout men made great lamentation over him.* May the impression produced by the event never be effaced; and, above all, may it have the effect of engaging such as are embarked in the Christian ministry, to *work while it is called to-day.*"

In directing my readers to a contemplation of Mr. Spencer's character as

A Pastor, I am influenced more, by a desire to render this general view of our departed friend complete, and to do ample justice to his memory, than by the prospect of any very considerable practical result. There are so many examples of pastoral diligence, furnished by the recorded lives of men venerable for their age, and valuable for their experience, that I cannot anticipate much from the pattern of a youth, just entered on his labors. But such as he was I am bound to represent him.

In his visits to the sick he was constant and tender.

His enlargement in prayer, at the bed-side of the diseased and dying, was truly astonishing. The depth of his experience and ability in speaking to the cases of the afflicted, appeared mysterious. But it was soon explained by a holy Providence. For whilst his friends saw him young and healthy, just entering into the world, He who seeth not as man seeth, beheld in him the Christian of fifteen years standing, just taking wing for glory. This consideration may tend to check invidious comparisons—for it is certainly unjust to compare one in whom God has cut short his work in righteousness, with those who, though older in years, are younger in grace, and have perhaps a long and honorable course before them.

His intercourse with his people was cheerful, spiritual and instructive.

He was no gossip. It was wished by some, that he had been more frequent in his visits. But it is difficult so to equalize the attention, in a large body of people, as to satisfy the demands of all, and by apparent neglect give offence to none. Where he did visit, he always left a happy impression of his piety, his wisdom, and his amiable disposition. He abhorred the idle tales of the day—he was no friend to scandal. He endeavored always to direct the conversation into a useful and pleasing channel. He was cheerful without levity, and serious without affectation. There was nothing formal or studied in his manners. In him, every thing was natural, and through all the departments of his character, there was a harmony of feature—a unity of principle, which every one observed and admired.

In all the duties of the pastoral office, he was well informed, affectionate, and constant.

He knew what belonged to his office—and never failed to practice what he knew. He made full proof of his ministry. He was a scribe well instructed in the mysteries of the kingdom. A workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth—giving a portion to each, in due season—sparing the irregularities or prejudices of none—but seeking with ardent affection the good of all—he commended himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. Early he girded on the armor—and soon became a leader in the armies of the Prince of Peace. He has fought a good fight, he has finished his course—and now he enjoys the crown.

REFLECTIONS.

I am unwilling further to detain the attention of the reader to a volume, which, but for its interesting subject, would have wearied his patience long ago, and which has imperceptibly swollen to a bulk, far greater than that which the writer, originally, intended it to obtain, by any additional reflections, especially as the preceding pages abound with observations of a practical nature, as the narrative suggested them—and as almost every topic of improvement which might now be introduced has been fully anticipated and forcibly expressed by the interesting publications which appeared upon the death of Spencer. And yet, were I to dismiss the volume, without any effort at a final improvement of the subject, I might be charged with neglecting the great object of biography—*utility*; and the book might be considered as deficient in the most important point.

In Spencer we see—

First, *That obscurity of birth or station presents no insurmountable barrier to the progress of real excellence.*

The history of past and present times furnishes unnumbered illustrations of this remark. Many who have lived to enlighten and to bless the world—who have obtained rank and fortune, and renown, were born in obscurity, and passed their earliest years in the oblivion of humble life. Let such as feel at present the pressure of circumstances, yet pant for scenes of honorable exertion, and extensive usefulness, ponder the life of Spencer and be encouraged. If God designs to use them for the public good, he will, by an unexpected train of events, in his providence call them forth; if not let them neither rush unbidden from their sphere, nor occupy their station in sullen discontent; if a wider field be not allowed them, let them cultivate with cheerfulness the little spot to which they are confined. The most retired hamlet affords abundant opportunities of doing good; and many a man to whom it is denied to enlighten crowded cities and populous towns, may be a star of the first magnitude in the village where he dwells.

Secondly, *We see in Spencer the commanding influence of genuine and fervent piety.*

This was the secret spring of all his energy—the fuel of his animation—the source of his popularity. That his mind was well furnished with solid truths—that his manner was engaging—that his form was graceful—that his countenance was lovely—that his language was elegant—that his voice was fine—is admitted; but it was his ardent piety which gave to each of these a charm, and awoke in the breasts of his auditors a feeling of reverence and solemnity, which the simple exhibition of them could never have produced. The graces of genuine eloquence, and the stores of a cultivated mind, are precious; but without piety, they are as "*sounding brass and tinkling cymbals:*" they may delight the ear, but never will impress the heart; and it is not, usually, the labors of the most polished and enlightened of his ministers, that Jehovah deigns especially to bless; but rather the unwearied exertions of those, whom the love of Christ and of immortal souls has rendered zealous in the sacred cause.

Thirdly, *We see in the labors of Spencer, an admirable example of diligence, and in the success that crowned them, a strong encouragement to exertion.*

So short was the period of his stated ministry, that we can only measure it by months: it had not reached to years. But few, perhaps, whose term of labor was so short as his, were ever honored with

more success; whilst many who have seen the number of his months often repeated in years of anxious labor, have not been favored with so much. If *all* prove faithful unto death, whom he enlisted whilst on earth, beneath the banners of the cross, he will head a goodly company, when the hosts of the redeemed shall be assembled at the judgment day. Who that knew and loved him, but must anticipate the joy with which he then shall say, "*here am I, Father, and the children whom thou hast given me.*"

Let the example of his exertions and success stimulate, quicken, and encourage ours. We work for the same Master, and are engaged in the same cause. And, to the student or the youthful preacher who may honor these pages with his regard, I will add, your term may be as short—if it be not as *successful*, let it be as *diligent*. The diligence is ours—the success is God's. He will not demand at our hands what is not ours to secure. He will give His rewards of grace to the faithful servant, whether his success be proportioned to his exertions or not; and we are "*a sweet savor unto Him in them that are saved, and in them that perish.*"

Fourthly, *from the early and sudden removal of Spencer, let churches learn to prize the labors of holy and devoted men, while they enjoy them.* Alas! too many only learn the value of their privileges by their removal. They neglected or lightly esteemed, whilst living, the minister, upon whose memory they heap eulogies and honors when departed; and I believe, that some have even bedewed the ashes of their pastors with affected tears, who accelerated and embittered their passage to the grave, by unkindness and neglect! Not so the people whom the death of Spencer suddenly bereaved. The tears with which they embalmed his memory, were suitable to the respect they bore his person—the love they cherished for his friendship—and the sense they entertain of his transcendent worth.* O that every minister living, were as much beloved! dying, were as unaffectedly deplored!

Fifthly, *in Spencer we see the excellence of real religion*—how it sweetens labor—soothes in affliction—supports in trial—and animates the soul in scenes of disappointment, and hours of care. To few are allotted severer labors—to few, so young, are measured heavier trials than those which he endured. But few, upon the whole, have possessed a greater share of happiness: there were intervals of sorrow, and clouds would sometimes obscure the brightness of his sun; but for the most part his hope was lively, and his prospects fair. He enjoyed religion upon earth—he anticipated the consummation of its bliss in heaven: and now he has entered into the joy of his Lord. His life was piety, and his end was peace.

Sixthly, *in the sudden removal of Spencer we mark the mysterious conduct of Jehovah's providence.*

At first sight the event might stagger the strongest faith, for he was snatched away at a period when his life seemed of the utmost moment to the people over whom he presided, and the circle in which he moved. Scarcely had his talents reached their maturity; his character was even then unfolding; from the promise of his youth, his friends dwelt with rapture on the anticipations of his manhood, and every day added some strokes of reality to the picture they drew—when suddenly, in the bloom of his youth—at the commencement of his course—just entered on his labors—he is arrested by the arm of death, and conducted to the silent grave. Was his death *untimely?* No—he had seen a good old age in usefulness, though not in years: "that life is long that answers life's great end." His end was fully answered, and he was gathered to the grave in peace. Was his death *severe?* No—to *him* it was tranquil, and serene; he crossed the river of Jordan, singing as he went, and in an unexpected moment, found himself safely landed on the shores of immortality. No raging billows awoke his fears—no agonies disturbed his countenance—death respected his loveliness, and preserved the beauty of the form, when the spirit that animated it was gone. But whilst for *him* his death was peaceful, was there ought of *mercy* in it to his *friends?* Yes—if they review and act upon the lessons it conveys, there is; to survivers it declares, that excellence and beauty must fade and die—let them seek an interest in HIM, in whom whosoever liveth and believeth shall not die eternally—to the *church* it will endear the assurance of His care, who is independent of instruments and the conqueror of death. To the young, it is a solemn admonition of the uncertainty of life—the instability of all terrestrial good. To such as attended his ministry—what a powerful application is it of the many sermons they have heard him preach, with such delight—but to so little profit! How must the event of the succeeding morning rivet the impression of those solemn words which, on the last Sabbath evening of his life, he addressed to them: "I shall soon meet you at the bar of God; I shall be there!" *O that they were wise, that they knew these things—that they would consider their latter end.*

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE dissenters of various denominations have numerous academies, partly endowed by munificent individuals, and partly supported by voluntary subscription, for the education of young men for the work of the ministry. There are institutions of this kind at Homerton, Hoxton, Hackney, Wymondley, Rotherham Axminster, Idle, Wrexham, Bristol, Stepney, Caermarthen, York, Glasgow, and other places. In these schools of religion and literature, the course of study is for the most part liberal, and some of them have supplied the churches of Christ, for many generations, with sound and learned divines. The compiler had the honor to receive his education in the Old College, Homerton, a truly venerable institution, over which the Rev. Dr. John Pye Smith, and the Rev. Thomas Hill, preside. The following is an outline of the principles upon which that institution is founded, and the course of study which is there pursued.

It is held as a fudamental principle among the orthodox Dissenters, that no young man should be destined for the ministry as a mere profession; or educated with a view to that office, till he gives ra-

* By some liberal expositors of God's providence, the death of Spencer has been pronounced a judgment on the people, for what they have termed, "their *idolatrous attachment*" to him. Alas! the *idolizing* of its ministers is, surely, not the crying sin of the church at the present day! But was there any thing in the conduct of the people over whom Spencer presided, so contrary to the mind of God as to excite thus strongly his displeasure, in loving a man who was beloved wherever he was known—and revering an office which Christ himself has invested with so much dignity? Let such bold infringers of the prerogative of God, who presume to assign reasons for his conduct, when he has not deigned to give any, read—"*Know them that labor amongst you, and over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake, and be at peace among yourselves.*" Let them take the solemn admonition this passage gives; and perhaps their own ministers will have no occasion to regret that they have done so.

tional indications of that internal and sound piety, which arises from the operations of the Holy Spirit of God upon the heart. Their first care therefore is, to select such characters only as candidates for the office of the ministry; and in so doing, it happens not unfrequently, that the individuals whom ministers and private Christians select out of their congregations, have been engaged more or less in the avocations of secular life, and have enjoyed only a common education. It appears upon the average of many years, that about *two-thirds* of the ministers, educated in the Old College, at Homerton, have been of this description. The remaining third has consisted of young men, whose whole previous life had been devoted to literary pursuits, and whose superior advantages of education, had been adorned by early and promising piety. But in all cases, the prerequisites for admission into this ancient institution are, *creditable and ample testimonies* that the applicant is, in the severest judgment of Christian reason, a sincere, devoted, and practical disciple of Christ, born of God, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit. In addition to this grand requisite, the directors of the academy require some evidence of respectable talents, and such as are likely to improve the advantages to be conferred. As a further security for the attainment of this object, students who are thus approved at their first introduction, are admitted upon a probation of three months. The evidences of piety and talents, displayed during this probationary period, determine the full admission of a young candidate.

If the student, at his entrance into the house, should not be possessed of classical literature sufficient to enable him with ease and accuracy to read ordinary Latin and Greek authors, (e. g. Quintilian and Horace, Xenophon and Homer,) he enters on grammatical and classical studies, and attends to them solely till he is judged fit for the next class of pursuits: this period is seldom less than two years, and sometimes it is longer.

The Rev. Thomas Hill, classical and mathematical tutor, conducts this department with distinguished ability, and with an intenseness of application, worthy of the most gateful mention: under his direction, the students read the most valuable Roman and Greek classics, with a strict attention to accuracy of construction, parsing, prosody, and the cultivation of a just and elegant taste for the beauties of those immortal authors. The course thus begun is continued to the close of a student's residence in the college, which, in most cases, is nearly six years. During the two years of pursuits, solely classical and philosophical, attention is also paid to English composition; and themes, on subjects chiefly moral and religious, are composed by those students whom Mr. Hill judges fit; and one day at least, in each fortnight, is spent by him in reviewing and animadverting on these essays.

After the students have entered upon the course, called for the sake of distinction, *academical*, they still continue their attendance upon the classical tutor; and they add to their improving acquaintance with the best authors of profane antiquity, the study of the Hebrew language, and afterwards of the Syriac. They also enjoy his Lectures in Geometry and Algebra, in which Euclid and Bonnycastle's Algebra are the text-books.

The *academical course*, upon which students enter as soon as their proficiency in classical learning renders it proper, is principally theological; but lectures are also regularly read in other departments of science and general knowledge. The duties of the divinity tutor embrace,

I. The Theological department, which comprehends six distinct courses, or plans of instruction.

1. The compilation of a systematical arrangement of Christian Theology, by the judgment and industry of each student himself. Dr. Smith, whose profound classical, theological and biblical knowledge, renders him admirably qualified for the important office which he fills, puts into the hands of the students a large manuscript work, entitled, "First Lines of Christian Theology." This commences with an introductory address, consisting of observations and counsels upon the moral state and dispositions of the mind which are necessary for the profitable study of divine truth;—upon the utility and subserviency of literature and general science for the advancement of theological knowledge, and usefulness in the ministry:—and upon the conduct of the understanding in the actual study of divinity, under its various aspects of liberal and impartial inquiry, interpretation of the Scriptures, and the determination of controversies. This is followed by the syllabus, which forms the body of the work, and consists of definitions, propositions, hints of solution, corollaries, scholia, &c. with references to authors of merit under every particular.

The design of this plan is not only to lead the student into a clear and logical method of deducing divine truth from its proper source, but to engage his industry of research and meditation, to take him to the first fountains of knowledge, and to excite his judgment, his powers of discrimination, and all his talents, to the most profitable kind of exercise. When the student has, with suitable attention and diligence, completed the scheme, he possesses a body of Christian divinity and moral philosophy, thoroughly digested, methodically arranged, the fruit of his own labor and industry, and the systematical depository of his future acquisitions.

2. A Polemical Lecture, designed to furnish a fair and comprehensive view of the most important controversies of the present day: inculcating at the same time, the value and importance of truth, and the absurdity and danger of scepticism or indifference.

3. An Exegetical Lecture on some book of the Greek Testament, generally an epistle.

4. A course on Biblical Criticism, and the principles of sacred philology and interpretation.

5. Lectures on Preaching, and the other duties of the pastoral office. Dr. Doddridge's Lectures on those subjects are the text-book.

6. Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.

II. A course of Lectures on the Elements of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Natural History.

III. A course on Logic and the Philosophy of the Mind.

IV. A course on the study of Civil History and antiquities; attainments prerequisite for that study, observations on historical writers, rules and advices for securing the greatest sum of advantage from the pursuit, and an inquiry into the objects most interesting to a Christian divine, to which the study of history should be rendered subservient.

The preceding statement may be considered as a fair specimen of the usual course of study pursued in the best regulated of our Dissenting colleges. The subject of the preceding memoirs received his education in the truly respectable academy at Hoxton:—over that institution the Rev. Robert Simpson, the Rev. Henry Forster Burder, A. M. and the Rev. —— Hooper, A. M. preside with distinguished ability.*

In these respective academies, public examinations are annually held, in which a close and criti-

* I should be happy to present a statement of the system adopted in that excellent institution, but I am not furnished with materials for the purpose. Such a statement was not deemed necessary by those of whom I requested information. I think it of importance to

cal inquiry is made into the diligence—the acquirements, and the conduct of each student.

No. II.

SPECIMENS OF MR. SPENCER'S EARLY EXERCISES IN PREACHING.

From the following outlines of some of his first sermons may be gathered what was his general style of preaching at the period of their composition.

ON PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Dated March 6, 1807.

MATTHEW XVIII. 20.—"*For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.*"

We shall make a few general observations on the text in the following order:

I. THAT IT IS THE DUTY AND INTEREST OF CHRISTIANS TO ASSEMBLE TOGETHER FOR THE PURPOSES OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

This duty was

1. *Practised by ancient believers.* Zion was the well known place to which the tribes went up—Christ frequented the synagogue. The apostles met together, &c.
2. *It is enjoined in the sacred Scriptures.* See Ps. c. 4. Heb. x. 25.
3. *Fraught with the richest blessings.*

II. THAT IT MUST BE DONE IN THE NAME OF CHRIST.

1. *In obedience to his command.*
2. *In the use of his appointed means.*
3. *In dependance on his assistance.*
4. *With a view to his glory.*

III. THAT ALTHOUGH BUT FEW PERSONS THUS ASSEMBLE, YET THAT IS NO OBJECTION TO THEIR OBTAINING THE DIVINE FAVOR AND BLESSING.

"*Wherever two or three,*" *&c.*

We remark in the first place,

1. *That God regards the sincerity of the worshippers, not their number.*
2. *The happy experience of worshippers in all ages of the world.* As a confirmation of the sentiment,
3. *The positive assertion of the text.*

IV. THAT JESUS IS PRESENT WITH ALL THOSE WHO THUS ASSEMBLE TOGETHER.

How is Christ present in his worshipping assemblies?

For what purpose is Christ present with his worshipping people?

1. *To observe the manner of their worship.*
2. *To bless those who are earnestly seeking him.*

REFLECTIONS.

1. The Lord Jesus Christ is God, or he could not be present in all the assemblies of his people at the same time.
2. How inexcusable is the conduct of those who neglect public worship.
3. How great will be the happiness of the heavenly world, to all the sincere worshippers of Christ.

THE SECOND APPÉARING OF CHRIST.

HEBREWS IX. 28.—"*And unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.*"

Let us contemplate,

I. THE GLORIOUS APPEARANCE OF THE SON OF GOD.

The text informs us of

1. *Its certainty.* "He *shall* appear," &c.
2. *Its order.* "*The second* time," &c.
3. *Its manner.* "*Without sin,*" &c.
4. *The end.* "*Unto salvation.*"

II. THE PERSONS WHO WILL BE HAPPILY INTERESTED IN IT.

To those *who look* for him,

1. *With ardent love.*
2. *With earnest longing.*
3. *With patient waiting.*
4. *With due preparation.*

From this subject permit me to make these remarks:

What a great distinction among mankind will there be at the judgment.

Of what importance is it for us to know whether we are thus looking for him.

In what high estimation should we hold that Saviour who is the first and the last in a sinner's salvation.

THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.

JOHN IV. 28, 29. "*The woman then left her waterpot and went her way, into the city, and saith to the men, Come see a man which told me all things, whatever I did; is not this the Christ?*"

From the text and its connection we shall draw the three following plain observations:

I. THAT JESUS CHRIST IS POSSESSED OF THE GREATEST EXCELLENCIES.

We shall confine ourselves to those illustrated in his conversation with the woman of Samaria.

1. *Profound humility.* Though he was rich in the glories of his divine nature, he humbled himself and became a man, and so as not to be above holding conversation with a poor woman at a well. Let proud mortals contemplate this and be ashamed.
2. *Consummate wisdom.* He proceeds upon the plan established by the order of the everlasting covenant, and will not fail of converting all his chosen people. He knew where to find this woman—he knew all her circumstances—and what kind of conversation to hold with her.
3. *Ardent benevolence.* It was for the instruction and conversion of this poor woman, that he exerted himself.

II. THAT THOSE WHO ARE ENABLED TO DISCOVER HIS EXCELLENCIES FEEL AN ATTACHMENT TO HIM.

The affection of that soul which has by faith contemplated and discovered the excellencies of Christ, is,

1. *Reasonable.* (Rational.)
2. *Fervent.*
3. *Influential.*

III. THAT THOSE WHO REALLY LOVE HIM ARE ANXIOUS TO RECOMMEND HIM TO OTHERS.

1. *By earnest entreaty.*
2. *By bringing them under the sound of the gospel.*
3. *By prayer to God for them.*
4. *By a holy life.*

IMPROVEMENT.

1. *We here see that there is no worthiness in the instrument employed in a sinner's conversion.*

The Samaritan woman was made useful in directing her fellow citizens to Christ.

2. *This subject affords us a test whereby we may try our own characters.*

Are we really attached to Christ?

3. *Are there any here desirous to see Jesus?*

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mention this, lest I should be considered as *partial*, in giving [redacted] minute [redacted] detail of the course at Homerton, and saying so little of the plans pursued at Hoxton.

No. III.

CHRIST AT EMMAUS.

LUKE XXIV. 32. "*And they said one to another, did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?*"

The connection of this text shows us, that after the death and resurrection of the great Messiah, two of the disconsolate disciples, who knew not that he was raised from the dead, went to a village called Emmaus; that on their way thither they conversed, as was likely they would do, upon the wonderful events that had lately transpired in Jerusalem, and spake of him they loved. His person—his actions—his sermons—his prophecies—and, above all, his most extraordinary exit occupied their solemn attention, and afforded a subject for the most interesting discourse. Whilst they were thus engaged in conversing about him, with whom they had before been familiar, and from whom they had learned most excellent lessons, a third came up and joined them; this indeed was Jesus of Nazareth, who had been raised from the dead by the glory of the Father. But he chose, for wise ends, to conceal himself from them, and to cause that their eyes should be holden, that they should not know him, appearing to them as a stranger desirous of knowing the subject of their conversation, and the cause of their grief, and to sympathize with them under their sorrow—weeping with them that wept. They intimated to him their wonder that *he*, even supposing that he were but a stranger in Jerusalem, should be unacquainted with the things which were come to pass there in those days; then proceeding to tell him how Jesus, a prophet, mighty in deed and word before God and the people, was condemned to death and crucified; giving him to understand at the same time, that the hopes they had entertained of him were most sanguine, for they trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel; and, finally, they informed him of some peculiar phenomena that had been witnessed by certain women of their acquaintance at his sepulchre, where his body could not be seen, though they saw a vision of angels, who said that he was alive. The courteous and mild fellow traveller then began to speak and detain them with delightful converse; for he showed them "that Christ ought to suffer these things, and then to enter into his glory." He spread before them the mysteries of the inspired page, and showed how they were illustrated in the life and death of their best friend. Sooner than they thought they arrived at their journey's end, where he made as though he would have gone further; but they prevailed on him, by their great importunity, to go in and tarry with them—with them he took bread, blessed it, break it, and gave unto them—then first their eyes were opened to behold him as the same Jesus who was crucified, and to discover in him the lovely features of their Lord who had done all things well—when, lo! he vanished out of their sight, and was seen no more. After which, we may reasonably suppose to have taken place—a solemn silence; and then they used to each other the admirable expression we have selected as a text—"Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?" Having, then, taken a slight glance at the whole account of this wonderful circumstance, in confining our attention more particularly to the words of the text, we shall view them as leading us to reflect on—the conversation of our Lord with his disciples—and the effects it produced upon their minds—"their hearts burned within them, while he talked with them by the way." Behold

(I.) The conversation of our Lord with his disciples.

And here the passage presents us with the kind familiarity which he displayed, and the lustre that he cast on the divine word—the first remarkable thing in our Lord's conversation with the travellers to Emmaus, is—

(1) The kind familiarity which he displayed—their own expression is, "He talked with us by the way." It is condescension in the Son of God, to notice the concerns and accept the worship of his holy angels; how much more must it be so to sojourn with mankind—to go where they go—and freely to tell them the secrets of his heart. The Saviour was now, you remember, even on earth, a most dignified character—he was now no longer to suffer and be cruelly entreated—he had now finished the work his Father had given him to do—and had shortly after to ascend to claim his high seat in glory. He now showed himself to be the Christ, the Son of God, and confirmed the reality of his appointment and mission, by his bursting the bars of the tomb. He would not now be viewed by any as a common character, but as the most wonderful being that had ever appeared in the world—as such even his enemies must consider him. Yet all this did not make him forget his friends, or cause him to lose any thing of that social and condescending disposition he had ever before manifested: but almost as soon as he was risen, he goes to meet some of the members of his little family, and confirm them further in himself. "He talked with them by the way." Oh! what a heaven does Christ here by his example stamp upon Christian intercourse and sacred friendship. Behold he talks with his disciples, proving to them that "as ointment and perfume rejoice the heart, so doth the sweetness of a man's friend, by hearty counsel." And to this day we are permitted to converse with our God—"he talks with us by the way"—tells us our true character, and reveals his own excellence—he appears as our wonderful counsellor! and to whatever place we journey, we should be concerned to have him talking with us by the way. The next remarkable circumstance in this conversation of our Lord, mentioned in the text, is

(2) The lustre that he cast upon the divine word.—"He talked with us by the way, and opened to us the Scriptures." And well he might, for he told us before that "the Lord had given him the tongue of the learned; that he should know how to speak a word in season, to him that is weary." "He began," says the evangelist, "at Moses and all the prophets, and expounded to them in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himself"—blessed interpreter—divine teacher. We have no reason to suppose that he forgot the first promise that was made of him; even in the garden of Eden, that he should bruise the head of the serpent: no doubt but the intended sacrifice of Isaac, the patriarch's son—the erection of the brazen serpent on the pole—and the various sacrifices under the law, were all delightfully commented on by Jesus the Saviour. He did justice to all the passages—he showed their full import—he gave them an insight into the meaning of all the prophecies respecting his death and glory—he took up every part of Scripture in its bearing upon himself, he showed [that he] was "all in all"—even in the Old Testament; and thus by his teachings they discovered far more of the beauty, harmony, and fulfilment of the word of God, than they ever did before, or ever would have done without his instruction. And does he not now give his people to understand the doctrines of his word—does he not now daily open to us the Scriptures—has he not given to us his Holy Spirit in order to make us more wise in the mysteries of his kingdom—and are we not di-

rected to seek for him in the field of divine truth as for hid treasure. Oh! how much is there respecting Christ in this holy book, and who is so able to make us know it as himself—"he opens our understanding that we may understand the Scriptures"—he ever teaches his ministers to open and allege "that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead, and that this Jesus whom we preach unto you is Christ,"—as he taught his apostles to "testify the kingdom of God, persuading men concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets, from morning till evening." Having then admired the conversation of our Lord with his disciples on the way to Emmaus, we notice

II. The effects it produced in their minds.

It was not at all probable that this discourse should be without effect, or fail deeply to interest their minds, since it was the very theme on which they chose to dwell; and it was conducted in so wise and endearing a manner—it was such that, according to their own confession, it made their hearts to burn within them while he talked with them by the way—and surely I need not say this was not the glow of *shame*, lest they should be found in his company—No, brethren, they would not have cared who of all the great men of the land had met them in company with this most intelligent stranger —they felt themselves highly honored by his company, even before they knew his name. Nor was this the heat of *anger*, or of any bad passion excited by any thing that he delivered; his communications were sweet, and soothing. Had they been so disposed, they could find nothing in them that was improper, untrue, or provoking;—he talked with them as a man talks with his friend; the communion was sweet, and the intercourse highly gratifying; hence, though their hearts burned within them, it was neither with shame, nor anger. But this, brethren, permit me to say, was the glow of fixed surprise; of grateful feeling, of humble love, and of holy animation of soul. Observe it was the glow

(1) of fixed surprise.

They wondered much that he who appeared a stranger, not only to them, but also to the place where they were, should know so much about them, Jerusalem and Jesus; they were astonished at his wisdom, at his eloquence. I almost fancy that they exclaimed, "Never man spake like this man." With emotions of amazement, they perceived that his "word was quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and that it is a discoverer of the thoughts and intents of the heart." With what prying eyes must they have looked upon him; and yet not so as to behold him who he was because himself had prevented it; yet their hearts burned within them; sentiments of unutterable admiration were hid in their breasts whilst he opened to them the Scriptures. Again it was the glow

(2) of grateful feeling.

They must have discovered that they were greatly indebted to this benevolent stranger, who had so effectually enlightened their judgments, and alleviated their sorrows. Their hearts burned within them with the sensation of thankfulness; they saw that he was a praiseworthy character, and, methinks, were devising some acknowledgments for his attention to them, little thinking that it was the Lord. Did your hearts ever glow in this way with a sense of utter incapability of making any suitable returns to him that loved you, and revealed to you his will? For your fellowship with him, have you ever said, what shall I render to the Lord? Did you ever feel the high honor of being with Jesus; admitted into his presence, and being made partakers of his grace? All your hearts, Christians, should glow with gratitude, and burn with love. Hence, we remark again, their hearts burned within them with the sensation

(3) of humble love.

Finding as they did, that his words "were found of them, and they did eat them," and they were to them the joy and the rejoicing of their hearts, they manifested a strong attachment to him whom they supposed to be a new friend. He engaged their affections, hence they desired more of his company, and said, when their fears were excited lest he should depart from them; "Abide with us, for it is toward evening." So do the hearts of the people of God burn within them to the present day, with like sensations, under similar enjoyments; the flame of divine love is kindled in their souls; the words of his mouth appear to them sweeter than the honey of the honeycomb; his doctrine drops like the rain, and distils like the dew, and sensible that none teacheth like him, they admire and love him before all others. Oh! how excellent a thing it is thus to love the Saviour. Let it be our happiness to sit at his feet; and with meekness receive the ingrafted word of truth, which is able to save the soul, so shall its admirable Author rise daily more and more in our estimation. Finally it was the glow

(4) of holy animation of soul.

Divine light broke in upon their minds, and dispersed their remaining unbelief; they were elevated above the world to the contemplation of their adorable Redeemer. He touched their finest feelings; he filled their souls with the sublime joys of his salvation; he inspired them with pure devotion, and fixedness of heart, and while he led them to the consideration of Him who endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, he prevented them from being weary and fainting in their minds. And oh! Christians, what sweet moments; rich in blessing, have you enjoyed, when in converse with Immanuel. "Whether in the body, or out of the body," you have hardly been able to tell; drops of heaven have been bestowed upon you here below, the light of the Divine countenance has caused you to take your harp from the willows, and make every string speak to the praise of love divine. Did not your hearts burn within you? Were you not like Peter on the mount, who, in an ecstasy of joy said, "Lord, it is good to be here?" You anticipated the joys of the blessed, you drank of the brook by the way, and seemed ready to depart and to be with Christ, to drink wine new with him, in the kingdom of his Father. This holy delight in God is real, and not enthusiastic; it is bestowed only on the new born heirs of grace, and it is given them as a pledge of joys to come; their hearts burn within them while he talks with them by the way.

In reflecting on this subject we are struck with the idea that we often have to blame ourselves for not sufficiently estimating our mercies during the time of their continuance.

These disciples, notwithstanding the pleasure they had found in his society, did not, till just as he left them, discover him to be their Lord; to the present day Joseph often knows his brethren, whilst they know him not. And then afterwards they say, did not our hearts burn within us? True, they did. But why did not we value the blessing while we enjoyed it? Why did we not say, as the word of wisdom dropped from his mouth, it is the Lord?

Again, a review of past favors greatly supports the mind under present bereavements.

When we seem forsaken; when our affections towards Christ appear but cold, oh! what a privilege it is to be enabled to revert to a period when our hearts did burn within us, while he talked with us by the way. This thought cheers the drooping spirits, and raises the fainting head; it excites our

hope too, that he will be with us again, and hold converse with us, even till the hour of death; yea, it makes us argue, that if the Lord had intended to destroy us, he would not have made our hearts burn within us by his divine communications.

It is the duty and interest of us all earnestly to pray for the society and conversation of Christ.

The blessing itself is so desirable, for it is to have the honor of dwelling and walking with Christ, and the sensations which he, by his discourse, excites in the mind, are so pleasing, and delightful, that we ought earnestly to beseech him to tarry with us; if he is an instructer and companion, how short will the distance to heaven appear, and how light and momentary the trials of the way—Lastly,

If those who travel with the Saviour, are thus blessed, how miserable are they who are altogether alienated from him.

Sinners, you never yet enjoyed the society of Christ, nor do you wish it. You are loading him with reproaches, and will have none of his counsel, and he will never say of you, "they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy;" the fever of lust, and the torment of envy shall be your curse, while you live in the pains of hell, your portion after death, when you will burn in "the fire that never can be quenched, and the smoke of your torments shall ascend up for ever and ever." Oh! may we instead of this awful doom, be honored and glorified with his constant presence in a better world; so shall the chosen of Nazareth be praised and adored by us for ever and ever.

No. IV.

FAREWELL SERMON AT HOXTON.

Acts xx. 24. "*But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.*"

This is not the language of stoical apathy; the man who uttered these words, my hearers, was a man possessed of the keenest sensibility; a man of real, honest, and exquisite feeling; in his heart, cold indifference, and unfeeling stubbornness, had no place; nor do the words express philosophical heroism; a foolish bravado; for our apostle derives his support from sources far different from these; he was animated by principles; he was delighted with prospects which the natural man never possesses; the power of which principles, and the view of which prospects, produce an effect which is mighty beyond all conception. The passage I have read you, introduces to our view Paul the preacher, at the time of his departure from his friends, when his mind was led to expect, and prepared to meet bonds and afflictions in every place; and the words of the text do most strikingly show us the way in which the principles of the gospel discover themselves, and prove their power to strengthen and support. Viewing this passage as not unsuitable to the present opportunity, I shall exhibit it to your view, as showing us that the principles of the gospel of Christ display their power and virtue.

I. In rendering us insensible to the power of affliction; "none of these things move me."

II. In raising us superior to the love of life; "neither count I my life dear unto me, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus." Let us behold here the glorious gospel of the blessed God. How the religion of Christ displays its potent influence; its mighty efficacy.

I. In rendering us insensible to the power of affliction. Its supports enabled the holy, zealous apostle to say of painful separation—of the labors of the ministry, and of the large measure of persecution which in that age of the church every where attended the preachers of the gospel, "none of these things move me." Paul had, however, without doubt, the feelings of humanity; and as I have already intimated, these things would affect his soul as a *man*, and occasionally overwhelm his spirits; but when he felt the happy influence of the gospel in all its power, he triumphed over these difficulties; he heroically conquered himself; subdued his own feelings, and appeared a ready, a joyful martyr for Christ. Thus did Paul, yet did not he, but the grace of God which was in him. These trials, then, these difficulties, which to many would be insurmountable, did not "move" him; that is, the anticipation of them, the endurance of them, did not so move him as to damp his *ardor;* as to discourage his soul, or as to make him wish to exchange with the world. Observe, they did not so move him.

As to damp his ardor. These trials and apparent obstacles to the success of his work, and to his own happiness in it, did not make him less anxiously desirous of doing good in the world, did not at all diminish the fervent wishes of his soul to be the means of conducting many sons unto glory. Notwithstanding these difficulties, he was still "steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as he knew that his labor was not in vain in the Lord." And as he had this ministry, as he had received mercy, so he fainted not; hence he could say to others; no man should be moved by these afflictions, for yourselves know that we were appointed thereunto. He remembered the long cloud of witnesses, who through much tribulation had entered the kingdom, and he determined to imitate their example; he did more, he considered Jesus, who endured such contradiction of sinners against himself; and this prevented him from being weary, or from fainting in his mind: he looked unto Jesus the author and finisher of his faith, and by that means obtained encouragement to proceed, and grace sufficient for him. Oh! never let the servants of the most high God relax in their endeavors to do good, or grow cold in their desires after the immortal welfare of mankind because some difficulties await them: of these difficulties they ought to say "none of these things move me." Nor did these trials so affect the apostle

As to discourage his soul; that is, to make him shrink at the thought of enduring them; to make him afraid to meet them; no, for, supported by the consolations of the gospel, he could welcome reproaches, pain and death; yea, rejoice and be exceeding glad that he was counted worthy to suffer for the sake of the Lord Jesus. "What mean ye," says he elsewhere, "what mean ye to weep and to break mine heart, for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." Divine grace so supported him, that though he was troubled on every side, he was not distressed; though perplexed, he was not in despair; though persecuted, he was not forsaken; though cast down, he was not destroyed. I suffer, says he, these things, nevertheless I am not ashamed, "for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him, until that day." Thus he could endure, and the Saviour enabled him to suffer as well as to preach for him, and none of these things moved him.

Finally, they did not so move him as to make him wish to exchange with the world.

Because he thus reckoned, that the sufferings of this present life are not worthy to be compared with the glory that should be revealed in us. He saw that "our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." He looked not at the things

which are seen, which are temporal, but at the things which are not seen, which are eternal. There was a pleasure even connected with the sufferings which far excelled the joy of worldlings: hence he says "I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulations." For the Lord stood by him and strengthened him; yea, the Lord delivered him from every evil work, and preserved him to his heavenly kingdom. The apostle, taught by the Spirit of God, loved even the difficulties of his Master's service far better than the ease and the pleasures of the world. Oh! that like him, we may wisely count the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the treasures of this world; prefer even the worst, the most painful circumstances in the cause of the Saviour, to the most fascinating pleasures of the world; to the enjoyments which the men who know not God, reckon most valuable and most dear; thus shall we show that we are willing to be any thing that the Saviour chooses, so that he may be glorified: thus shall we show that we speak the feelings of our hearts, when we say of the difficulties of our work, "none of these things move me." Thus was the apostle enabled to enjoy strong consolations in the midst of trials. Thus did Immanuel's grace quicken him to diligence and fortify his mind against the numerous ills that flesh is heir to. Oh! that the Spirit of glory and of God would rest on us also; that all our duties may be so discharged, and all our trials so endured, as that the power of the gospel may be evinced, and the supporting grace of the great Head of the Church abundantly magnified. And what can so teach us to endure trials as the religion of Christ? What supports have infidels, mere moralists, and speculative philosophers, like those which may be derived from the fulness of our Lord Jesus Christ? Theirs are refuges of lies, ours a never failing foundation. "Their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges." The gospel of Christ presents the only sovereign balm for human wo; it supplies us with real, and with sure support; it emboldens us to say, in the face of difficulties, dangers, and death, "None of these things move me." The gospel, however, does not merely display its power in rendering us insensible to the power of affliction, but

II. In raising us superior to the love of life.

For, adds the apostle, "neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy." "Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath, will he give for his life." The preservation of life is the first law of nature. That man is unworthy the character of a rational being, who intentionally shortens, or daringly terminates his own life. And yet here a man comes forward and says, "neither count I my life dear unto myself"—and he is taught to form this estimation of life too, by the gospel of Jesus! How is this? The apostle did not choose strangling rather than life; but the case may be stated thus. The gospel taught him the right use of life, and made him earnestly to desire to fulfil it; the gospel taught him as a minister, that life was only valuable to him so far as he accomplished its purposes—the joyful completion of his Christian race, the honorable close of his ministerial exertions. Further than this, life was not dear to him, or highly prized by him, for he was willing to be "absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord." His earnest expectation and his hope was, that in nothing he should be ashamed, but that "with all boldness, as always, so now, Christ should be magnified in his body, whether it were by life or by death." "Yea," says he, "and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." Oh! what a noble principle is this that renders a man willing to suffer and to die for Christ, "for herein perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren." And now it is said of the apostle, and all who like him triumphed over Satan, "they were faithful unto death." They overcome him by the blood of the Lamb, for they loved not their lives unto death. But I digress from the subject. Observe, then, that the gospel raised the mind of Paul superior to the love of life, as it showed him that it was only useful for two purposes:

(1.) That he might joyfully complete his Christian race. So he says, "that I may finish my course, with joy." The course to which he alludes is the Christian race, which he had some time before undertaken in divine strength. God had called him so to run, that he might obtain, and hence he "laid aside every weight, and the sin which so easily beset him, and ran with patience the race set before him, looking unto Jesus." He set out with a full determination never to grow weary, or to decline his eager pursuit after glory, honor and immortality. Hitherto he had pursued it with alacrity; he did not count himself to have apprehended; but this one thing he did, forgetting those things which were behind, and reaching forth unto those things which were before, he pressed toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Personal religion had flourished in his soul, and he had not left the path marked out for him, by the great forerunner, to be led aside either to the right hand or to the left, and now he wished to finish it with joy; and that man finishes his course with joy when he expresses gratitude for any ardor he has discovered in it, and when he has a full view of the crown of glory, and prospect of eternal rest. To finish our course with joy, we must express our gratitude for the assistance grace has offered us in it. [When a Christian can say, through the good hand of my God upon me, the care of his love, and the animation of his grace, "I have finished my course."] Oh! what pleasure it must afford a believer who completes his race on earth, to look back upon the path he has trod, and to remember even the trials he endured, and to bless God that he was enabled to persevere to the end. The Christian race cannot be joyfully completed without a bright prospect of eternal glory and a splendid crown. The man finished this race with joy who could say, "henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me in that day." Let others run to obtain a corruptible crown, we do it for an incorruptible. And oh! that when we finish our course it may be with this firm persuasion, that we shall enter into the joy of our Lord, where toil and fatigue will be known no more. For this purpose life is of use, as it conducts us to the end of the Christian race. But the apostle views himself not only as a Christian but as a minister of the New Testament, and therefore he views life as desirable.

(2.) That he might honorably close his ministerial exertions. That I may finish, says he, my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus. Here you behold the author of the gifts and the graces of ministers, "the Lord Jesus." The Lord had said of Paul, "he is a chosen vessel unto me to bear my name unto the Gentiles." And he had received his ministry of the Lord Jesus. The subjects of his ministry came from him, or he taught him to preach human depravity—the atonement of Christ, and the influence of the Spirit, and to be witness unto all, for Jesus, of what he had seen and heard. His call to the ministry was from the Lord Jesus. He told him to publish the gospel, and immediately he conferred not with flesh and blood. He was an apostle not of man, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the

Father. His qualifications for the ministry came from the Lord Jesus—he gave him a freedom of speech—he made him apt to teach—he furnished him with wisdom and knowledge—he made him a minister that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. His success in the ministry was from the Lord Jesus—he made him fruitful, and he made him useful—he opened the hearts of his hearers—he attended his message with the power of his Spirit—he gave testimony to the word of his grace. Thus he assisted him in his work—owned him as an honored servant, nor suffered him to labor in vain, or spend his strength for nought. Now, he wishes to close this ministry with joy. He does not want to leave it—to quit it for worldly ease; but to go on in it to the end of his life. He does not wish to grow weary in well doing; but to persevere to the last; and thus finishing his work, he would do it with joy, as he would review instances of usefulness, and behold the grace of the Lord of the harvest, in raising up more laborers to enter into his vineyard. A minister closes his work with joy, when he reviews instances of usefulness, when he knows that there are many whom he may view as his joy and crown of rejoicing—that he shall have to say of a goodly number, here am I, Father, and the children which thou hast given me. Thus our Lord rejoiced at the close of his labors, saying, "I have given them thy word—I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." So also does the good minister finish his course with joy, when he beholds other laborers crowned with success in the vineyard—when he dies with the full confidence that Zion's glory increases, and that the work of the Lord is promoted. He rejoices that others shall enter into his labors, and that by their exertions, the Saviour will be honored when he is cold in dust. Thus he rejoices, that instead of the fathers, he raises up the children, and that the Saviour's name shall be known to all generations. Happy man; like Simeon, thou shalt depart in peace—like him, thou shalt have the Saviour enclosed in thine arms, and eternal glory full in thy view.

Let those of us who are aged in the ministry imitate the apostle's example.

Students be diligent—honor Christ, and the Holy Spirit—aim sincerely to do good—be not afraid of difficulties—let us go on, &c. &c.

In so doing, we shall both save ourselves and those that hear us. Amen.

No. V.

ADDRESS AT LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE NEW CHAPEL.

"*And this stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house.*" So said the patriarch Jacob on a memorable occasion, and so may we say, assembled as we are to lay the foundation-stone of an edifice to God. We have found out a place for the Lord—an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob: beholding this spot of ground on this interesting morning, a thousand delightful sensations pervade our souls, and we are ready to anticipate the presence of the Great Eternal in this place, or "is not this the hill which God hath chosen to dwell in it for ever?" Let us please ourselves with believing, that here holy incense shall ascend to God—that from this place the voice of prayer and praise shall rise tuneful to the court of heaven—that here pious men shall enjoy the sublime happiness of devotion—that here the ungodly and the sinner shall be induced to begin their lives anew. How often may many have to say, on the very ground we tread, "How dreadful is this place! this is none other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven." The master of worshipping assemblies, Jehovah, by whose call congregations assemble, and by whose blessing their souls are benefited, may here afford his watchful care, his animating smiles: we have every reason to believe he will do it, entreated by the earnest and fervent supplications of the men he loves; himself inclined to bless the gates of Zion, his eyes and his heart shall be here perpetually; with pleasure will he behold the favored spot; and in the liberality of his heart afford to his assembled saints an earnest, a foretaste, a lively representation of what those happy spirits know and feel who are ever with the Lord.

We flatter ourselves, that the erection of an edifice like this is the effect of benevolent feeling to mankind, and an ardent love to the Great Lord of all. We unite in endeavoring to maintain the honor of the Saviour's name, and to support the glory of his cross. We feel, and deeply too, the necessity of possessing somewhat more than this earth can afford: we regard men as immortals, and we know that there are blessings, without the enjoyment of which, those souls will experience continued disappointment here, and will languish forever in another world. These necessary and holy blessings, the Eternal has chosen to communicate by the instrumentality of a preached gospel. We know that Jehovah, in making up the number of his elect, works by means; therefore it is that we endeavor to bring that gospel, the report of which is indeed a joyful sound, to the ears of mankind, praying that the blessed Spirit would send it to their hearts. The erection of this place is a direct attack against—against whom? say my hearers, alarmed at the idea of hostility—against the Church of England? No! God forbid; the very reverse of all this. We cheerfully take the present opportunity of informing this numerous auditory, that the doctrines which will be proclaimed on this ground will exactly correspond, will be just the same, with those contained in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, which are the bulwarks of its faith, and may be read in most of the Books of Common Prayer. Is it, then, you ask again, an attack against any other congregation, or body of professing Christians? My soul revolts and spurns at the idea; for in the cause of Immanuel we wish cordially and constantly to unite with all those who believe in the Lord Jesus, both theirs and ours. But in one word, this is an attack directed against the kingdom of Satan, and the prince of darkness. Its object is the translation of our fellow creatures from his hateful power and dominion, and their transition into the family of the blessed household of their Redeemer. With the sword of the Spirit we wish to combat the old serpent the devil. In this large and populous town he has maintained his seat, he has reigned and triumphed: we long to see him fall, like lightning from heaven; and hence we preach that glorious gospel, which opposes his works, which rescues from his power, which gives us to expect a final triumph over him and his followers.

Here we expect that the preaching of the cross will be heard—that self righteousness will in no shape meet with encouragement—that man will be represented as nothing, and Christ as all in all. We erect no altar to an unknown God, but are boldly confessing, that we wish every day to approach the Father of Spirits, through the mediation of God our Saviour, and all this by the gracious aid of the Holy Spirit. And are any of us so hardened, through the deceitfulness of sin, as not to wish that here many souls may be born to God—may be trained up for heaven; or shall we not, at the last great day, rejoice to see a goodly company of men, who on this spot shall have met with the Saviour Jesus, and commenced an honorable path to heaven. We rejoice in the thought, that the cause is God's, and must prevail, and with pleasure we celebrate

the growing empire of our King. His church must flourish, because it is purchased with his blood, and preserved by his grace. The names of the several denominations among which it is scattered may be lost and forgotten, but its numbers shall increase, and its honors spread to the end of time.

The Episcopalian church may totter to the ground; the Presbyterian church may be known no more; the Independent church may no longer exist as a separate body; but the *true* church, made up of many of all these, and confined to no one of them, shall increase yet more and more, and ever be acknowledged the Zion of the Lord, the city of the Holy One of Israel.

This morning have we cause for gratitude, that amidst the spread of infidelity, and a vain philosophy, the work of God is not forgotten: that still his churches rise and flourish; that still souls are born to God, and the saints shout aloud for joy. In the sanctuaries where we worship, we have the solace of our cares, a kind refreshment afforded us in our journey to heaven, and new light and joy bestowed. May all this be known amongst us—be known by posterity when we are cold in death.

I cannot lose sight of the opportunity which this morning affords me, of assuring this large and mixed assembly, that real religion is a personal thing; that the gospel we preach must be believed, and its consolations enjoyed, or there remains for us no hope of pardon or of peace. My fellow immortals you have all sinned, and come short of the glory of God; but we exhibit to you a blessed and perfect Redeemer! Believe in him, and you shall not be confounded world without end. And when I meet you in an assembly far larger and more solemn than this, I mean at the judgment day, you shall be accepted of him; yea, believing in him, you shall then enter a temple, not made with hands eternal in the heavens; and for ever adore the hand that formed it, the grace that conducted us to it, and the Saviour who fills it with his glory. Amen.*

On Wednesday, May 29, 1812, the chapel was solemnly dedicated to God. On this interesting occasion, the Rev. P. S. Charrier, of Bethseda chapel, Liverpool, commenced the morning service by reading a suitable portion of Scripture, and offering up a solemn and appropriate prayer. The Rev. William Jay, of Bath, delivered a sermon from Psalm cxxii. 6, "They shall prosper that love thee." The Rev. Mr. Lister, of Lime-street chapel, concluded by prayer. In the evening, the service was opened by reading of the Scriptures and prayer, by the Rev. Jos. Fletcher, A. M. of Blackburn. The Rev. Dr. Collyer, of Peckham, preached from 1 John iv. 8, "God is love." The Rev. Mr. Kershaw of Edinburgh, concluded by prayer.

No. VI.

MR. SPENCER'S ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS PROPOSED TO HIM, AT HIS ORDINATION.

What motives have induced you to enter upon the important work of the Christian Ministry?

As the religion of the Bible appears in my estimation the best blessing Jehovah has bestowed upon the world, I, from the humble hope that it has shed its influence on my own heart, am impressed with an earnest wish to be the instrument of conveying its holy advantages to my fellow immortals! I say from the hope that I am interested in its blessings; for in no one sentiment am I more fully established, than that the ministers of God should be men of God; that personal religion is a most indispensable requisite in all who grasp at the honor of being the servants of Christ and his churches. That it has pleased God, who has separated me from my mother's womb, to call me by his grace, and reveal his Son in me, I am led to *hope*, or I dare not think of the Christian ministry! From my earliest infancy, having been blest with a religious education, my mind was powerfully impressed with the solemnities of death and judgment: and often have such impressions been the means of drawing me to earnest secret prayer, at a very early period of my existence. Yet did I, as I advanced in age and stature, give proofs, awfully evident, frequently *since* distressing to my mind, of the dreadful depravity of my nature, and of the necessity of that great change, which I then accurately judged had not really passed on my soul. But God remembered me in mercy! The Holy Spirit made use of the preaching of the gospel at Hertford by various ministers of our own denomination, as also by several in the connection of the late Countess of Huntingdon, to enlighten my mind in the knowledge of him; gradually he drew me to himself; and, I trust, imparted to me, for my best treasure, his *love* in my heart, the salvation of Christ, with its attendant blessings. Viewing myself, then, as a young sinner, blest with special favors, I determined I would not live to myself, but to Him who I believed had loved me, and given himself for me. I cast myself upon his care; I implored his direction as to my future steps; I longed to be engaged in the holy ministry, yet God is my record that I trembled at the idea of rushing into his service; of assuming, with daring temerity, a character I was so unfit to bear. I resolved that I would wait for the direction of his providence, and then go on in his strength. Christian friends urged me to devote myself to the work of the Lord; my own mind eagerly seconded their proposals; yet the consideration of my youth, and the dread that I was unprepared for the employment, held me back from the attempt, till after a little while my acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Wilson commenced: encouraged by him in the hope that I might be a laborer for God, I commenced preparatory studies for the ministry, under the direction of my honored friend, the Rev. William Hordle, of Harwich, and, recommended by him, entered the seminary at Hoxton. Thus, Sir, a persuasion of the great importance of the preaching of the gospel, a consciousness that God had imparted to me that *tone* of mind which seemed adapted to the employment, the earnest wishes of intelligent and useful Christians, the clear and evident direction of Divine Providence, and, I hope, the glow of zeal for the honor of our glorious Redeemer and the good of man, united together to direct my coming to the ministry of the word.

Why do you choose to exercise your Ministry among Protestant Dissenters?

The close alliance of the church of England with the state, were there no other argument against it, would be enough to influence my mind in refusing to enter within its pale. But my conscience also objects to many of the terms of communion it imposes, and its acknowledgment of a human head; to several of its prescribed ceremonies, which appear to me unlike the simplicity that is in Christ, and very unnatural characteristics of a kingdom which cannot be of this world. Yet, while these are my decided sentiments, I shall always respect and love the zealous followers of the Lamb, whom Heaven acknowledges, as his friends among the members of the established church. May grace, mercy, and peace, ever be with them; may the work of God succeed among them. From

* This is evidently but a rude outline of what was delivered on that interesting occasion. The effect produced upon the immense auditory which he addressed was remarkably strong—and every effect must have an adequate cause.

all that I can collect from the New Testament, it appears obvious to me, that all that is meant by a church of Christ, is a company of faithful men determining to unite together in his faith and service —bowing to his directions—submissively yielding themselves up to him—and resolving to walk in all his ordinances and commandments, blameless! These churches are, I believe, to be found among those of the congregational order, and therefore I am united to them.

What are the principal topics on which you mean to insist in your future ministrations?

My earnest ambition, Sir, is to declare the *whole counsel* of God and to give to every one his portion of meat in due season. In order that this may be effectually done, I know that the Mediator's excellencies must be particularly displayed, and the glories of the cross largely insisted on. I intend, Sir, in humble dependence on the strength of Christ, without regarding either the smiles or the frowns of man, to endeavor to approve myself the faithful servant of God. In my discourses, Christ shall be all in all. His person, work, and great salvation, shall be constantly exhibited in their bearings, upon every part of the scheme of religion I have beheld in the Bible, and admired. The solemn truth, that man is totally depraved, and altogether defiled by sin; the necessity of regeneration; the suitableness of the atonement our Lord has made; the nature and blessedness of the influences of the Holy Spirit; the various consolations and directions contained in the gospel of Christ, shall all be illustrated and discussed in my ministry, according to the ability Jehovah shall bestow. The doctrines of grace shall maintain a high precedence in all my ministrations: yet will I, with the most industrious care, labor to show that they are doctrines according to *godliness*. The holiness of the religion of Christ shall be enforced from every subject. Thus will I labor to secure the approbation of God, to preserve an honest and good conscience, to promote the glory of the great and precious Redeemer of sinners, and to win souls to Christ. The terrors of the Lord shall be declared to the ungodly; the sure support of our covenant Lord shall be preached to the faithful; and *Christ* shall be preached to all.

CONFESSION OF FAITH.

I do, Sir, with pleasure, in the presence of this congregation, deliver to you the sentiments I hold dear to my heart, and those views of the truth as it is in Jesus; which, having imbibed myself, I intend to communicate to my fellow men. The sentiments I hold, I trace up to their source when I mention the Bible, the book of God, which holy volume, attested by every evidence that consistency, dignity, purity, miracles, and divine effects can afford, I receive as the standard of truth, as God's revelation of his own mind and will to men. Regarding the Bible, then, as able to make us wise unto salvation, I receive as positive and important truths, all that it teaches concerning God, the world, salvation, heaven, and hell. I believe then, from the testimony of divine truth, that God is a spirit, holy, infinite, unchangeable, and perfect in all the attributes of deity. That in the *Godhead*, there are *three* divine and glorious persons, equal in power and honor—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. This sublime mystery I dare not attempt to explain; because I know, that we cannot by searching find out God, nor trace the Almighty to perfection. Yet do I most cordially receive the fact, admiring the various parts each of them has undertaken in the economy of our salvation, and adoring a *triune* God as the proper object of Christian worship. I believe that Jehovah's omniscience foresaw from all eternity all the events that should take place in the universe, and that he orders all things after the counsel of his own will. I believe that his almighty power created all the things that do appear, and still supports and upholds them in the state of existence in which he has wisely placed them. I believe that the persons in the Godhead did, foreseeing the fall and ruin of Adam and his posterity, enter into a covenant engagement with each other, that through their grace, the lost rebel might be restored to divine favor and friendship, and to communion with the whole Trinity. In this covenant, I believe all the blessings of grace are deposited for all the faithful; Christ is its surety. He has made that atonement this covenant secured, and the blessed Spirit communicates the happy effects of it to the souls of all good men. It was by virtue of the arrangement of this covenant that Christ appeared once in the end of time, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. Gradual discoveries of his glory have been made to the Jewish church; but at length he came to redeem Jacob, to ransom him out of the hand of him that was stronger than he. By his sufferings, his obedience unto death, and the whole of his mediatorial work, I believe he has purchased the church; redeemed and saved the goodly company of men, who by the Eternal Father were for this purpose given into his hands before time began. And having on earth finished the work given him to do, I believe that he ascended to glory, sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and ever liveth to make intercession for sinners, that their corruptions may be purified, their graces may be matured, and they be finally with him, where he is, to behold his glory. I believe that the Holy Spirit works on the human mind, when the time, the set time, to favor the individual, is come; that he affects the heart with compunction for sin; that by the instrumentality of the gospel, he calls the sinner out of darkness into marvellous light; that by the influence of divine truth, he sanctifies the soul; that by the application of the promises of Scripture, and by his own internal witness, he gives strong consolation to the heirs of God, for such I consider those whom he has convinced of sin, and led to Jesus; called, enlightened, sealed, and established, they give evidence of a divine work upon their souls, by appearing in the beauties of holiness; by adorning the doctrine of God, their Saviour, in all things; such characters I believe that Jehovah views as his church on earth; his family below, only separated by death from the blest society above; and for their sakes all nature stands; to promote their present and eternal happiness, the gospel was published in the world; ministers have been commissioned to serve the Lord, and qualified for the office; separate churches have been raised; the ordinances of Christ's appointment, viz. the Lord's supper administered to believers in Jesus; and Baptism, designed for those who from heathen countries were proselyted to the Christian faith, and for all the infants of believers—have been preserved amongst us. In their hearts, the fruits of grace must abound; they must walk with God, and be conformed to the divine image. Such characters must, I believe, endure to the end, and be saved; their perseverance, I consider as resting on the power of God, on the nature of the covenant—Divine faithfulness, and the very tendency of the principles of grace. I consider justification from sin; the pardon of every offence; the gradual sanctification of the soul, and its preparation for heaven, as all blessings of grace, freely bestowed upon the unworthy; obtained without money and without price. I view the preaching of the gospel as God's appointed means for the translation of sinners from darkness to light, and for the edification

of his mystical body, the church, by the exhibition of Christ crucified, it had pleased God to save them that believe.

Through the grace of God, every humble believer will, I know, eventually appear before the Saviour in glory everlasting. To that state of joy and felicity, I believe all real Christians to be daily tending; and am happily persuaded, from the testimony of God, that those who serve him here shall reign with him above. Hence the spirit of a good man, when it is separated from the body, is by its beloved Saviour, received to the final dwelling of the just, where it waits for the time appointed for the trumpet to sound, and the dead to be raised, to be again united to the body, then glorified, and made like the body of the Redeemer.

I anticipate sir, the last judgment—I believe that God is coming to vindicate the right of his own government; to declare the equity of his holy providence, at which we have in our ignorance often murmured; to banish the impenitent, the unholy, and all who would not obey the gospel, into torments, more awful than we can ever imagine, and lasting as the existence of the soul. On that day, sir, I believe that we shall give an account of ourselves unto God, and if found clothed in the Mediator's righteousness, we shall be declared approved of God, and welcomed to the joys of heaven. This, sir, is the outline of what I conceive to be the faith delivered to the saints; these are the fixed principles I have cordially received myself, and intend to make known to others. Oh! that my faith in them may be operative and influential, in supporting my mind under the severe, sharp trials, with which my Father in heaven has thought fit to exercise me; and may I be enabled, in simplicity and godly sincerity, to declare these truths to the people of my charge.

In the presence of God, then, his holy angels, those his servants in the ministry, and this assembled congregation, I resign myself, my body and soul, my ministry, my all, to the care and protection of the Great Head of the Church.

"The Lord God of my fathers be with me, as he was with them: let him not leave me, nor forsake me." And I most earnestly and humbly request the prayers of my own congregation, of my brethren and fathers in the ministry, and of all who witness these solemnities, that God would enable me to fulfil the duties of my sphere, that he would ever preserve me from backsliding in religion, that he would fix my wayward heart, and preserve it alive to God; that the ministry be not blamed.

I do solemnly determine, as far as in me lies, to live to his glory; to set a watch over my temper, speech and deportment, that they may not disgrace the gospel of Christ. I purpose, relying on the all-sufficient grace of the Master whom I serve, that I will be instant in season and out of season; that I will reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering; that I will labor as for God, and as in the immediate prospect of eternity. May he assist me to instruct the ignorant—to cheer and direct the sick and the dying—to influence the young to rise and follow Christ—and to do real and extensive good in this large and populous town; and when I have done the labors allotted for me below, after having spent a holy and an useful life—oh! may I but hear the Lord say, "well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord." Amen.

ADDITIONAL PAPERS.

No. VII.

I think that it must have been apparent from the preceding narrative, that Spencer's great object was usefulness. He seemed in his pursuits to be perfectly insensible to the influence of every other principle, than the love of Christ, and the souls of men. Hence if he attained not to the same eminence in literature with some of his own age and standing, it is not to be attributed either to the want of opportunities or of talents. A mind richly endowed, and naturally ardent, as was his, might have attained any object to which it had consecrated its superior powers. Spencer early selected his. To this he devoted all the faculties of his soul. His mind seemed never for a moment diverted from it; and in this, as might be expected, he excelled. He neither was nor wished to be accounted a great scholar. A gentleman, intimately acquainted with Spencer, and formerly a student in the same institution, and whose estimate of his character and talents is, perhaps, as correct as any that has been formed, after speaking of the inferiority of his critical and classical attainments, which certainly bore no proportion to his eminence as a preacher adds, "Do not suppose that I am endeavoring to depreciate him by these remarks. I am far from doing it; and I think that when you take into view what was his main object, and what were the high views which occupied every power of his soul, they will be found to increase rather than detract from his eminence. It was his glory to be ignorant of other and inferior things, if thereby he was becoming more acquainted with those which made for his peace, and the peace of thousands who were benefited by his early ministry. It will never after this be surmised, that his want of proficiency in what is called learning, was owing to any want of ability to acquire it. It was to be attributed to the same cause which induced him to refuse an exhibition to Glasgow in my hearing—a love of doing good, and a conviction of the shortness of his day. I am far from being one of those unreasonable persons, who when they find a man rising to distinction in one part of his intellectual character, expect that he should be equally prominent in every other."

The justice of these remarks, and the additional light they shed upon the character of Spencer, must be my apology for their introduction here.

No. VIII.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

LETTER I.

TO MR. GEORGE MEDLEY.

Dorking, July 21st, 1809.

"VERY DEAR SIR—It has occasioned me no small anxiety, that since I have been at this place, I have heard nothing of you. 'Tis true, indeed, that I engaged to write to you, but I have been expecting that you would have called here before now, on your way to Brighton.

"I need not tell you, how happy I should be to see you, nor what real pleasure my kind hostess would feel in entertaining you at her house.

"Since I have been at Dorking, my time has been fully occupied by a variety of engagements. Preaching, walking, reading, and society, have all urged their claims upon me, and each received a measure of attention. I have reason to hope, that the Lord of the harvest will bless his word, as he enables me to deliver it to the congregation. The greatest attentions are paid me; nor do I anticipate the day of separation from them with any peculiar sentiments of pleasure. Motives for humility and lowliness of mind continually rush in upon me, and wretched indeed shall I be, if suffered to fall into *pride*—that 'condemnation of the devil.'

"The vicinity of this town is remarkably pleasant: in my walks I am sometimes led to see, how the azure skies, meandering streams, flowery meads,

and rising hills, all show forth the eternal power and Godhead of the Saviour by whom all things were created; and how they all serve, in one way or other, to recommend him, and set forth his unrivalled excellence, while they acknowledge him as their sole proprietor, for '*he is Lord of all.*'

"I hope that you enjoy the blessings of his new creating power, and find that he who first created in you a right spirit, still puts his fear into your heart, as your best defence against every danger, and as your effectual preventive against departing from him.

"In your requests to the God of his saints, 'remember me,' that he may bestow upon me such blessings as shall render me a lively Christian, a faithful friend, and a useful minister: nor would I, when I bow my knees before our Father who is in heaven forget to pray for you, to whom I am so much indebted, and who may well consider me as

"Yours, most affectionately,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

LETTER II.

TO THE SAME.

Liverpool, July 12th, 1810.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I am sure you will be glad to hear from me, and therefore make no *scruple* of *troubling* you with a line. In this distant part of the kingdom, it affords me great pleasure to recollect that I have, though far away, excellent friends who sincerely regard me, and anxiously watch over my best interests—and, I am happy to say, you are among the first of my constant cordial Christian friends. Oh! that both of us may enjoy the sweet friendship of him who having 'loved his own which were in the world, loved them to the end.'

"I suppose you know, that an unexpected scene of affliction was opened to me before I left town, and it still sends forth bitter waters. 'Tis hard to see and to acknowledge that, whilst clouds and darkness are around him, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his seat. We, alas! are too apt to murmur at the holy providence of that God, who does as he pleases in heaven and in earth, and who will hereafter make us know that he does all things well.

"Pray for me, that I may be enabled to say, 'I know, O Lord, that thy judgments are right, and that in faithfulness thou hast afflicted me.' My journey to this place was most tiresome and fatiguing. I am treated with every possible mark of attention. My preaching is well attended; may it be crowned with the real blessing of our God. To such a request I know your piety will lead you to add *Amen*. I may possibly remain here *four* more Sabbaths: I wish however to stay but *three*.

"———At first I found it disagreeable to have no old friends to converse with at this place; but such separations are necessary, and if sanctified, have a tendency to drive us nearer to the Saviour, the only source of permanent happiness. At his throne we may always unbosom ourselves; and when consolation does not come from our fellow creatures, we must look for it from him, 'who is a present help in time of trouble.' How sweet is the thought, that his ear is ever open to our requests, wherever we may be, and that he can always supply our wants. Farewell, my dear friend; may you enjoy the choicest blessings a covenant God can give. Your affectionate friend,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

LETTER III.

TO MR. N. H———.

"MY DEAR SIR—I have thankfully to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter. I am grieved to hear that sickness has entered your habitation, and sorrow oppressed the heart of your valuable partner. Oh! may you find, that Jehovah mingles mercy with judgment, and that he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men. Pray earnestly, my dear sir, for a spirit of resignation to the will of God, and confidence in the disposal of him who must do right. 'What I do,' says our best friend, 'thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.' Oh! for faith in his wisdom and his care. I am ill qualified to suggest much that will be of use to you in your present trial; and I hope you have proved before now the sympathy of the Saviour, who feels with his people in all their sorrows, and whose strong arm can support them in every trial; thus your experience will lead you afresh to apply to him now, and repose your confidence in him for ever.

"Take care that you mention to Mrs. H. the stability of the covenant of grace, which remains still rich in its treasures, and secure in its blessings, though our comforts fail us, and our hope decays. Tell her that Christ lives still, and that he lives for her as a believer in him, and that no affliction can separate from his love. Tell her that in all these dispensations, he has kind ends to answer, which if we do not discover on this side eternity, we shall know well and gratefully acknowledge when we enter that holy, that large family above, where neither disease nor death ever approach. I earnestly desire, I would frequently pray, that she may have grace to commit the child into the hands of Christ, who once said, of such is the kingdom of heaven; and should it be his holy will to remove this darling of your heart to his own arms in glory, may she and you, still taught by divine grace, and supported by divine love, say—I was dumb, and opened not my mouth, because thou didst it. God can teach us to adore and bless, even for dispensations which we cannot understand.

"My own mind is now often painfully exercised by the idea of leaving the society of those who have possessed a large share of my heart, for a place so distant as Liverpool. On this subject, I have felt more than I can possibly express. Pray for me, that I may be enabled to commit myself, and those I love, unto the kind care of our Father in heaven.

"For the present farewell: present my respects to our friends, and believe me sincerely yours,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

LETTER IV.

TO MR. GEORGE MEDLEY.

Liverpool, May 12th, 1811.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND—I hope you will not mistake *that* remissness in writing I have to confess to you, for neglect, as it arises from the number and pressing nature of my daily important engagements—and you know I have to undertake all these with a mind always tortured with anxiety, and exercised with the severe strokes of our Father's chastening rod. Long and distressing is the illness of both my beloved friends at Brighton. The event is with God, and I know that he will so manage it, as to advance his own glory, though perhaps not what I should consider my interest. You too, my dear friend, have shared a measure of affliction, from the disposals of divine providence: I have no doubt but you have felt, and felt keenly too, but you *can* 'hope in God, for you shall yet praise him, who is the health of your countenance and your God.' His grace shall be sufficient for you, his arm shall sustain both you and yours, and in your cares he will ever feel the liveliest interest. Oh! then cast, my valued friend, cast all your cares upon him, for he careth for you. I often delight my mind with reflecting on the various pleasures we enjoyed toge-

ther in what the world would call *better days;* but we, who look upward more than the men of the world do, would call no days or seasons *ill* or *unfortunate*, because to us there is a promise made, which says, 'As thy day is so shall thy strength be.' Frequently however do I, with affectionate remembrance of yourself, review the different, the interesting journies we have taken together—now separated by the hand of providence, we serve the same beloved Lord, we press to the same holy and happy state. May grace preserve us all the days of our pilgrimage on earth, and land us safe in heaven.

"I think that till very lately I never properly considered the uncertainty of human life, or the vanity of the world. God has however caused me to hear impressive lectures on these subjects, in such a way, as secured my deepest attention, and reached my inmost soul. Oh! that I may learn obedience by the things which I suffer.

"I hope I am blessed from above in my ministerial work; may the Eternal Spirit sanction and succeed my labors! I hope to be ordained the second week in June. Rev. Ebenezer White, of Chester, has recently joined the spirits of just men made perfect. I am going to his funeral. Farewell; may you keep close to God, and then I know you will be happy.

"I am, yours affectionately,

"THOMAS SPENCER."

A POEM

ON THE DEATH OF THE REV. THOMAS SPENCER, OF LIVERPOOL, WHO WAS DROWNED IN BATHING IN THE TIDE, AUGUST 5, 1811.

BY JAMES MONTGOMERY.

Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters; and thy footsteps are not known."—PSALM LXXVII. V. 19.

I WILL not sing a mortal's praise;
To Thee I consecrate the lays,
To whom my pow'rs belong;
These gifts, upon thine altar strown,
O God! accept; accept thine own!
My gifts are thine; be thine alone
The glory of my song.

In earth and ocean, sky and air,
All that is excellent and fair,
Seen, felt, or understood,
From one eternal cause descends,
To one eternal centre tends,
With God begins, continues, ends,
The source and stream of good.

I worship not the sun at noon,
The wand'ring stars, the changing moon,
The wind, the flood, the flame;
I will not bow the votive knee
To wisdom, virtue, liberty;
"There is no God but God" for me,
Jehovah is his name.

Him through all nature I explore;
Him in his creatures I adore,
Around, beneath, above;
But clearest in the human mind,
His bright resemblance when I find,
Grandeur with purity combin'd,
I most admire and love.

O there was ONE, on earth awhile
He dwelt; but transient as a smile
That turns into a tear;
His beautous image pass'd us by;
He came like lightning from the sky,
He seem'd as dazzling to the eye,
As prompt to disappear.

Sweet in his undissembling mien
Were genius, candor, meekness, seen,
The lips that lov'd the truth;
The single eye, whose glance sublime
Look'd to eternity through time;
The soul, whose thoughts were wont to climb
Above the hopes of youth.

Of old,* before the lamp grew dark,
Reposing near the sacred Ark,
The child of Hannah's pray'r
Heard, midst the temple's silent round,
A living voice; nor knew the sound
That thrice alarm'd him ere he found
The Lord, who chose him, there.

Thus early call'd, and strongly mov'd
A prophet from a child approv'd,
SPENCER his course began;
From strength to strength, from grace to grace,
Swiftest and foremost in the race,
He carried vict'ry in his face,
He triumph'd while he ran.

How short his day!—the glorious prize,
To our slow hearts and failing eyes,
Appear'd too quickly won:
The warrior rush'd into the field,
With arm invincible to wield
The spirit's sword, the spirit's shield,
When lo! the fight was done.

The loveliest star of evening's train
Sets early in the western main,
And leaves the world in night;
The brightest star of morning's host,
Scarce ris'n, in brighter beams is lost.
Thus sunk his form on ocean's coast,
Thus sprang his soul to light.

Who shall forbid the eye to weep
That saw him, from the ravening deep,
Pluck'd like the lion's prey?
For ever bow'd his honor'd head,
The spirit in a moment fled,
The heart of friendship cold and dead,
The limbs a wreath of clay.

Revolving his mysterious lot,
I mourn him, but I praise him not;
To God the praise be giv'n,
Who sent him—like the radiant bow,
His covenant of peace to show,
Athwart the passing storm to glow,
Then vanish into heav'n.

O CHURCH! to whom the youth was dear,
The angel of thy mercies near,
Behold the path he trod;
A "milky way" through midnight skies!
Behold the grave in which he lies;
E'en from the dust the prophet cries,
"Prepare to meet thy God."

REFLECTIONS ON MORTALITY.

BY CHARLES BUCK.

"*The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth; the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people are grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand for ever.*"—ISAIAH XL. 6, 7, 8.

IT is computed that near thirty millions of the human race die every year! What an awful reflec-

* 1 Samuel, i. 3.

tion is this! How great the multitude that are constantly dropping into eternity! and how numerous the paths that lead to the grave! Life, too, is but a short journey, and we soon arrive at the house appointed for all living. We may rather be said to die daily, than to live. We have not only the spoils of death around us, but the seeds of death within us. We do not all however, descend to the tomb in the same way. Some few are spared to the age of man, and the pass silently away. Others are cut off in the bloom of life, and in the midst of active and useful exertions. Some linger for awhile under painful disease—they see their grave ready before they lie down in it. Others, wearied with life, and impatient under its ills, throw themselves into the arms of death: "they either shake their glass to make it run faster, or break it at once by violence." And some who bid fair to stand for a season, are unexpectedly called away by some mysterious dispensation of divine providence. Thus it was with our departed young friend. The public eye was upon him, and much was anticipated from his talents and zeal in the great work in which he was engaged; but infinite Wisdom has seen fit to remove him to another world. Well! what shall we say? "Clouds and darkness are round about the Most High; but righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne."*

The words we have chosen are not to be considered only in relation to the opposers of God's ancient people, at the time of their deliverance from captivity, but are applicable to the whole human race. "The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? *All* flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field." The mortality of man then is a subject with which we ought to be deeply affected. It is, indeed, that which makes but a faint impression on the mind; for though the living know that they must die, yet there is a most strange insensibility as to this awful event. We can hear of it without concern, and talk of it without feeling; when it comes nearer to us than usual, we seem awake for a moment, just drop a tear or two over our departed enjoyments, converse a little on the uncertainty of life, and then fall asleep again and dream away our existence; till at last, we are awakened by this very enemy, whose approach we have all along studied to forget, and which most of us, indeed, are ill prepared to meet! But how unwise is this, thus, to impose upon ourselves! Can any thing be more irrational? "O that we were but wise—that we did but consider our latter end!"†

In attending to these words, let us observe the state of man as here represented, and endeavor to derive from them some important and useful lessons.

I. *Observe the Description.—Man is flesh!* It is true he possesses an immaterial, immortal principle; but his animal frame is frail and perishing. He is not composed of gold nor silver, marble nor iron, wood nor stone, nor any of the durable materials around him. Almost every object he sees or handles is less perishable than himself. There is nothing substantial in his nature. He is affected by almost every thing that touches him. An insect can contend with him; a worm can undermine him; a little air can stifle him; a few drops of water can drown him; a moth can crush him. The Almighty need not throw a mountain on him to destroy him; he need not call for a torrent to inundate him; he need not open a volcano to swallow him.—No: Weakness and death are in his very frame. It is but an earthly house; a temporary building; the various parts of which are kept together with labor and difficulty. The body must be daily fed, or it languishes: it must be clothed, or it is benumbed with cold; it must lie down for rest, or it will fall of itself: it must be perpetually exercised, or it will become the habitation of disease: it must be treated with attention and watched over with care, or it will be rendered unfit for the functions of life. How many wheels are there in perpetual motion! the friction of which, if driven too fast, will set fire to the whole machine; or, if impeded or clogged, will stop the whole course. The apostle Paul, calls it a vile body;* not indeed in respect to God's workmanship; but as it is flesh, formed of the dust of the ground, the habitation of many evil propensities, too often a hinderance to devotion, and must at last become noisome, and be cast into the grave. Here, too, we are all on a level. What is that mighty conqueror, celebrated for his military glory and applauded for his noble achievements in the field of battle?—It is but flesh. What is that illustrious monarch, sitting on a splendid throne, and clothed in all the robes of majesty? It is but flesh. What is that profound philosopher, diving into the depths of science, or soaring above the intellects of his fellows. It is but flesh. What is that persuasive orator, that so impresses with his eloquence, that charms and effects the passions of human mind? It is but flesh. What is that fine form and beautiful countenance, that attracts the attention and fascinates the senses? It is but flesh. "Death (says one) will alike condemn their eyes to impenetrable night; their tongue to eternal silence; their whole system to the grave. I see a superb monument; I approach this striking object. I see magnificent inscriptions: I read the pompous titles of general, prince, monarch; but I long to see the inside of this elegant piece of workmanship; and I peep under the stone that covers him, to whom all this pomp is consecrated. There I find—what? A putrid carcass, devoured by worms! O vanity of human grandeur! Vanity of vanities: all is vanity!"† Now, is this the case? Then why should we think so much of our bodies? why should all our happiness be placed in the gratification of our senses? Why should we spend so much time and money in adorning that which must soon decay?—Especially aged people; how painful is it to see them so fond of useless decorations! The day is nearly closed: the evening is advancing; and yet they want to go down to the grave covered with finery. Their strength, perhaps, is gone; their frame has the marks of death upon it. It is but a skeleton; and yet they want to cover it with ornaments. What an affecting sight, to see old age and new fashions meeting together! How much happier they whose adorning is not "the outward adorning of plaiting the hair, of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel, but is that of the hidden man of the heart, which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price."‡ Seek then this grace. Let not the body be adorned at the expense of the soul. Remember, "to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Put ye on, therefore, the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof."‖

II. *Observe the Comparison.*—"All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field." Human nature in its lowest state is but grass, and in its highest, but a flower. "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.§ He is then of earthly extraction. Though God was his maker, yet he was not constituted pure intelligence. "The first man, says the apostle, was

* Psalm xcvii. 1, 2. † Deut. xxxii. 29.

* Phil. iii. 21. † Saurin.
‡ Pet. iii. 3, 4, ‖ Rom. viii. 6. xiii. 14.
§ Gen. ii. 7.

of the earth, earthy."* Like grass, how easily endangered, how soon cut down. How exposed to the winds and storms of adversity. Nor can he screen himself from these. They pass over the field of life, and often prove destructive in their career. The diseases to which we are liable are numerous, and the casualties we are subject to, are not a few. Ten thousand things lie in ambush to push us to the grave. And even events trifling in themselves have proved destructive. "We read of some, that a fly or a grape stone have dispatched them; some that have died by plucking an hair from their breasts; the Almighty thus turning a very hair into a spear to destroy them. If we consider the vicissitude of natural things, we shall find that death reigns in them all. The day dies into night, summer into winter; time itself, that destroys all things, yet dies continually; nor can it exist two minutes together. Our very life is nothing but a succession of dying; every day, and every hour wears away part of it, and so far as it is already spent, so far are we already dead and buried: so that the longest liver has no more, but, that he is longer a dying than others."† But, another figure is here used by the Prophet: "all the goodliness thereof, is as the flower of the field." Not as the flower of the garden; where it is cultivated and protected; but of the field, where every hand is ready to gather it, or any foot may tread it down. The flower is noted for three qualities: sweetness, that affects the smell; beauty, that affects the eye; softness, that affects the touch. The metaphor, therefore, is here employed to represent man at his best estate. But as the most beautiful flower soon loses these qualities, so it is said, "the days of man are as grass; as a flower of the field so he flourisheth; the wind passeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof knoweth it no more. In the morning, it flourisheth and groweth up; in the evening, it is cut down and withereth."‡ Have you not, reader, known this in your own circle? You have been favored with earthly comforts; you have often looked upon them with peculiar pleasure; you have taken more than usual care with those flowers which have appeared tender and beautiful in your own eyes; you have transplanted them, as you thought to a more genial soil; you have said, well, these are delightful objects—these are sources of the greatest pleasure—truly, I am happy in their possession—these shall be my support and comfort in times yet to come. O, how have you gone and watered these flowers; how have you hedged them round; how have you endeavored to protect them when you saw the storm advancing; but ah! after all, you could not preserve them: you have had the pain to see the leaf fade, the beauty decline, the energy fail, and presently the whole fall. What! said you, *Can it be?* Is this my child; is this my friend; is this the object I so much admired? Father of mercies! why this? why didst thou not smite yonder weed? why didst thou not let thy hand fall on the unsightly plant, rather than on this choice flower? Thus, however, Providence is pleased to work; and herein it becomes us to learn the vanity of depending on any human excellency. Neither the goodliness of the flower, the care of its owner, nor the felicity of its situation, can preserve it alive. Beware, then, of idolizing the creature. Turn your attention to a superior object: anticipate the joys of another world—there, no worm is at the root; there, the goodliness shall never fade.

III. *Mark the Universality of Man's Mortality.*—Not a few, but *all* flesh is grass. "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. It is appointed unto men once to die, and after that the judgment. There is no man that hath power over the Spirit to retain the Spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death."* Ever since the entrance of sin, death has been making the most awful ravages. "One generation passeth away, and another cometh; but the earth abideth for ever."† "The world," says one, "is like a great fair, where some are coming in—others going out, while the assembly that is in it is confused, and the most part know not wherefore they are come together."‡ Whether men however be wise or ignorant, idle or active, rich or poor, young or old, death is common to all. It is not to be bribed by riches, impeded by power, conquered by strength, nor stayed by entreaties. All ranks fall before this destroyer. Sometimes it is the harmless infant, who has no sooner entered the vale of tears than it is commanded to depart. Sometimes the youth, whose powers just began to open, and whose appearance was the most promising, is unexpectedly removed. Sometimes the middle aged, in the midst of business, and apparently in health, are pierced by a sudden arrow from the bow of death. Nor are the rich and the great exempt. They too, must die, like others. There is no royal path to the grave. There is not one kind of death for the monarch, and another for the peasant. The crown cannot prolong life, nor the sceptre sway the last enemy, death. Here, too, the wise philosopher, as well as the ignorant barbarian, must fall. The finest understanding must be darkened; the strongest powers fail; and the most brilliant imagination be clouded. Nor shall the mighty conquerors of nations escape. Where are our Alexanders, and our Cesars, who have struck terror through the whole world? And, whither are those tending, who yet disturb mankind with the noise of the chariots of war, the clash of arms, and the groans of the dying? Soon they must surrender to the king of terrors, and be numbered among the slain. Neither let the beautiful nor the fair pride themselves in external appearance. They too must lie down in the grave, and their glory fade. The righteous also, however desirable their example, however exalted their piety, must go the way of all the earth. The wicked, too, must depart. However unwilling, they must obey; however unprepared, they must go. Their cries to stay cannot be heard; their hopes of respite will be in vain. The finally impenitent, it is said, do not go down gently into the grave; but they "are driven away in their wickedness: they are driven out of light into darkness, and chased out of the world."‖ But shall not the benevolent, the zealous, the useful be spared? An Enoch and an Elijah, indeed, reached the land of pure delight without passing the dark valley of death; but no promise is given to others of the like privilege. Yes; the most useful must die. These we may consider as the goodliest flowers in the field: as the most valuable of all. But how often are they cut down just as they begin to bud, or suddenly wither as they arrive to their full bloom? What shall we say to the instance before us? Was not here a beautiful flower, with hues painted by the rays of the Sun of Righteousness; and, unfolding its excellencies as the summer advanced, but alas! suddenly swept away, to be seen no more. O God! mysterious is thy providence, but righteous art thou in all thy ways!

Here, then, is the end of all. "The grass *withereth*, and the flower *fadeth*;" but it is added, "because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it." Let us not consider it then as coming by chance. Whatever be the means, the place, or the time, let us re-

* 1 Cor. xv. 47. † Hopkins.
‡ Psalm ciii. 14, 16. xc. 6.

* Rom. v. 12. Heb. ix. 27. † Eccl. i. 4. viii. 8.
‡ Boston. ‖ Job xviii. 18. Prov. xiv. 32.

member, it is the Lord's doing. Besides, it is necessary to die, as well as to live. There is another state of things, as well as the present, and of far more importance. There is a judgment to come; and we must leave this world to appear before that solemn tribunal. There are dark providences which cannot be understood here: we must quit the present scene, that we may be able to bear the explanation. There are riches of glory, which our present capacities cannot contain: we must die before we shall be able to explore them. There are abodes of light, and mansions of absolute purity above; but we must be dissolved, leave our imperfections here, and be endowed with glorious bodies and celestial minds, to be fitted for the enjoyment of them. To the righteous then, death is a friend. If the flower drop, it is that it may be removed from the desert, to bloom for ever in the light and glory of the paradise of God.

As it respects human life, the repetition used in the text should teach us the earnestness with which the frailty of man should be stated, and the necessity there is of endeavoring to impress the subject on our own hearts. It is not said that the grass *will* fade, but that it *now* does. We shall not only go, but we are all *now* going to one place. "Our life is a candle, either blown out by the wind, or soon burns out of itself." Death comes indeed very sudden to some. Some go cheerfully to rest in the evening, but are consumed before the morning light. Some venture into the river, without suspecting danger; but the waves cover them, and they are seen no more. Others set out on a journey, for business or pleasure, but are thrown out of the vehicle, and carried back dead. Others, while conversing with a friend, in a moment are seized with pain, heave a sigh, and fall lifeless to the ground. "It is a strange folly then, that we, who are subject to such casualties, should yet dream of dying no other way than by old age. Did we but seriously consider, by what small pins the frame of man is held together, it would appear no less a miracle to us, that we live to the end of one day, or one hour."*

But while the best and most serious must confess their insensibility to danger, how should we pity the wicked! Sudden death to a good man is sudden glory; but the wicked are neither happy in the thought of death, nor at all prepared for it. They have their portion in this life. The beauties of virtue, the excellencies of godliness, the glories of heaven have no charms for them. They prefer the indulgence of their appetites, the pleasures of the world, and the gratification of their passions to all the satisfaction which a good hope, a pure conscience, or right principles can afford. How dreadful must the prospect of death be to such men! The very thought of leaving this world must fill them with horror. Hence, when one flattered another in the midst of his enjoyments, and asked him, What he wanted more? he said "*Continuance.*" But this is the very thing that cannot be granted. To how many does God say, "This night thy soul shall be required of thee?" O miserable man, then, who builds his happiness on what he cannot retain; who thinks about every thing but the right object; who is always busy in gazing upon the baubles of sense, and despises the pearl of great price; who is assiduously gathering imaginary treasures, which at last will be of no more avail than pebbles or straws, while he neglects the one thing needful! May such remember, before it be too late, that without repentance of their sin and faith in the Saviour, they cannot meet death with joy, nor ever be permitted to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

* Hopkins.

Having now offered a few Reflections on Mortality let us observe,

IV. *The consolation afforded us under these affecting views.*

"The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand for ever." And Peter adds, "and this is the word which by the Gospel is preached unto you."* Let us not say then, that our condition is deplorable. He who is infinitely wise and holy, is also merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth. "As a father pitieth his children, so he pitieth us."† He has written to us the great things of his law; he has favored us with the revelation of his will. Beholding us as rational, yet sinful and dying creatures, he hath made known to us a system every way adapted to renovate our natures, illuminate our minds, relieve our miseries, and conduct us safe to a happier world. "In this was manifested the love of God towards us because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins."‡ Here, then, amidst all the changes of time, and the awful ravages of death, we find a firm basis on which to build. Here we can behold God as our father, Christ as our mediator, and the divine Spirit as our comforter and guide. Here it is that we hear a voice, saying, "Son, daughter, be of good cheer, all thy sins are forgiven thee." Our attention is turned off from every thing here to centre alone in the chief good. Here we can approach the Almighty without trembling; and, without presumption, humbly hope for his benediction. Under the cross, we can dwell without fear, and with wonder and delight behold our guilt rolled away for ever. Clothed with the righteousness of our Redeemer, and participating the influences of his grace, we can rejoice with a joy unspeakable and full of glory. Yes, this, and this only is the support of man under all the evils of life. This affords tranquillity within, while the tempest rages without. Welcome, then, all ye scenes of sorrow and trouble! Welcome, all ye vicissitudes of life, and harbingers of death! Yea, welcome death itself, and an eternal world! These shall not affright the renewed soul; these shall not damp the happiness of him who looks above, and aspires to glory and immortality. O how delightful, how suitable is the gospel of Christ! What affliction does not this sweeten; what loss does not this repair; what condition does not this make easy! What gloom does not this dispel! "Blessed are they that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance; in thy name shall they rejoice all the day, and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted."‖

But let us observe here the striking contrast between this delightful system and all other things. The one is said to *fade*, but the other shall *stand for ever*. We have already seen that every thing of a sublunary nature tends to decay: however excellent it may appear to our view: however valuable it may be considered in itself; or however desirous we may be of retaining it—it is of no consequence; mutability and dissolution are written upon all. But here is the Plant of Renoun, that bears twelve manner of fruits; and which shall never cease to yield in the paradise above. For ages already hath the gospel shed its influence among the sons of men. The powers of darkness, indeed, have done all they could to destroy the leaves which are for the healing of the nations. The tree of life has been surrounded with enemies. There, the savage

* 1 Pet. i. 25. † Psalm ciii. 15.
‡ 1 John iv. 9, 10. ‖ Psalm lxxxix. 15, 16.

barbarian, the refined philosopher, the malignant demon, the proud pharisee, the boasting infidel, and the wretched profligate, have all assembled for the purpose of its destruction. But how vain! Who can extinguish the sun? who can blot out a world? who can cause the heavens to depart as a scroll? who can grasp the ocean in his hand! As well might feeble mortals attempt to do this, as endeavor to injure that which is more dear to God, than all the material systems ever created by his all-powerful hand. "It endureth for ever." Yes; it shall still continue to make progress. What! though enemies oppose, ignorance and infidelity strive, and the powers of the world unite against it. What though the means may seem sometimes to be useless, and the faithful, promising servants of God be removed—yet it must prevail. All the laws of nature must be reverted; the sun, turned into darkness; the moon, into blood; and the stars drop from their spheres, sooner than the purposes of Jehovah shall be disannulled. The gospel must live, and finally triumph. All mankind of every age and nation, shall be raised, and assembled to attend the funeral of the world; but none shall ever be called to witness the extirpation of the gospel. It is, therefore, justly designated *everlasting;* for it shall endure to the end of time, become victorious over all nations, and its happy effects felt for ever in a better world.

You, Christian, must shortly feel the stroke of mortality. Heart and flesh must fail; but in that solemn moment you will find, more than ever, the suitability of this divine scheme. When not a single creature in the world can be of any service to you, this shall not leave you comfortless, but remain your support to the last. Then, when closing your eyes on all earthly scenes; when leaving your dearest relatives and friends; when the cold hand of the last enemy is upon you, you shall sing, "O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory? Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ."*

V. Lastly. *Observe, that both Man's Mortality and the Divine Clemency are to be proclaimed; for the voice said, Cry.*

The ministers of the sanctuary are not to dwell in solitude; they are not to live perpetually in the study, nor spend their time in silent meditation. They must come forth; they must cry aloud, and spare not; they must lift up their voice, to warn men of their danger, and to point them to the place of refuge. "I have set watchmen on thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace, day nor night: ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silent."† Such is the divine command. Nor let it be considered as a small privilege, to be reminded of our real condition, and to be favored with the tidings of mercy. "But how shall men call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent? As it is written how beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!"‡

The ministration of the gospel is therefore of the greatest importance. It is for this purpose the Almighty is pleased to raise up and qualify his servants, that they may be faithful monitors to the sons of men. Earnestly, zealously, constantly must they declare the truth. They must be "instant in season; out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine."‖

Various may be the talents of the ambassadors of Christ, but their great object must be the same. When this is kept in view, we may expect the Divine blessing will render them successful; for he has said, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."* Let us here recollect, however, that though the Almighty is pleased to honor men and not angels as the instruments of preaching the gospel, yet they are but earthen vessels; they are flesh and cannot abide for ever. Sometimes they are taken away at the very time when they appear to be the most promising and the most useful. Thus has divine Providence been pleased to remove our dear young friend, of whom we shall now proceed to give some account.

Mr. Thomas Spencer was born at Hertford, and received his religious impressions very early in life. Having a great desire to engage in the work of the ministry, he was placed under the care of the Rev. W. Hordle, of Harwich. Here he stayed for twelve months, and displayed evident marks of considerable talent and piety. Before the age of sixteen, he was admitted into Hoxton academy.† Here, on account of his youth, it was thought proper that he should appear in public as little as possible at first. Supplies however being wanted, Mr. S. was sent occasionally to preach. His popularity soon began to appear, and the requests for Mr. Spencer's labors were so numerous, that it was with difficulty that they could be granted. The sweetness of his tone, the evangelical strain of his discourse, his accurate and appropriate quotations from Scripture, his peculiar energy, his youthful appearance, his admirable gift of prayer, all tended to render him popular. Having completed his studies at Hoxton, many destitute congregations were looking with wishful eye towards him, nor was there a little exertion among them who should succeed in obtaining him. As his talents however were acceptable, it was thought that a large sphere of usefulness would be desirable. Accordingly he accepted a call to Liverpool, and commenced his stated ministry on the first Sabbath in February last.‡ Here attracting vast multitudes of people, a larger place was thought necessary. On the 17th of April, he laid the foundation-stone of a new chapel, to be ninety-six feet in length, and sixty-six feet in breadth. On this occasion he wrote to a friend in London as follows: "Yesterday I laid the foundation-stone of my new chapel; gave an address on the spot; and dedicated the place to God in solemn prayer. The auditory consisted of not less than five thousand people, who were all fixed in their attention. May I on that ground often find a solace for my care in the public worship of God! May he bless the undertaking! May his eyes and his heart be there perpetually!"

Truly how mysterious are the ways of Providence. His time on earth was indeed to be short. On the Sabbath preceding his death he preached in the morning from those words, Jeremiah xxxi. 3: "I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore, with loving kindness have I drawn thee." He afterwards administered the Lord's Supper, in a manner remarkably edifying and impressive. In the evening, he took for his text the words of our Lord, as recorded in Luke x. 42. "But one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her."

On Monday morning, "It appears that Mr.

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* 1 Cor. xv. 55.
† Isa. lxii. 6.
‡ Rom. x. 14, 15.
‖ 2 Tim. iv. 2.

* Matt. xxviii. 20.

† For a copy of his religious experience, which was read to the committee previous to his admission, see Memoirs, page 213, 214.

‡ Before he left the Academy he delivered a parting address, in the presence of his fellow students. See Appendix, No. IV.

Spencer left his residence in the Park, in good health, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon (August 5) and walked down to the beach, where he met with a gentleman of the name of Brookfield, who had been bathing, and was then dressing, with whom he entered into conversation, and asked if the place was a good one for bathing. On being answered in the affirmative, Mr. S. began to undress. When he walked into the water he was met by a person of the name of Potter, one of the workmen of the Herculaneum pottery, who directed him in what manner he should come into the water, but had no knowledge of him. Mr. Spencer observed it was very cold; when Potter said, he would feel warmer when he had been in awhile. When Mr. Spencer was about breast-high, he plunged over head, and then made an attempt to swim in a parallel line with the shore; and after he had gone about two yards in this direction, he recovered his feet, and again said, "Oh! it is very cold!" Soon after this by the strength of an eddy current, produced by a projecting rock, he was swept out of his depth. Potter himself, who is an expert swimmer, found himself floating in the same direction, and with some difficulty recovered the shore, when he looked about for Mr. Spencer, and saw the top of his head floating above the surface of the water. Potter knew not whether he was amusing himself, or drowning. He however, cried out to him, but receiving no answer, immediately plunged in again, and swam to the rock to render him assistance, which he found impossible, Mr. Spencer having then sunk in seven feet water; and Potter with some trouble got up the side of the rock, and communicated the intelligence to Mr. Smith, the resident agent of the potteries, who immediately ordered out two boats which were directly manned and brought to the spot, where every exertion was used by Potter, as well as by those in the boats, to find the body. At length they succeeded in drawing it up, after it had been in the water about fifty minutes. It was instantly conveyed to the shore, where, by the judicious arrangements of Mr. Smith, there were several physicians and surgeons in attendance, who used every possible method that could be devised to restore animation, but without effect."*

Such was the melancholy end of this excellent young minister at the age of twenty years and a half. Lovely youth! little didst thou think, the day before, when expatiating on the glories of heaven, that thou shouldst so soon be there! Little didst thou think, that thine immortal spirit should take its flight from the briny deep to the celestial world! Little didst thou think, that, in a few days, the dear object of thy affections should have to weep, in the anguish of her soul, in hearing the melancholy tidings of thy death! Ah! and little did we imagine, that on thy tomb this inscription should be written —"Here are the remains of one who bid fair to be eminent and useful in the church, but who was suddenly swallowed up by the mighty waves!" Well, "it is the Lord; let him do what seemeth him good. He gave, and he hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord."†

Learn here the sovereignty of God. Here was a young man highly esteemed. "Of manners most amiable, conciliating, and engaging. As a preacher, his talents were held in a degree of estimation, and possessed an extent of influence, which have seldom been equalled in the annals of pulpit eloquence. Perhaps it scarcely ever before fell to the lot of any individual, at so early an age, to have diffused religious impression through so extensive a circle of hearers." He was just about to enter the connubial state with an amiable young lady of pious and respectable connections. The church was looking forward with delightful prospects of his success; and thousands were ready to say, "This is the man whom God delighteth to honor. But ah! God's thoughts are not as our thoughts; nor his ways, as our ways. Behold, he taketh away; who can hinder him? who will say unto him, 'What doest thou?'"

2. Learn God's power and independency. He can carry on his cause without us. Paul is no more; Wickliffe is no more; Luther is no more;—but his gospel survives! His cause flourishes! The patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the reformers —where are they? they have finished their work, and are gone to rest. But the truth died not with them; the glory is not departed. Other instruments have succeeded. The ark is not lost; the word of the Lord has free course, and will finally triumph over all. Let us not, then, despair. He who raised up our young friend, and made him useful for a season, can easily supply his place. Besides, he is taken away from the evil to come. Popularity might have become a snare, or some evil might have befallen him. Let us be satisfied that he has done his work, though at an early period. Infinite Wisdom saw fit to transplant this flower to a happier soil; and, who can tell? his very death may prove the conversion of many! We must submit. He doth all things well.

3. Learn the uncertainty of every thing here. Ah! little did his mother think, when he hung upon her breast, or when she dandled him on her knee, that this would be his melancholy end. And how little do we know of futurity? Let us not then "boast of to-morrow, for we cannot tell what a day may bring forth."* Let us ask, if death should suddenly meet *us*, are we ready to die? Do we know that it is dangerous to procrastinate? Do we consider "that there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge in the grave, whither we are going."†

O let us seek the favor of him, then, who alone can forgive our sins, and whose Spirit can prepare us for the world above: then, should our departure be sudden, it will all be well; we shall have an abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Let us anticipate a better world; let us rejoice in the hope of glory! Yes, Spencer! we hope to see thee again, and thy spiritual children too, whom God hath graciously given thee. There we hope to join thee in celebrating the praises of the Most High; there, beyond the reach of danger, we shall mingle our joys for ever; there we shall go no more out; there, the waves of trouble shall never beat upon us again, for there, it is said, "shall be no more sea."‡

* Liverpool paper.

† "On Tuesday, August the 13th, amidst an immense concourse of people, the remains of Mr. Spencer were conveyed from the Park to Newington chapel for interment." See Memoirs page 248, &c.

* Eccl. ix 10. † Prov. xxvii. 1. ‡ Rev. xxi. 1.

THE LIFE

OF

PHILIP MELANCTHON,

COMPRISING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TRANSACTIONS OF

THE REFORMATION.

BY FRANCIS AUGUSTUS COX, D. D.

"IN [redacted] UNITAS—IN [redacted] LIBERTAS—IN [redacted] CARITAS."

NEW-YORK:
THOMAS GEORGE, JR. 162 NASSAU STREET.

1835.

PREFACE.

NOTHING is more gratifying than to invite others to participate our honorable pleasures, especially those of a mental and moral description. The lives of great and good men if related with impartiality, cannot fail of being at once entertaining and instructive. Invited to watch their progress and observe their character, we may learn the most valuable lessons. We are allowed to detect, in order to shun, their errors; to trace, in order to imitate their virtues;—to follow them into their retirements;—to become their associates and friends. From the forum of public debate and of unremitted exertion, we accompany them to the fire-side, and the closet. Divested of the insignia of office, the pomp of authority and the glory of popular applause, we see them in the undress of friendship and private life. We sit with them in the domestic circle, and hear them converse and see them act at home. Human nature is developed;—we gain comprehensive views of men and things.

Every reader must be aware that it is not an *obscure* or *insignificant character* which claims his attention in the following pages. As the intimate friend and distinguished coadjutor of Martin Luther, his name is already familiar and must be dear to every enlightened Protestant; for who can be uninterested in the lives of those illustrious heroes who first led on to the great conflict, in which the liberties of mankind, the rights of conscience, the independence of nations were contested, and by whose struggles they were secured?

In detailing the life of the celebrated MELANCTHON, I am deeply conscious of one disadvantage. Thoroughly to understand a character and to render the narrative of his life complete, who does not perceive the importance of personal knowledge? It is true, indeed, the coloring may be a little too high and glowing, yet the picture is almost sure to be truer to nature when the artist has drawn from life. It is likely to possess a certain character and expression which a mere copy will seldom exhibit. The *tout ensemble* will be far better preserved. But in the present case, the picture cannot be taken from life; the great original *cannot* sit to the artist! Though necessitated however to be in some degree a copyist, this misfortune is in part remedied by the well-drawn portrait of a very intimate friend and a learned man; the Latin life of Melancthon, by Joachim Camerarius.

I have long cherished a reverence mingled with affection for the interesting subject of these Memoirs. I have been accustomed to trace his exertions as a scholar and a Reformer with admiration. In both respects he was a light in a dark place; and though it is the province of an impartial biographer in furnishing a detailed view of his life and labors in connection with other eminent men of his remarkable age, to notice errors of judgment and inbecilities of mind which are indeed incident to every human character, the reader will be presented with the view of as much excellence, associated with as little defect as is to be expected in the present world. It is sufficient for him to have rescued from the concealment of a dead language the rich materials which he has incorporated into the following pages, and to raise from the long interment of three centuries, the character and the glory of one of the brightest ornaments of religion and literature.

Hackney, 1817.

LIFE OF PHILIP MELANCTHON.

CHAPTER I.

The Reformation—Luther—Birth of Melancthon—His education—Early proficiency—Residence at Pforzheim, Heidelberg and Tubingen—Takes his degree—Obtains an early and remarkable celebrity—Honored by Erasmus and Bishop Latimer—Edits Nauclerus—Renders assistance to Capnio in his contention with the monks—His public lectures and literary zeal—His removal to a Greek Professorship in the University of Wittemberg—Commencement of his friendship with Luther. 1497 to 1518.

The commencement of the sixteenth century was one of the most momentous periods in the annals of time. It was distinguished by the release of Christianity from those fetters of darkness in which she had been bound for ages, and her triumphant assertion of that glorious liberty in which she now walks abroad through the earth.

This great event cannot be too highly appreciated, especially as we are daily participating the blessings which result from it. But unfortunately, the admiration of mankind is commonly withheld from Christian achievements and lavished upon military heroes. We overlook the misery they inflict, and the wide spreading desolation that marks their course. But were it even possible to separate these images of horror from the consideration of their successes, surely the bloodless victories of truth are nobler in themselves, and accomplished by the exertion of mental and moral energies incalculably more important. On this principle the Reformation from Popery merits particular attention. Whether we consider, on the one hand, the violent and deep-rooted prejudices which were at that period universally prevalent, artfully cherished, and powerfully defended, the great and immediate danger resulting from the slightest attempt at religious innovation, and the deplorable errors which reigned by long usurpation and prescriptive authority over the minds of men;—or, on the other, the seemingly accidental causes from which the Reformation originated, the inconsiderable source from which it flowed, the slow but irresistible progress it made, and the beneficial revolution it effected in the sentiments of mankind, it is impossible not to perceive reasons for astonishment and joy. No one ought to be accused of credulity for calling it a miracle; a moral miracle it undoubtedly was. The miracles which accompanied the first propagation of Christianity and secured its establishment were, it is true, a more direct appeal to the senses, but the same mighty power that established religion in the earth, evidently interposed in this case to rescue it from perishing.

Amongst the instruments of this remarkable change the name of Martin Luther stands pre-eminent. He was not indeed the *first* or the *only* advocate of this righteous cause, but he was in many respects the *greatest.* Others had inveighed against Popery, exposed the errors of that pernicious system with ingenuity and boldness, and even bled for the sacred cause of God and truth. Waldus, Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, are imperishable names; but in vain did they struggle against the torrent of corruption that deluged the earth. They could oppose, in their respective times and stations, but a momentary resistance, and were swept away. Their efforts indeed produced *some* effects, but they were evanescent, for "darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people." Isaiah 60:2. But when Luther appeared, a variety of circumstances co-operated to produce a result which human skill could neither foresee nor prevent. An attentive observer cannot fail to notice the very gradual manner in which truth was discovered to his own mind, by which means he became fitted to act the part he did, when it is probable a more full and sudden manifestation would have disqualified him for the early part of his career as a reformer. For a long time his imperfect knowledge of the great principles of Christianity and the rights of conscience operated as a check upon the impetuous ardor of his spirit, which, though *afterwards* essentially beneficial to the cause, would probably have impeded, if not have wholly prevented the great work of Reformation, had it been *at first* unrestrained by lingering prejudices and superstitions. The schisms which had divided the church about the end of the fourteenth and at the commencement of the fifteenth centuries, materially diminished the popular veneration for the papal dignity. The proceedings of some of the councils in deposing and electing popes at their pleasure produced a similar effect. Above all the scandalous profligacy and venality of the court of Rome, the voluptuous lives of the ecclesiastics, their intolerable exactions, and the facility which the sale of indulgences afforded to the vilest offenders to obtain a ready pardon, prepared the minds of the people in general for those doctrines which the Reformers afterwards promulgated.

Luther possessed a vigorous and fearless mind. He was qualified to take the lead, and to head opposition in a servile age. His mind was incessantly active; his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge and in the propagation of what he knew, inextinguishable. He did not "fight as one that beateth the air,' (1 Cor. 9:26,) in the holy war he undertook. Having buckled on the armor he was impatient for the conflict, and rushed forward to an anticipated victory. He was one of the greatest of Christian heroes, and his faults were those of a first-rate character. Never scarcely did the hand of God form a fitter instrument to do a greater work!

It was, however, happy for Luther that he did not stand alone, but was provided with an associate in his principal labors, adapted in a remarkable degree to supply his deficiencies, to correct his errors, and to regulate his impetuosity of character. Independently of the interest which must necessarily be felt in *any* one who was the intimate friend and coadjutor of Luther, who was with him in all his struggles and helped him through them, Melancthon claims a distinguished notice on his own account. In tracing the history of his life, it will be obvious that although inferior in courage he *equalled* Luther in ardent piety, and *excelled* him both in personal virtues and literary attainments.

Philip Melancthon was born in Saxony, at the small but pleasant town of Bretten, in the lower Palatinate of the Rhine, on the sixteenth day of February, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven. The following inscription in his father's house records the event:

> Dei Pietate natus est in
> hac Domo Doctissimus Dn.
> Philippus Melancthon, D.
> xvi. Febr. A. m.cccc.xcvii.

The house which belonged to his parents, containing this inscription and his picture, remained standing in the market place till modern times. During the thirty years war many of the literati and inhabitants of Heidelberg took refuge within the walls of Bretten, but in 1632 it was taken by the Imperialists. In the year 1784 it contained, exclusive of the public buildings, two hundred and sixty-two dwelling houses, and upwards of two thousand

inhabitants; but in 1789, it was taken, plundered, and almost exterminated by the French; and what their desolating rapacity spared, was at length destroyed under the orders of the Imperial General Ogilvi, by which act of indiscretion, however, he lost the favor of his master.

The mother of Melancthon was the daughter of John Reuter, a very respectable man, and for many years mayor of the town. Her name was Barbara, and she is represented as a truly estimable woman. His father, George *Schwartzerd*, the German family name, was a native of Heidelberg, but settled at Bretten in consequence of his marriage. He filled the office of engineer or commissary of the artillery, under the Palatinate princes Philip and Rupert. Distinguished not only by integrity, prudence, fidelity, and many other virtues, but by his remarkable ingenuity in the invention of all kinds of instruments, adapted either to the purposes of war, or the fashionable tournaments of the age, he attracted the attention of Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederic, and became well known to many of the most powerful princes. He died in the year 1508, in consequence of having swallowed some water from a poisoned well about four years before, when engaged in the service of his country. He is described not only as a man of the strictest morals and of undissembled piety, but so grave in his manners, as scarcely to admit even of a joke in the ordinary intercourse of life. His wife continued in a state of widowhood twelve years, when, upon the marriage of her son Philip, which gave her some offence, she again entered into the conjugal state, with a respectable inhabitant of Bretten.

The early studies of Melancthon were chiefly committed to the management of his maternal grandfather Reuter, which is to be attributed to his father's numerous engagements. The choice could not have been better made, for his grandfather was unquestionably well qualified for such an important superintendence, and, at the same time, affectionately solicitous about his youthful charge. It must be understood, that he acted in concert with his mother, and by her advice.

Melancthon was at first placed with his younger brother George, at a public school in his native town; but in consequence of a loathsome disease, at that time prevalent in Germany, having found its way into the school, he was soon removed, and put under private tuition.

Although native genius may have frequently surmounted the greatest disadvantages, it has in too many instances, been injured by an improper or defective education. Like the body that has been cramped in its growth, but which, notwithstanding, evinces its original strength of constitution by the very deformities into which it shoots, so the vigorous mind, checked or misguided at an early period of life, is prone to neglect the useful and pursue the trifling, to cherish unseemly prejudices and to take an erroneous course. Melancthon remarked of Luther, that, "If he had been fortunate enough to have met with suitable teachers, his great capacity would have enabled him to go through all the sciences. Nor is it improbable that the milder studies of a sound philosophy, and a careful habit of elaborate composition, might have been useful in moderating the vehemence of his natural temper." *Op. Pref. Tom. II.*

Considering the age in which he lived, and the state of depression which literature in general suffered, Melancthon seems to have fallen into very good hands; and though his natural capacity was the basis of all his future eminence, much is doubtless to be attributed to the guides of his early studies. His preceptor in the Latin language was John Hungarus; a man of great merit, and, at a very advanced period of life, a faithful preacher of the word of God at Pforzheim. He was charmed with the rapid proficiency of his pupil, who, like other youths of superior talent, was fond of showing his dexterity by discussing with boys much older than himself the rules of grammar, or the elements of language which they had been taught. In these little contests he was usually victorious; but whilst he never failed to impress others with a sense of his superiority, his excellent spirit and temper compelled them to mingle esteem with admiration. At this time he had a stammering, or rather perhaps, a hesitating mode of pronunciation, which, though never very unpleasant, and probably the effect of modest timidity, and not of any natural impediment in the organs of speech, was so effectually cured by time and care, that afterwards it became scarcely, if at all perceptible.

The academy at Pforzheim, under the immediate superintendence of George Simlerus, was highly celebrated. Simlerus was distinguished by his classical learning. He afterwards became a lawyer, of considerable eminence, and a lecturer on jurisprudence at Tubingen. At Pforzheim, Melancthon was introduced to the study of the Greek language, which he prosecuted with great diligence and proportionate success. His brother George and his uncle John were his school-fellows, and they all lodged together at the house of a relation, who was sister to John Reuchlin. This elegant scholar, known to the learned by the name of Capnio, was a native of Pforzheim, and successively a teacher of languages at Basil and at Orleans. His mind naturally vigorous and industriously cultivated, became a storehouse of various erudition. He was the restorer of letters in Germany, and the author of several treatises on philosophy.*

Reuchlin, or Capnio, took particular notice of the three lads who were inmates at his sister's and frequently questioned them about their pursuits at school. The genius of Philip could not remain long undetected by so diligent an inquirer and so zealous a friend to literature. His prompt and accurate replies, indicating the rare combination of a studious habit with an extraordinary talent, instantly won his affections, and led him, in some degree, to prognosticate his future proficiency. To testify his regard and to encourge him in the prosecution of his literary studies, Capnio presented Philip with several books; among the rest, an en-

* It scarcely deserves the name of Philosophy; perhaps it should rather be called *mysticism*, compounded as it was of the Platonic, Pythagorean and Cabalistic doctrines. He wrote treatises entitled, "De Verbo Mirifico," and "De Arte Cabalistica." Some have supposed him to have been the principal author of "Epistolæ Obsculorum Virorum;" a work replete with the most pungent satire against the persecutors of Reuchlin, in the controversy about the restoration of Greek and Hebrew learning. Others have believed the ingenious Ulrich de Hutton, of Franconia, to have been the original writer, but that Reuchlin rendered him essential assistance in the work. In fact, it was the joint production of several literary men, of whom these two were the principal. Hutton was probably the chief writer.

Erasmus allows this performance to be witty, but severely condemns it as anonymous and defamatory, and Leo consigned it to the flames; "But after all," says Jortin, "these *Epistles of the Obscure*, may be considered as a piece of harmless mirth, levelled against men who were not only egregious boobies, but, which was infinitely worse, shameless calumniators and blood-thirsty persecutors." Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, Vol. 1. p. 93.

larged Greek Grammar and a Greek and Latin Lexicon. This was a powerful stimulus to his ardent mind, which, dissatisfied with the mere performance of his ordinary exercises, began to indulge itself to poetical composition. Although he possessed sufficient inclination, yet he could not command leisure at any subsequent period of his life to devote himself much to this fascinating art; but he wrote several epigrams, epitaphs, prologues, and, occasionally, poetical epistles to his friends; and some very excellent judges, to whom may be added even the fastidious Julius Cæsar Scaliger, have commended his verses. Probably the efforts of his premature age to which we have adverted, resembled the frequent productions of the same period, by youths of ability at school. He wrote also at the early age of *thirteen*, a humorous piece in the form of a comedy, which he dedicated to Capnio, to testify the sense he entertained of his truly parental kindness, and engaged his school-fellows to perform it in his presence. It was upon this occasion his patron and friend gave him the name of *Melancthon*, a Greek term of similar signification with the German word *Schwartzerd*, (or Black earth.) This method of substituting sonorous Greek appellations for their proper names, was at that period a very common practice amongst the learned. Thus *Reuchlin* from the German word Reuch, *smoak*, was changed by Hormolaus Barbarus into *Capnio*, a term of similar import.

Melancthon appears to have cherished a high regard for his early preceptors, and to have retained it through life. His amiable spirit never undervalued the merit of others, or forgot their claims upon his gratitude. In one of his writings, referring either to Hungarus or Simlerus, he says, "My preceptor was an excellent grammarian, who took pains to make me understand the construction of every sentence, giving me thirty or forty verses at a time to construe. He would not allow me to slur any thing over, and as often as I blundered, he would correct me, but with a proper degree of moderation. Thus I learnt the grammatical part of language. He was one of the best of men. He loved me as a son, and I him as a father; and we shall soon meet, I trust, in eternal life! Yes—I was truly attached to him, although he were somewhat *severe*; yet *severity* I cannot call it, but rather *fatherly correction* to stimulate me to diligence."

After a residence of nearly two years at Pforzheim, Melancthon was sent by his mother and the relation who superintended his education, to the University of Heidelberg: formerly the metropolis, now the second town, of the lower Palatinate, and the birth-place of his father. He was matriculated on the thirteenth of October, in the year 1509, the twelfth of his age. The University was highly celebrated for its various professors in the different branches of learning, who were soon attracted not only by the extraordinary progress and amiable disposition of their young pupil, but by his zealous efforts to excite his fellow students to the more diligent cultivation of polite literature. Conscious of his own mental superiority, he felt no envious apprehension of their outstripping him; or, if they had, his future character renders it evident, that he would have been the first to rejoice in their success. It was impossible that the union of so much application with so much talent should fail of producing great results. He was accordingly soon looked up to as a first rate youth, and though but a lad, was employed to compose most of the public harangues and discourses of eloquence that were delivered in the University, and wrote some things even for the professors themselves. He was also entrusted with the education of the two sons of Count Leonstein. His proficiency in the Greek was so remarkable, that even at this early age he composed *Rudiments* of the language which were afterwards published.

During his residence at Heidelberg, Melancthon, who was so eminently formed for friendship, contracted an intimacy with several persons of merit. Among these were Wimphelingus, Sturmius, Gautherus, and Sorbillus. He was an inmate of the well known Pallas, a man pre-eminently distinguished for his wisdom, virtue and benevolence, and for many years the brightest ornament of the academy.

Heidelberg had not the honor of educating Melancthon more than three years. He was naturally of a feeble constitution, and the situation of the place did not appear to agree with him. This circumstance, together with the severe disappointment he suffered in being refused a higher degree in the university than he had hitherto obtained, *solely* as it was alleged, *on account of his youth* determined him to remove to Tubingen, a town on the Neckar, in the duchy of Wurtemberg. The university was daily increasing in reputation, and he entered it in the month of September, 1512. It had been founded by Prince Eberhard I. about five and thirty years before, who had been careful to procure the most celebrated men of the time for professors in every branch of literature and theology.

At Tubingen our aspiring youth attended all the different professors of classical and polite learning, devoting himself especially to mathematics, jurisprudence, logic, medicine, and theology. In medicine he studied Galen so thoroughly, that he could repeat the greatest part of his treatises; and although theology, as it was then taught, consisted in little else than scholastic subtleties, knotty questions, unintelligible jargon, and absurdities compounded of superstition and profaneness, he began to be much devoted to the more sober and rational part of it. Here he first became acquainted with Oecolampadius, who was his senior by several years: and as he mentions in one of his letters, they used to read Hesiod together. But, of all the professors, Henry Bebelius, distinguished for his skill in history, John Brassicanus, John Stofflerus, in the mathematical department, and Francis Stadianus, the public lecturer on Aristotle, appear to have attracted his highest esteem. He has mentioned the two latter in particular with applause and affection in his writings. Stofflerus had for many years the sole care of calculating and arranging the calendar, a task which Melancthon affirms he executed with great labor and with equal skill. "Had it not been," says he, "for his indefatigable application, we should have known nothing of the distinction of times and the changes of the months—nor of the seasons for ploughing, sowing, planting, and other agricultural pursuits, nor of a variety of other useful and ingenious arts." He addresses him in the dedication or preface to his public oration on the Liberal Arts, in these terms: "I am indebted to your kindness not only for what I know, but for what I am desirous of knowing; and I am desirous of knowing whatever becomes me. How can I sufficiently testify my regard and admiration for one who, during the many years in which he has diligently investigated the abtruse parts of mathematical science, has been constantly stimulating the studious in general, and myself in particular, by every mark of kindness, to pursue an honorable renown." Francis Stadianus he describes in the strongest terms: "He was a man of learning, and lived in such a manner as to deserve the affection of all the learned and the good!"

Melancthon had not yet attained the age of seventeen when he was created Doctor in Philosophy, or *Master of Arts*. This took place on the 25th of January, in the year 1513, when he immedi-

ately commenced a course of private tuition; but not long afterwards he became a public lecturer at Tubingen. General admiration was soon excited by the profound knowledge and elegant taste he discovered in the Latin classics. A considerable portion of time was occupied every day in delivering public lectures, which were not exclusively devoted to the learned languages, but embraced an extraordinary variety of subjects, as rhetoric, logic, ethics, mathematics, and theology. At the same time he particularly directed the attention of his scholars to the classical compositions of Virgil, Terence, Cicero, Livy and the Greek writers. He may be justly regarded as the restorer of *Terence*, whose poetical compositions, through the ignorance of his transcribers and publishers, had hitherto appeared only in a prosaic dress. Melancthon, having reduced them to a proper arrangement, presented them to the public in their present form. In this labor he showed his discrimination and taste; for Cicero eulogizes Terence both for the purity of his diction and the beauty of his compositions, representing them as the rule and standard of the language.

This bright star in the literary hemisphere, the brighter for the profound darkness which surrounded it, could not fail of attracting the attention of the great men of the age. So early as the year 1515 the sagacious and learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, exclaimed in terms of rapturous admiration: "What hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon, though as yet very young, and almost a boy, but equally to be admired for his proficiency in both languages! What quickness of invention! What purity of diction! What vastness of memory! What variety of reading! What a modesty and gracefulness of behavior! and what a princely mind!" A eulogium so remarkable, and bestowed by such a man, on a stripling of only *eighteen*, was surely no inconsiderable testimony to his wonderful merit.

Nor was this the only occasion on which this accomplished scholar expressed his admiration. His works abound with similar encomiums: it will be sufficient to select two or three. Writing to Oecolampadius he says, "Of Melancthon I have already the highest opinion, and cherish the most magnificent hopes: so much so, that I am persuaded Christ designs this youth to excel us all: *he will totally eclipse Erasmus!*" Mosellanus having interceded with him upon occasion of some injurious reports that had been circulated respecting the remarks of Melancthon upon his paraphrase on the New Testament, and implored him not to suffer himself to be unfavorably impressed by them, Erasmus replied, "Philip Melancthon is in no need of my patronage or defence." In a letter which Erasmus addressed to him, he concludes thus, "Farewell, most learned Melancthon, use all thine energies that the splendid hopes which Germany conceives of thy genius and thy piety may not only be equalled, but exceeded." On another occasion, in a letter to Julius Pflug, the celebrated counsellor of George, Duke of Saxony, he gives Melancthon this character: "He not only excels in learning and eloquence, but by a certain fatality is a *general favorite*. Honest and candid men are fond of him, and *even his adversaries cannot hate him!*" "Happy," exclaims Jortin, "is the person whom this description suits! It is not safe to attack him; the public will revenge his wrongs and take his part against you!" Seckendorf remarks, that were the various eulogies which literary men, and *even religious opponents* have pronounced upon Melancthon, to be collected together, they would fill a very considerable volume.

To a much earlier period, probably, may be referred the oration mentioned in a very curious passage of one of Hugh Latimer's sermons, which evinces the astonishing celebrity of this youthful scholar and reformer. "Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney that suffered death for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge, for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made Bachelor of Divinity, my whole oration went against Philippe Melancthon and against his opinions. Bilney hearde mee at that time and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge: and hee came to mee afterward in my study, and desired mee for God's sake to heare his confession: I did so—and to say the very truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many yeares. So from that time forward I begunne to smell the word of God, and forsooke the schoole doctors and such fooleries."—*Latimer's Sermons, page* 124.

Latimer afterwards said, in a sermon preached before Edward VI., who expected him in England, "I hear say Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year. The king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end."

Melancthon took upon himself the laborious task of revising the works published by Thomas Anshelmus, a noted printer at Tubingen. The greatest part of his time, not immediately devoted to his professional duties or his private studies, was bestowed in editing a ponderous folio work of Nauclerus, to which a preface was prefixed by Capnio. Originally, it was in fact, nothing but a confused heap of fables, mingled with historical facts; and Melancthon bestowed a labor upon it very disproportionate to its intrinsic merit, in arranging, correcting, purifying, and almost rewriting it. In this case we can only praise him for his industry.

During his residence at Tubingen, he had an opportunity of rendering essential service to his early friend and patron Capnio, who was involved in a disagreeable contention with certain ecclesiastics. It happened thus. The divines and monks of Cologne, instigated by a Jew of the name of Pfefferkorn, who had professed Christianity, obtained an edict from the emperor to authorize them to burn all the Jewish writings as heretical, excepting the Bible. The Jews instantly implored the emperor to suspend his order till these books had been examined by a competent committee of learned men. To this very reasonable petition he consented. Capnio, who had prosecuted the study of the Hebrew language under some learned Jews, both at Vienna and at Rome, and who had become conversant with the Cabalistic writings, was appointed by the Elector of Mentz to be an arbitrator in the controversy. Having given it as his opinion, that no other books should be destroyed but such as were found to be written expressly against Jesus Christ, the emperor approved the decision, and restored the books to the Jews. At this the monks and inquisitors of Cologne were violently exasperated and not only loaded him with invectives, but used every means to induce the court of Rome to persue him with the thunder of excommunication At this critical juncture, Melancthon was of essential use to his early patron, and frequent conferences took place between them, both at Tubingen and at Stutgard, the place where Capnio resided. Neither the advice nor the zealous efforts of a warm friend were wanting in his defence, which, co-operating with his high literary reputation, resulted in the honora-

ble acquittal of Capnio. This celebrated character died very poor at the age of sixty-seven. "On account of his virtue and merit," says Melancthon, "his memory ought to be cherished. He served his country with great diligence and judgment, and promoted assiduously the Hebrew language, so important to scholars. His candor was remarkable, and he was devoid of envy and malevolence. For these reasons he was much esteemed by learned men."

One of the earliest of Melancthon's productions, now extant, is an Oration on the Liberal Arts, delivered at Tubingen in the year 1517, at twenty years of age. It indicates the elegance of his mind and the variety of his reading. After a suitable introduction, he relates the classical story of the seven stringed lyre and the origin of the liberal arts. The oration proceeds with a detail of these arts and a brief recital of their origin and progress. It glows with animation as it approaches the close. "Let the example of those illustrious persons who surround me, inspire you. Be animated by the great and glorious expectations of your country, and apply the utmost vigor of your minds to what you know to be of pre-eminent importance; the attainment of sound learning and real virtue. Do not be seduced from this noble course by flattering pleasures or by evil examples. Let no dishonorable principle influence your minds: and *that* I call dishonorable which diverts you from the literary pursuits and from the sacred studies to which you are devoted."

Considering the very important part Melancthon was destined to act in the Reformation, it would be pleasing, were it possible, to trace the formation of his religious principles and modes of thinking with as much exactness as we are able to detail his literary career. The history of piety is even more interesting than the history of genius. To discriminate with accuracy the different states of the mind, to ascertain the changes of feeling at successive periods of early life, to witness at once the progressive establishment of moral character and the development of intellectual capacity, is, and ever must be, highly instructive. Melancthon was endowed with a soul formed of the finest materials, cast in the gentlest mould, and ever ready to listen with attention to reason and argument; but in proportion as the original prejudices of education had entrenched themselves in a mind delicate, discerning, and full of sensibility like his, the attempt to dispossess principles so dear to him, must have been difficult and hazardous. It is long before one, so constituted, can renounce what has been held sacred; then, not without obvious and substantial reasons. Offence is easily taken at the first and most distant appearances of what is deemed error, and, under favoring circumstances, in an unenlightened age, an extraordinary degree of superstition is the natural result. Melancthon expresses, on one occasion, the pungent sorrow which the recollection of his former zeal in the idolatrous services of the Catholic church occasioned. It is easy to believe, therefore, that he must have endured many secret conflicts, many heart-rending struggles, previously to his separation from that communion. The only illustrative fact transmitted to us affords some good evidence that his convictions originated in the best manner, and that his early religious views were derived from the only pure source of instruction. Capnio having presented him with a small Bible which had been recently printed at Basil by the well known John Frobenius, or Froben, Melancthon accustomed himself to write down upon the margin such explanatory hints and such useful illustrations of particular passages, as either occurred to his own reflections or could be collected from the different ancient writers with whose works he was conversant; a practice which at least proves the diligent attention he began to pay to the sacred volume. This Bible was his constant companion. He never failed to carry it with him wherever he went, and during the public service at church constantly held it in his hand, to direct and enliven his devotions. This practice furnished an occasion to his bigotted and no less malignant adversaries, who perceived he made use of a volume of a different size from the prayer-book, to represent him as engaged in reading even in the public church, what was very unsuitable both to the occasion and the place! No efforts were omitted to render him odious: but Envy and Persecution waged an unequal war, and were defeated.

The spirit manifested on this occasion by these religious barbarians perfectly harmonised with the language of one of the monkish fraternity, Conrad Heresbach, whose preposterous ignorance and bigotry have furnished a standing joke ever since the Reformation. "A new language," says he, "has been invented, which is called *Greek;* guard carefully against it, it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people, a book written in this language, which they call the *New Testament;* it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are instantly converted to Judaism."!!

After a residence of about six years, Melancthon removed from Tubingen to the University of Wittemberg, the metropolis of the circle of Upper Saxony. In this situation, he was immediately introduced into a scene of great labor and extensive usefulness. This university was founded in the year 1502, under the auspices of the Elector Frederic, who spared no pains to advance it to respectability and distinction. The license of the Emperor Maximilian, and the bull granted by the Pope, for its establishment, are still extant. The celebrity of Melancthon, seconded by the powerful recommendation of Capnio, induced the Elector to determine upon giving him employment in the university. Several letters were interchanged on the subject, and the result was, the formal appointment of Melancthon to the Greek Professorship. Upon this occasion, Capnio applied to him with prophetic accuracy the remarkable language of Jehovah to Abraham: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee . . . . . and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing:" adding, "this accords with the presentiment of my mind; and thus I hope it will be with thee hereafter, my Philip, my care and my comfort!" He went to Wittemberg on the twenty-fifth day of August, in the year 1518, at the age of twenty-one. His name is inserted in the documents of the university with marked distinction.

The general sensation excited at Tubingen on this occasion may be imagined from the language of Simlerus. "The whole city lamented his departure. No one can conceive or estimate how much the academy lost of distinction and of emolument when he departed." His journey was performed on horseback, by way of Nuremberg and Leipsic; and he availed himself of the opportunity of contracting a friendship with Picamerus, Moselanus, Camicianus and other eminent characters.

Upon the fourth day after his arrival at Wittemberg he commenced his public duties as a professor in the customary mode of delivering an oration, which attracted an unusual degree of applause. Luther is lavish in his commendations, and in a letter addressed to Spalatine, he says that it was in-

conceivably learned and elegant, and excited such universal admiration, that every one forgot the comparative meanness of Melancthon's personal appearance. In consequence of his settlement at Wittemberg, immense numbers crowded to the university, and his audience sometimes amounted to fifteen, and even five and twenty hundred persons. He had the honor of being Luther's instructor in the Greek language.

It is amusing enough to hear the terms in which M. Baillet mentions the intimacy which, from this moment, commenced between Melancthon and Luther. "Being called to Wittemberg," says he, "in the twenty-second year of his age, *Melancthon fell into the hands of Luther, who abused his easy disposition, and availed himself of all those fine talents which ought to have been devoted to the service of the Catholic church!*"

In truth, this was an event of the utmost importance, not only in reference to these eminent individuals themselves, but on account of the influence of their ardent friendship upon the Reformation in general. The profound learning and cultivated taste of the one, the vigorous zeal, independent spirit, and dauntless heroism of the other, alike conduced to dissipate the delusions of the age. Both adopted the same general views; and each was equally solicitous of removing that veil of Egyptian darkness which overspread the face of the world: yet they were constitutionally different. The one verged to the extreme of boldness, the other to that of caution; but, like Moses and Aaron among the ancient Israelites, their different talents were admirably suited to promote the general object. Truth would undoubtedly have suffered had the one been less energetic and daring, or the other less moderate, and cultivated.

It would not be difficult to speculate on the ill effects likely to have resulted to the interests of true religion, if these eminent men, instead of being united in strict friendship, had cherished hostile sentiments towards each other. This would probably have been the case, had Melancthon continued a Papist, or had he promoted the views of those who appeared to "halt between two opinions." 1 Kings, 18, 21. The impetuous temper and resolute firmness of Luther could endure neither opposition nor neutrality. By the collision of two contending parties a third was in reality produced, whose leading maxim was to avoid extremes, and who were ready to make every sacrifice to obtain a delusive peace or to secure personal convenience. They would have abandoned what they even esteemed sacred, in order to terminate this religious war; and, it is to be feared, would have willingly entered into negociations with the advocates of error and superstition, upon the principle of relinquishing the conquests which truth had already acquired, and which conscience demanded of them never to cede. At the head of this party, the learned, witty, vacillating, avaricious, and artful Erasmus is unquestionably to be placed. Unwilling to relinquish his connection with the Catholics, and enlist himself under the banners of the Reformation, he was yet too penetrating to be ignorant of the abuses of Popery, or blind to its excessive absurdities; and aware that the reformers had reason and truth on their side, he was solicitous, especially while the victory was doubtful, of conciliating their esteem without unwarily pledging himself to act a conspicuous part in what he termed the *Lutheran tragedy*. In consequence of this indecision he dissatisfied both, and failed of acquiring the honors it was in the power of Popes to bestow, and the more valuable distinction which they could *not* give, but which the unbought affection of independent minds and holy reformers would have conferred.

The Papists and the coadjutors of Erasmus would have been equally glad of Melancthon. His influence in the university of Wittemberg, and his literary fame, now diffused to the extremities of the empire, and swiftly circulating throughout the whole civilized world, would have invigorated the hostility of the one, or promoted the temporizing policy of the other. It would have proved a mighty bulwark of defence, which, in case of the preponderance of either party, would have been strength to the weak, and power even to the strong. Melancthon was scarcely less detested than Luther by the violent Catholics; and Erasmus, in the course of a long letter addressed to him, alludes to his having exhorted him to abandon the reformers, though he declares he had not very strenuously urged him to it, knowing it would be labor lost, but still he could have wished he had applied himself entirely to literature. His purpose, he says, was to promote the good of both parties and dissuade from tumults, and he wished a reformation might be made without strife or contention.

The removal of Melancthon, therefore, to Wittemberg, by which he was introduced to the immediate and intimate friendship of Luther, ought to be regarded as a most memorable event. Luther unbosomed his feelings to this new and invaluable associate, consulting him on all occasions, and anxiously availing himself of his superiority in literary acquirements.

Whoever is accustomed to observe the movements and to admire the wisdom of a superintending Providence will mark this occurrence. He will not be disposed to attribute it to a happy casualty, but consider it as the result of a superior and wise arrangement. He will connect it with all its circumstances, and trace it to all its consequences. Accustomed to comprehensive views of things, he will not resemble the ignorant rustic that steps across the spring whence a Nile, an Euphrates, or a Ganges originates, without any emotion, and without the capacity to realize those images of grandeur and sublimity that present themselves in a similar situation to the enlightened philosopher; but he will pause, ponder, compare, and look around him. The Almighty Ruler of the world proceeds in the large system of his operations in a similar manner, in some respects, to every intelligent agent acting on a smaller scale. Does the skilful architect prepare his materials for the building which he is about to construct, and fit in each particular stone or ornament to its place with discriminating care? And is there any improbability in the belief that when the Universal Agent is about to produce an extraordinary work, he prepares, by a process adapted to the purpose, whatever materials are proper for its execution? Moral operations require moral instruments, and in the whole machinery of circumstances an intelligent and pious mind will see much to admire. Amidst the rubbish of error which had accumulated century after century till the Reformation, God determined to erect the temple of truth, and his providence cleared an ample space, chose a variety of workmen, and reared the admirable superstructure. And as in the erection of a building there must be different kinds of laborers, all co-operating together and all essential to complete the undertaking, so it was requisite, in rearing this great edifice, to prepare and employ persons very differently constituted, but all capable of useful co-operation. In this point of light it becomes us to contemplate the preparatory course of Melancthon's education, the important station he filled, and the celebrity he obtained at Tubingen, and particularly his removal thence to the scene of his future labors. He was selected by Providence for great purposes, and qualified by a suitable pro-

cess for the part he was destined to act. His literary fame and his vast acquirements were not only of essential service, but were particularly needed at that precise period when they were ready for public use. Short-sighted indeed, or criminally blind must he be, who does not perceive the same superintendence here as in the guidance of Joseph to Egypt, or David to the camp of Saul. If the Reformation claimed the steady efforts of true courage and inextinguishable zeal, be it remembered also, that it no less required a proportion of nice discernment and literary skill;—if a superstition which invested a mortal with the prerogative of infallibility were to be attacked and levelled with the dust, the ignorance which, with its characteristic blindness, supported that superstition, was at the same time to be dethroned and demolished;—if old abuses were to be removed, and a new order of things to be introduced and sytematized, it was desirable to find not only vigor and zeal to clear away the rubbish of error, but elegance of taste to clothe unwelcome novelties with attractive beauty;—in a word, if existing circumstances called for a Martin Luther, they also demanded a Philip Melancthon!

CHAPTER II.

General Observations—Revival and purification of the Peripatetic Philosophy by Melancthon—His early labors at Wittemberg, and his increasing influence throughout Germany—Extracts from his Oration "de Corrigendis Adolescentiæ Studiis." 1518.

After long years of depression, and almost of total extinction, philosophy, literature, and theology at length revived. It was impossible that any of these should prosper during a period in which the human mind was burdened by innumerable superstitions, gigantic in magnitude and ferocious in character. The mental faculties were unable to expand or even to stir beneath the oppressive weight; and century after century rolled on, scarcely presenting any thing worthy of the historian to record or the moralist to admire. But the sixteenth century marked a new era in the calender of time, by affording some facilities to the circulation of thought, and the comparatively free exercise of public opinion. In proportion as it became possible to express sentiments and to announce discoveries in science or religion, without instantly incurring the charge of heresy, and being inevitably consigned to perpetual imprisonment or death, knowledge increased and truth lifted up her drooping head.* It is true, the imperfections which usually characterize first discoveries were in this instance apparent, but the clouds of prejudice and the mists of ignorance gradually melted away; objects which were blended together became distinctly perceived, and this "morning light" of scientific and religious discovery "shone more and more unto the perfect day."—*Proverbs* iv. 18.

To trace the almost infinitely diversified causes, remote and proximate, of this mighty change would be an interesting, though perhaps a very difficult undertaking. It would be necessary to show not only the effects produced by the various great events that have occurred in the moral world upon the general state and character of the particular nations whence they originated, and where they particularly influenced, or upon human character in general in the age in which they occurred; but also the manner in which they resulted from the previous state of mankind and affected succeeding times, as well as the intimate connection and reciprocal influence subsisting between them or resulting from their operation.

A writer of very considerable merit, (Villers on the Reformation, page 7,) remarks, that "A man who, without knowing the nature of the course of a river, should arrive on its banks, seeing it here gliding through an extensive plain, there confined with narrow vallies, in another place foaming beneath the precipice of a cataract; this man would take the first turning where it might be concealed by a projection, for the origin of the river; ascending higher, a new turn, the cataract, will occasion the same allusion; at length he reaches its source, he takes the mountain from which it issues for the first cause of the river; but he will soon think that the sides of the mountains would be exhausted by so continual a torrent; he will see clouds collected, the rains, without which the dried mountain could not supply a spring. Then the clouds become the first cause; but it was the winds which brought these here, by passing over vast seas; but it was the sun who attracted the clouds from the sea; but whence arises this power of the sun? Behold him then soon entangled in the researches of speculative physics, by seeking a cause, an absolute foundation, from which he may finally deduce the explanation of so many phenomena.

"Thus the historian who inquires what was the cause which led to the reduction of the authority of the popes, to the terrible thirty years' war, to the humiliation of the house of Austria, the establishment of a powerful opposition in the heart of the empire, the foundation of Holland as a free state, and so of other occurrences, will at first see the origin of all these events in the Reformation; and will attribute them absolutely to its influence. But urging his inquiries further, he discovers that this Reformation itself is evidently only a necessary result of other circumstances which precede it; an event of the sixteenth century, with which the fifteenth, to use the expression of Leibnitz, was pregnant; at most the cataract of the river."

But it will be necessary to waive these considerations, which, though attractive in themselves, do not strictly comport with the nature and design of this biographical memoir. It may, however, be remarked in general, that by means of the art of printing in the fifteenth century the Latin classics were easily multiplied, and several learned men published both the Greek and Roman writers with scholia and notes. Among the laborers in this vast field the name of Politiano stands pre-eminent. Besides the academy at Pisa, established by Lorenso de'Medici, another and still more important institution was formed at Florence, where the Greek language was taught by learned Greeks and Italians, under his auspices and by his liberality. Men of rank, and illustrious females also devoted themselves to study; of the former, Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula, who at the age of twenty-one, had the reputation of being acquainted with twenty-two different languages; and of the latter, Cassandra Fidelis were the most remarkable. But it must not be imagined that this taste was universally diffused; for though the fragrant flowers of poesy grew in a few places

* This consideration must be restricted to those countries or places where a degree of successful resistance had been opposed to papal domination, such as Germany and Switzerland; for, as we shall afterwards see, light was very far from being generally diffused; and even at that period Copernicus, an eminent astronomer, and native of Thorn, in Prussia, was confined to a prison by Pope Urban VIII. for daring to maintain the solar system, and the annual and diurnal motions of the earth. The celebrated Florentine, Galileo, also, was twice summoned before the Inquisition, and twice sent to grace the cells of a prison for heretically maintaining the truth of the Copernican system. Copernicus was born January 10, 1472, and expired in the seventieth year of his age, May 24, 1543. Galileo was born in 1564, and died at Arceti, near Florence, in January, 1642.

and some fruit-bearing trees were planted here and there in classic ground; the general aspect which the world presented to the eye was that of a thorny wilderness or a barren desert.

The revival of letters, and the reformation of religion reciprocally influenced and promoted each other. The reformers were convinced that ignorance had been one of the principal causes of the corruption of doctrine, and hence they were solicitous of seeing philosophy restored to its purity, and truth to her throne. The boldness with which they attacked religious error and despotism contributed to the advancement of literature: the zeal with which some of them cultivated literature by reflecting a beam of light on biblical criticism, contributed to the cause of religion. When the Romish church reigned with unrivalled dominion in the West, she resisted the study of the oriental and other languages. She decreed the faith of others upon the sole authority of her popes, her councils, and her charters, and too tractable slaves submitted to the imposition. The attack of this system demanded a knowledge of languages, of the principles of sound criticism, and of sacred and profane antiquities. The New Testament, and the Septuagint Version of the Old, required an accurate and extensive acquaintance with Greek, the study of which was particularly promoted by MELANCTHON. The reforming spirit diffused itself beyond the reformers themselves, and many even in the bosom of the Catholic church, as Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives, Faber, and Marius Nizolius, censured the scholastic method of philosophizing, inveighed against the corruptions of the age, and assiduously cultivated general literature. Besides, the zealous supporters of the Romish hierarchy finding themselves attacked by literary weapons so ably wielded, were necessitated to have recourse to measures of defence, which must of course consist in the cultivation of all possible familiarity with letters, and with ecclesiastical antiquities. But these studies were never pursued to the same extent as amongst Protestants, who gave the first impulse to improvement, and the finishing blow to the massive edifice of corruption.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, though the scholastic philosophy began to fall into contempt, Aristotle retained a considerable degree of authority. The Platonic system having totally declined, the peripatetic philosophy became universally victorious. The Catholics zealously promoted it because of its adaptation to the defence of their system, and among the Protestants many learned men were followers of Aristotle, so far as their superior reverence to evangelical truth would permit. On this point Luther and Melancthon differed in opinion. The former who had studied the schoolmen, at first attached himself to the *Nominalists*, but afterwards rejected the whole system with contempt. Melancthon is also to be classed amongst the principal supporters of this party.

The controversy which had so long subsisted between these parties was marked by every species of polemic, and sometimes even of pugilistic violence. Ludovicus Vives represents himself as having been witness to disputes in which, after having vented upon each other every species of abusive language the parties proceeded to blows, and this not only with their fists, but with clubs and swords, so that many have been wounded and even killed; and Camerarius states that similar disorders prevailed in the academy at Tubingen, which Melancthon could scarcely suppress. Erasmus in his joking manner, alludes to these evils in one of his epistles. "We are making preparations," he writes, "for a war against the Turks, A. D. 1518. With what view soever this be undertaken we ought to pray God that it may be profitable not to a few, but to all of us in common. Should we conquer them it is to be supposed (for we shall hardly put them all to the sword) that attempts will be made to bring them over to Christianity. Shall we then put into their hands an Occam, a Durandus, a Scotus, a Gabriel, or an Alvarus? What will they think of us (for after all they are rational creatures) when they hear of our intricate and perplexed subtleties concerning instants, formalities, quiddities and relations?—What, when they observe our quibbling professors so little of a mind, that they dispute together till they turn pale with fury, call names, spit in one another's faces, and even come to blows? What, when they behold the Jacobins fighting for their Thomas, the Minorites for their most refined and seraphic doctors, and the Nominalists and Realists each defending their own jargon, and attacking that of their adversaries?"—*Epistle* 329.

When Louis XI. king of France, published an edict against the Nominalists, in the year 1474, ordering their books to be fastened up with iron chains in the libraries, that they might not be read, and requiring the youth of the academies to reject their doctrines, their principal leaders fled into England and Germany, and attached themselves to the Reformers. Luther, however, perceiving the support which the scholastic philosophy afforded to the errors of the Catholic church, and conceiving that the logical and metaphysical sentiments of Aristotle incorporated with it, had occasioned all the celebrated disputes and divisions of previous ages, rejected both; but it is to be remarked that he rather opposed the false doctrines founded on Aristotle, through the ignorance and perversity of mankind, than the principles of philosophizing which he established. "I am persuaded," says he, "that neither Thomas, nor all the Thomists together, ever understood a single chapter of Aristotle."

At first Melancthon united with Luther in condemning Aristotle, from a conviction that his principles and modes of reasoning were injurious to genuine Christianity, but he very soon altered his opinion, and thought he might be employed as a valuable auxiliary in the propagation of truth. This circumstance has occasioned his being much misrepresented by certain writers, to whose statements, the system upon which during his whole future life he conducted the education of youth, is an ample refutation.

Melancthon attempted the revival of the pure peripatetic philosophy, though he agreed with Luther on the subject of the scholastic system. In several passages of his writings he utterly condemns the latter as generating dissention rather than promoting truth; and though he took Aristotle for his guide, it was only in philosophical inquiries, and so far as his principles might be connected with utility. His devout and penetrating mind always paid a superior deference to the dictates of Revelation. In his oration on Aristotle, he thus expresses himself, "I will add something concerning philosophy, and the reasons for believing that of Aristotle to be the most useful for the church. It is agreed, I think, by all, that logic is of prime importance, because it teaches method and order, it defines fitly, divides justly, connects aptly, judges and separates monstrous associations. Those who are ignorant of this art, tear and mangle the subjects of discourse as puppies do rags. I admire the simile of Plato, who highly extols it as resembling the fire which Prometheus brought from heaven, to kindle a light in the minds of men by which they might be able to form correct ideas. But he does not furnish us with the precepts of the art, so that we cannot dispense with the logic of Aristotle.

That of the Stoics is not extant, and instead of being a simple method of reasoning fit for the explanation of profound subjects, it appears to have been a complete labyrinth of intricacies, and in fact a mere corruption of the art."

Melancthon was considered in the German schools in the light of a COMMON PRECEPTOR. Uniting the study of the Aristotelian philosophy with ancient learning in general, the plan which he adopted was to extract out of Aristotle all that was essentially good, to illustrate it by the aids of literature and genuine criticism, and to adapt it to the principles of true religion. Nor did he follow Aristotle implicitly; whatever was valuable in the writings and doctrines of the Stoics and Platonics, and whatever his own genius suggested, was incorporated into his system.

This plan was pursued in most of the German academies under the sanction both of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and from its first promoter was denominated the *Philippic* method. In all the Lutheran schools abridgments of the various branches of philosophy by Melancthon, composed in a familiar style, were constantly and for a long period taught; of this nature were his *Logic*, *Ethics*, *Physics*, and his *Treatise on the Soul*. Nor did he confine his attention to a few subjects only, but with the most exemplary zeal and assiduity, reduced almost every art and science into a form and arrangement which inconceivably abbreviated the labor of the student.

Vitus Winshemius, a very competent judge, speaks of these publications in the highest terms of commendation, as shortening the Aristotelian road to knowledge. He characterizes their author, with great propriety, as resembling the industrious bee flying through the fields of universal science in all directions, and collecting the choicest and sweetest portions from the prime productions of every writer.

On various occasions Melancthon publicly delivered discourses on the method of studying philosophy, and his opinions were so universally reverenced, that he acquired the highest fame and the most useful influence. The precepts of art and science had been hitherto very imperfectly taught, and with a great intermixture of truth and error. These he systematized and reduced to order; rejecting what was erroneous, explaining what was obscure, and arranging what was confused.

Several learned men from Italy and Great Britain, who became tutors in the German schools, and assiduously promoted the peripatetic philosophy, materially assisted him in these laudable efforts. It is to be lamented indeed, that the learned of Italy, France, England, and Germany, did not totally discard Aristotle as a guide, and strike out a more independent plan; but we must not despise the light though it be mingled with some darkness, nor undervalue the labors of distinguished men, because they did not undertake what we deem desirable, or accomplish what is now perceived to have been practicable.

In the genuine spirit of a literary Reformer, instead of merely pursuing the course which custom had prescribed or indolence would have dictated, Melancthon applied his active mind to the discovery of the best means of inspiring a taste for literature, and of promoting the great ends of study. When he first arrived at Wittemberg nothing could exceed the miserable condition of philosophy and letters as well as of religion, so that he found an ample and unoccupied field of important labor. The liberal arts and sciences were sunk into the most wretched state, and concealed in the profoundest darkness. So completely were all men plunged into abject barbarism, that many, though they dared not venture upon open hostility, being restrained by the authority of the prince, yet secretly despised and disparaged learning, and slandered Melancthon; the printing offices did not possess any copies of the Greek writings, and the students were necessitated to write out passages as they were explained to them for their own use.

Melancthon, with a laudable impatience, instantly applied himself to the removal of these evils. The desert which spread its vast and cheerless extent before his eyes overgrown with weeds, he was anxious by assiduous cultivation to convert into a literary paradise. In the first year of his residence at Wittemberg he read lectures to crowded auditories upon Homer, and upon the Greek text of St. Paul's epistle to Titus. Luther speaks of him in various letters to his friends in the highest terms of commendation, stating that his lectures were so extremely popular, that all the principal theologians attended him, and high and low became inspired with the love of Greek. Amongst other epithets, he calls him the *most learned and most truly Grecian, Philip Melancthon*. "He is a mere boy and a stripling if you consider his age; but our great man and master, if you reflect on the variety of his knowledge, which extends to almost every book. He is distinguished not only for his acquaintance, but for his critical knowledge of both languages, nor is he unskilled in Hebrew learning."

The excessive ardor of his mind produced a considerable effect upon his constitution, and the Elector Frederic addressed an affectionate letter to him on the subject, wherein he admonishes him to be careful of his health, and not to exert himself too much, offering him the best wines his cellar could produce, and reminding him of Paul's language to Timothy, to "use a little wine for his stomach's sake and his frequent infirmities." 1 Tim. 5: 23. "This," he stated, "was no less obligatory than any other admonition."

Melancthon was scarcely seated in his professor's chair, when he commenced an attack upon prevailing prejudices, and announced a plan of reform. He determined that youth should *study* as well as frequent the university, and that they should be put in possession both of motives and means for this purpose. His zeal appears never to have diminished through the course of his long and laborious life. It was the least of all his distinctions to have acquired a great name, for he rendered essential service both to the cause of literature and religion.

A few weeks only had elapsed since his arrival at Wittemberg, when he delivered in the month of October an oration, to which some references have already been made, on reforming the studies of youth. He congratulates them on being placed under the auspices of the illustrious Frederic, and on their numerous advantages for the acquisition of learning; and while attentive to the various other departments of human knowledge, he particularly urges them to the study of the Greek writers and philosophy; "but let no one trifle in philosophizing lest he should at length totally lose sight of common sense. Let him rather select the best things from the best authors, for the purposes of improvement both in the knowledge of nature and in morals. The study of Greek literature is of essential importance; it in fact comprehends universal science, for their writers discuss morals in a most copious and appropriate manner. The treatise of Aristotle on this subject, the laws of Plato, and the best of their poets, may be read with the utmost advantage. Homer amongst the Greeks may be called a fountain of knowledge; Horace and Virgil hold a similar pre-eminence amongst the Romans."

He speaks in recommendation of history as an al-

culated to direct us in the skilful management of public and private affairs.

"But," he adds, "the manner in which you apply to *sacred studies*, is of the greatest importance. These, above all other pursuits, require judgment, experience, and diligence; and remember that the perfume of divine ointments, so to speak, far surpasses the aromatics of human literature. Under the guidance of God, the cultivation of the liberal arts will be rendered subservient to sacred objects, as Synesius intimates to Herculianus 'the noblest employment of life, is to use philosophy as a guide to divine knowledge.' If this should not be quite obvious to any one, let him consider that brass was sent by the King of Tyre, for the temple of Solomon, as well as superior metal: so it is in reference to theology which comprehends Hebrew and Greek literature, for the Latins drink from these streams and sources, and those foreign languages are requisite to be known, lest we should appear nothing better than ciphers amongst theologians. But there the accuracies and beauties of language will be seen, and the genuine sense of terms and expressions discovered with noontide evidence. Having ascertained the literal meaning of words, we shall be able to pursue the course of argument notwithstanding any frigid glosses, discordant comments, or other hinderances that may be interposed.

"Whenever we approach the fountains of truth, we shall begin to grow wise in Christ, his commandments will become obvious, and we shall be regaled by the blessed nectar of heavenly wisdom. When we have gathered the clusters amongst 'the vineyards of Engedi,' the bridegroom will come 'leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills,' and with the 'kisses of his mouth,' and the 'savor of his good ointments poured forth,' will anoint those who are conducted into the palaces of Eden. United to him we shall live and thrive, contemplating Zion and Salem in the secret silence of adoration. Such is the fruit of celestial knowledge, which will always prove worthy of our supreme regard when pure and unimpaired by human subtleties.

"The great importance then of giving a new impulse and direction to your studies, and the manner in which they are likely to become conducive to your mental and moral character are sufficiently obvious. Who can help deploring the state of our immediate predecessors, who, abandoning the light of learning, plunged into Tartarean darkness, and took up with the very dregs of knowledge? And who is not affected at the lamentable state of our own times deprived by negligence of our ancient authors, and of all the advantages which would have accrued from their writings had they been preserved? You should understand, therefore, the difficulties which attend the acquisition of the most valuable knowledge; nevertheless, industry will so overcome them, that I trust you will obtain that which is of real importance with far less expense of time and trouble than is generally devoted to what is absolutely useless.

"Your tutors will undertake the labor of making proper selections for you, and separating the frivolous from the useful in conducting you to the stores of Roman and Grecian literature. Let some of your leisure hours be occupied especially with the latter, and I will use my utmost endeavors to afford you every facility. From the very first I shall be careful to alleviate the laboriousness attending the grammatical part of language, by reading portions of the best writers for illustration. I shall notice, in passing, whatever may relate to the conduct of life, or the general knowledge of obscure subjects, so that by proper application we shall be able to accomplish the circle of human learning, and it will devolve on me to stimulate your diligence. Homer is in our hands and the Greek of Paul's Epistle to Titus, and you must pay great attention to ascertain by the strain of the discourse, the divine truths intended to be revealed.

"Here it is proper to remark, how much grammatical accuracy in language conduces to the knowledge of sacred mysteries, and what a difference appears among commentators, some of whom are versed in the Greek language, others ignorant of it; and in various cases what mistakes are the consequence. If we trifle on this subject, be assured we shall inevitably suffer for it.

"Enter then, O ye youths, enter upon your course of wholesome instruction with this sentiment in your constant recollection, *whoever determinately sets about a business has half accomplished it.* Do not be afraid of becoming wise: study the Roman authors, but especially attach yourselves to those of Greece, without the knowledge of whom the former cannot be properly understood, and whose compositions will conduce to the knowledge of general literature, and more than any others to the formation of the mind to taste and elegance. I cannot help anticipating the effect of your example, and fancying that I can see a few years hence Germany in various parts reviving in literature, the general state of morals ameliorated, and the minds of men, at present barbarously wild and barren as the desert, at length *tamed*, so to speak, and cultivated!

"Henceforth then you will devote yourselves to study, not only for the sake of your own personal advantage and that of posterity, but for the honor of our immortal Elector, who is by universal concurrence the best of princes, and has nothing more at heart than the promotion of literature. For myself I am resolved to try my utmost, both to accomplish the desires of the most pious of princes and the success of your studies. And with this design I solemnly devote myself, O ye illustrious princes and superintendents of this university, to your service: consecrating my youth to solid learning and not to useless or injurious pursuits, and confidently depending upon your kindness and protection."

CHAPTER III.

The State of Religion—Relics—Indulgences—Tetzel—Progress of the Controversy with the Court of Rome—Melancthon's Narrative of Luther—Public Disputation at Leipsic—Its Effects—Paper war between Melancthon and Eckius—Concise but satisfactory pamphlet and admirable spirit of the former. 1518 to 1520.

Turning from the schools of literature to the church of Christ, we find that, in reference to religion as well as science, Melancthon was called to Wittemberg at a most critical juncture. That we may duly appreciate his labors and form a correct idea of the state of ecclesiastical affairs, it will be requisite to glance at a few preceding events.

The Catholic church was at this period quiet and reposing. Though many circumstances had occurred to prepare the public mind for the introduction of a new order of things—though some portentous gatherings of the no distant tempest might have been discernable to attentive observers, when not only private persons but distinguished princes upbraided the despotism, the fraud, the avarice, the extortion, the licentiousness of the popish hierarchy, and even demanded a reform of abuses by means of a general council; yet the right of private judgment was not asserted, the supreme authority and infallibility of the Pope in religious affairs was not disputed, and the Roman Pontiff felt the utmost self-consciousness of security. The commotions which had been excited in some former ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses and Beghards, and more recently by the Bohemians, seemed to be at an end: and as in nature, the storm is frequently preceded

by a peculiar stillness diffused around, when the winds are hushed into peace, and not a leaf of the forest stirs; not a wave ripples on the tranquillized surface of the lake; not a bird flutters through the air to dissolve the universal enchantment; so the atmosphere of Rome at this time was hushed into the profoundest calm; not a breath of murmur stirred, not a tongue moved, not a voice was heard to excite alarm, and ecclesiastical authority lolled at perfect ease in the Papal chair. If the low mutterings of discontent began to roll, they were too distant to be heard, or too contemptible to be feared. If any intimation were given of the existence of rebellious feelings, they were only treated with the smile of ridicule. What mortal could storm the citadel of St. Peter, and overturn the turrets of superstition? Who dared resist the well established power of Papal domination? Where was a son of Jesse to be found, that could hope to slay the giant in his strength and glory?

After the execrable pontificates of Alendander VI. who expired in the year 1503, and of Julius II. whose sanguinary course was arrested by the arm of death in the year 1512, Leo X. assumed the ecclesiastical sceptre. His character was in many respects different from that of his predecessors. He was of a disposition more gentle, and of a taste far more refined. Historians have celebrated him as the patron of arts, sciences, and literature. Learned men resorted to his court, were honored by his friendship, and were employed to assist in plans for promoting knowledge which his elegant mind devised; but he was a lover of pleasure, an opponent of reform, and a crafty politician. Every means which he considered as conducive to the grandeur of the Roman See he instantly adopted, though at the same time he was dissipating its treasures by a boundless luxury.

The state of religion was inconceivably deplorable, and its very foundations were sapped by the substitution of public prayers to the Virgin, and the saints, in the place of those devotional sacrifices of the heart which are due exclusively to the eternal God.* The bishops and canons devoted themselves to sensuality, and even used the wealth intended for charitable purposes to support their personal grandeur and extravagance. They were oppressive to their inferiors, and servile, as might be expected, to those from whom they had any reason to anticipate emolument or patronage. All orders of the clergy, imitating their ecclesiastical superiors, who copied from the luxurious court of Leo, became utterly contemptible; and as a necessary consequence of these disorders, dissoluteness was associated with idleness, and every religious office publicly bought and sold. The discourses of those who pretended to preach, consisted of fabulous tales, reports of miracles and prodigies, scholastic subtleties, or grave assertions of the necessity of obedience to the decisions of the holy mother church, the merits of saints, the glory of the Virgin Mary, the virtue of relics, the duty of endowing churches and monasteries, the flame of purgatory, the utility of indulgences and other topics equally *edifying!* A monk of the Franciscan order at Basil, assured his audience from the pulpit, that *Scotus* had rendered greater services to the church than St. *Paul!*

Luther says of the monks, "Their fasting is more easy to them than our eating is to us. To one fasting day belonged three days of devouring. Every friar to his evening collation has two quarts of beer, a quart of wine, spice cakes or bread prepared with spice and salt, the better to relish their drink. Thus went these poor *fasting* brethren, they grew so pale and wan that they were like the *fiery angels.*"

There existed a particular order of friars in Italy, called *Fratres Ignorantiæ*, that is, *Brethren of Ignorance.* They were obliged to take solemn oaths that they would neither know, learn, nor understand any thing at all, but answer all questions with the word Nescio. Truly, said Luther, all friars are well worthy of that title, for they only read and babble out words, but feel no concern to understand them. They say, although we understand not the words, yet the Holy Ghost understands them, and the devil flies away. This was the friars' highest argument, who are enemies to all liberal arts and learning, for the Pope and the Cardinals conclude thus: "Should these brethren study and be learned, they would master us, therefore *saccum per neccum, hang a bag or sack about their necks*, and send them begging through cities, towns, and countries."

But something worse than ignorance attached to the monkish fraternity, of which two notable instances mentioned by Luther, will abundantly satisfy the reader. In the monastery at Isenach, says he, stands an image which I have seen. When a wealthy person came thither to pray to it, (it was Mary with her child,) the child turned away his face from the sinner to the mother, as if it refused to give ear to his praying, and was therefore to seek mediation and help of Mary the mother. But if the sinner gave liberally to that monastery, then the child turned to him again; and if he promised to give more, then the child showed itself very friendly and loving, and stretched out its arms over him in the form of a cross. But this image was made hollow within, and prepared with locks, lines, and screws; and behind it stood a knave to move them, and so were the people mocked and deceived, taking it to be a miracle wrought by divine providence.

A Dutchman making his confession to a mass-priest at Rome, promised by an oath to keep secret whatever the priest should impart to him till he came into Germany, upon which the priest gave him *a leg of the ass on which Christ rode into Jerusalem*, very neatly bound up in silken cloth, and said, "This is the holy relic on which the Lord Christ did corporeally sit, and with his sacred legs touched this ass's leg!" The Dutchman was wonderfully pleased, and carried the holy relic with him into Germany, and when he came upon the borders, boasted of his holy possession in the presence of four others of his comrades, at the same time showing it to them; but each of the four having also received a leg from the priest and promised the same secrecy, they inquired with astonishment "whether that ass had *five* legs?" By the way, they forgot that the latter would have been much less of a miracle than the former.

A Dutch schoolmaster in contempt of a shameless friar, who had expressed his dislike of the liberal arts and sciences, gave his school-boys this Latin for an exercise, *monachus*, a devil, *diabolus*, a friar.

The subject of *sacred relics* is inexhaustible, but we shall only add a few words. Spolatine, the celebrated secretary of Frederic, Elector of Saxony, drew up a curious catalogue of sacred relics preserved in the principal church at Wittemberg. It contained the enormous number of *nineteen thousand three hundred and seventy-four*. Previously to

* The Popish churches resounded with such petitions as the following:

"Maria, mater gratiæ
Tu nos ab hoste protege
In hora mortis suscipe,
et
Sancta Dorothea, *cor mundum in me crea!*
Sancta Catharina ab astu mundi transfer nos ad amæna
Paradisi! *aperi januas Paradisi!*"

the more correct ideas of religion which he received from Luther, the Elector was a great collector of these rarities. But the relics in the churches of Hall were still more curious. These precious specimens of superstition are of very high antiquity. In the year 359, the Emperor Constantius caused the remains of St. Andrew and St. Luke to be removed to the temple of the Twelve Apostles at Constantinople, from which precedent the search for saints and martyrs, whose bodies were supposed to possess extraordinary virtues, became general. The wonder seems to be how a sufficient number could be procured, to serve even by piecemeal for so many ages and churches; but this apparent difficulty is solved by father John Ferand, who asserts, that "God was pleased to multiply and re-produce them for the devotion of the faithful." Instead of swelling the inventory to thousands, a specimen of a few may afford the reader some data by which to ascertain whether the probability is that they were multiplied by divine omnipotence, or by human credulity.

"The rod of Moses with which he performed his miracles.

"A feather of the angel Gabriel.

"A finger of a cherub.

"The slippers of the antediluvian Enoch.

"The spoon and pap dish of the Holy Child.

"A lock of hair of Mary Magdalene.

"A tear our Lord shed over Lazarus, preserved by an angel who gave it in a phial to Mary Magdalene.

"One of the coals that broiled St. Lawrence.

"The face of a seraph with only part of the nose.

"The snout of a seraph, supposed to belong to the defective face.

"Some of the rays of the star that appeared to the magi."

The bishop of Mentz, says Luther, boasted that he had A FLAME OF THE BUSH WHICH MOSES BEHELD BURNING!

The necessity of some reform of abuses, even the more enlightened Catholics themselves admitted, but they had no conception of the extent to which it was about to be carried, and which is worthy the most attentive consideration. Man usually employs great means to accomplish insignificant purposes; but God produces the greatest effects by the smallest apparent effort. Hence, there is a characteristic difference between divine and human methods of operation, which was never more remarkably conspicuous than in the history of the Reformation. Never, consequently, did any work exhibit more visible traces of a divine interposition.

When Leo X. took the Papal chair, he found the revenues of the church exhausted by the vast projects and ambitious enterprizes of his immediate predecessors, and not only was he naturally disinclined to economize, and liberal in his encouragement of the arts and learned men, but extremely desirous of aggrandizing the Medicean family, of maintaining a splendid establishment, and of contributing to the exterior magnificence of the Catholic church. Julius II. had granted indulgences to all who contributed to the building of the church of St. Peter at Rome, and under the same pretext Leo adopted a similar plan of obtaining money, "Pope Leo X.," says Sleidan, "making use of that power which his predecessors had usurped over all Christian churches, sent abroad into all kingdoms his letters and bulls, with ample promises of the full pardon of sins, and of eternal salvation to such as would purchase the same with money!"

It is obvious that the multiplication of crimes in a superstitious and dissolute age, would be proportionate to the facility of obtaining pardon. It had been a practice in the different governments of Europe, to allow the payment of a fine to the magistrate, by way of compounding for the punishment due to an offence. The avaricious and unprincipled court of Rome adopted a similar plan in religious concerns, and intent only on the augmentation of revenue, it even rejoiced in the degradation of the human mind and character. The officers of the Roman chancery published a book containing the exact sum to be paid for any particular sin. A deacon guilty of murder was absolved for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might assassinate for three hundred livres. An ecclesiastic might violate his vows of chastity even with the most aggravating circumstances for the third part of that sum. To these and similar items, it is added, "Take notice particularly that such graces and dispensations are not granted to the POOR, *for not having wherewith to pay they cannot be comforted.*" *Taxa Cancellar Romanæ.*

The origin of indulgences is to be traced to a time far antecedent to the period now under review. They were resorted to in the twelfth century for the purpose of private emolument, the bishops assuming to themselves this dispensing power, whenever they wanted money for their private pleasures, or for the exigencies of the church. They soon became a source of inexhaustible opulence, and the abbots and monks who did not possess the same authority, but quite as much avarice and craft, invented the counterpart of this plan by carrying about the relics of saints in solemn procession, and permitting the infatuated multitude to touch and kiss them for certain stipulated prices.

The Roman pontiffs soon interposed to *share* this profitable traffic of indulgences with the bishops, and at length to *appropriate* it to themselves. And with strange temerity they ventured not only to publish plenary remission for all temporal penalties, but for all the punishments predicted for transgressors in a future state of existence. The first pretence to justify this proceeding, was the holy war carried on by European princes against the infidels of Palestine, but this benefit was very soon extended to less important occasions.

The monstrous doctrine thus originated was modified and embellished by *Saint* Thomas in the following century, and contained these propositions, "that there existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds and virtuous actions which the saints had performed *beyond what was necessary for their own salvation*, and which were therefore applicable to the benefit of others: that the guardian and dispenser of this precious treasure was the Roman pontiff, and that of consequence he was empowered to assign to such as he thought proper a *portion* of this inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes."

In the pontificate of Leo X. Albert, Elector of Metz, and archbishop of Magdeburg, who was soon afterwards made a cardinal, had the commission for dispensing indulgences in Germany, and enjoyed a considerable share of the profits. His agent in Saxony was John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, a profligate in his morals, but a man of popular eloquence, and what was still better for the purpose, of most consummate effrontery. He carried on a very extensive traffic in indulgences, in consequence of offering them to the ignorant multitude at a very low price. He boasted that "he had saved more souls from hell by his indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching." He affirmed, if any man purchased them, his soul may rest secure respecting its salvation—that the souls purchased, as soon as the mo-

ney tinkles in the chest, escape and ascend to heaven—and that the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. The usual form of absolution by Tetzel, was as follows, "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See; and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to thee all punishment which thou deservest in purgatory on their account, and I restore thee to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which thou didst possess at baptism; so that when thou diest the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delights shall be opened, and if thou shalt not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when thou art at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The audacious Tetzel was particularly successful in his impious traffic in the neighborhood of Wittemberg, a circumstance which roused the righteous spirit of Luther to a determined opposition. He declaimed both publicly and privately against the vices of the monks who published indulgences, and pointed out to the people from the pulpit, the danger of relying on any other means of salvation than those which God himself had appointed in his word. Luther was at that time about thirty-four years of age, and a professor of theology and philosophy in the University of Wittemberg. On the thirtieth of September, 1517, he maintained publicly at Wittemberg ninety-five propositions against indulgences, by which he opened the long and glorious campaign which eventually secured the rights of conscience, and established the cause of protestantism.

These propositions which were affixed to the church adjoining the castle of Wittemberg, were much welcomed, and obtained a wide and rapid circulation in Germany. The Augustinians, particularly the prior and sub-prior of the monastery, endeavored to dissuade Luther from thus exposing himself and his order to danger, but nothing could extinguish or abate his zeal. Tetzel soon afterwards published two theses against the Reformer at Frankfort, the former consisting of a hundred and six propositions, the latter of fifty, but all deduced from one general principle, as liberal and as enlightened as a Catholic commissioner of indulgences might be expected to assume, namely, the Pope's infallibility. As a further incontestible proof of victory over his opponent, he committed his writings to the flames. The students of the University at Wittemberg instantly resented the indignity, very much to the dissatisfaction of Luther, and totally without the knowledge of the elector, senate, or rector, by treating Tetzel's propositions in a similar manner. The controversy, however, was for a long period entirely of a private nature, and Luther himself relinquished his prejudices in favor of the hierarchy slowly and reluctantly. His letters to the Pope and the bishops were expressed in respectful, and even in submissive terms, for no one was less aware than himself of the great work he was employed by Providence to accomplish.

Some of his Augustinian brethren differed from Luther respecting several of his doctrines, which determined him to embrace the favorable opportunity of an annual meeting of the order at Heidelberg, in the summer of 1518, to publish and publicly defend his sentiments on justification, faith, good works, and other theological topics. The effect produced by this discussion was considerable, especially upon the minds of two persons afterwards distinguished in the annals of the Reformation, Martin Bucer and John Brentius.

In the course of the same year three powerful antagonists arose, Silvester, Prierio, master of the Apostolic palace at Rome, James Hoogstraat, an inquisitor of Louvain, and John Eckius, professor of divinity, and vice-chancellor at Ingolstadt. In his controversies with these dignified ecclesiastics, he displayed the most intrepid firmness of character, and an increasing knowledge of the truth. In reply to Prierio's extravagant representations of the Pope's power, and of his superiority to a general council, he exclaims, "If such are the sentiments entertained at Rome, happy are they who have separated from the church and are gone out from the midst of that Babylon! Cursed are they who hold communion with her! If the Pope and cardinals do not check this mouth of Satan and compel him to recant, I solemnly declare before them that I dissent from the Romish church, and renounce her with the Pope and cardinals as the abomination of the holy place."

Leo X. reclining upon the lap of sensuality and indolence, cheered by the beams of prosperity, and lulled by the echoes of parasitical adulation into luxurious repose, took no notice of the progress of opinion in Germany. He expected that the contentions which had arisen would cease of themselves, and like a few bubbles on the surface of a stream produced by some temporary and slight agitation of the waters would gradually, and without any interference, disappear. When Prierio referred to the heresies of Luther, he replied with the utmost indifference, *Che fra Martino aveva un bellissimo ingegno, et che coteste erano invidie fratesche.* "Martin is a man of talents, but these are only the squabbles of monks." The moment however the innumerable reports which he heard of the fatal divisions of Germany, and especially a letter from the Emperor Maximilian I. on the subject, convinced him of his mistake, he became infuriated, and acted with a precipitancy no less conducive than his previous indifference to the advantage of the reformed cause. He summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome within sixty days, to answer for his heresy in the presence of select judges, of whom Prierio was nominated as one.

Frederic, justly surnamed the *wise*, adopting the only measure that could have successfully averted the impending danger, represented to the pontiff that Luther's cause belonged exclusively to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and ought to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. This induced the Pope to refer the case to Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, and his legate at that time at the diet of Augsberg. In a letter dated the eleventh of October, addressed to Melancthon from this place, which evinces at once the ardor of his friendship and the peculiarity of his situation, Luther thus expresses himself: "There is nothing, my dear Philip, new or remarkable here, unless it be that the whole city is full of the rumor of my name, and every one is desirous of seeing this new Erostratus, the incendiary. Persevere manfully in what you are doing for the right instruction of youth; for my part I am ready, if such be the will of God, to suffer any thing for you and for them. I would rather die, and lose for ever, what would indeed be a most painful privation, your delightful society, than recant any part of the truth I have spoken, or furnish those with an occasion of disparaging the

most important studies, who are both the silliest and the bitterest enemies of sound learning. Italy is plunged into the profoundest Egyptian darkness, all are ignorant of Christ and the things that are Christ's. Yet these are the lords and masters of our faith and morals! Thus the anger of God is evinced in the accomplishment of that prediction; 'I will give children to be their princes, and women shall rule over them.' Farewell, my dear Philip, and pray fervently that the divine displeasure may be averted."

Luther held three different conferences with the cardinal in the month of October, but to no purpose: after which Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight belonging to the court of Leo, and well qualified for such a commission by prudence and sagacity, was sent to supercede Cajetan. For the double purpose of conciliating the Elector of Saxony, and avoiding the humiliating appearance of sending a messenger expressly to treat with Luther, the Pope sent the golden or consecrated Rose to Frederic, by Miltitz, which was an annual present to some distinguished favorite of the Court of Rome. It was received, however, with coldness, and even contempt.

At his first conference in the year 1519, at Altenburg, he succeeded so far as to persuade Luther to write a submissive letter to Rome, and after two other interviews great expectations were entertained of a speedy and complete reconciliation. Happily the inconsiderate violence of the Papal advocates defeated these hopes, and stimulated Luther and his followers to still greater diligence in the investigation of truth, and to increased activity in the propagation of it.

The origin and early progress of this extraordinary controversy, together with the motives which influenced the great *heresiarch* of the sixteenth century, are so admirably stated by Melancthon in his preface to the second volume of Luther's works, that the substance of it cannot with propriety be omitted in this narrative.

"Martin Luther gave us reason to hope, that in the preface to this part of his writings, he would furnish a narrative of his own life, and of the occasions of those contests in which he was engaged: and he would have done it, if, before this volume was printed he had not been called from this mortal life, to the eternal society of God and the heavenly church. A clear exposition of his private life, would have been peculiarly useful, for it abounded with profitable examples for the confirmation of the pious, and the admonition of posterity. It would also have refuted the calumnies of those who insinuate, that he was excited by princes or others to undermine the dignity of bishops, or that he was animated through the expectation of private gain to break the bonds of monastic servitude.

"The parents of Martin Luther, originally lived in the town of Eisleben, where Martin was born, and afterwards removed to Mansfeldt, in which place his father became a magistrate, and obtained the highest reputation for his integrity. His mother was remarkable for every virtue, and especially for the fear of God and a devotional spirit. They were peculiarly diligent in their daily instructions to educate their son in the knowledge and fear of God, and in a proper sense of every duty. Luther was placed under the tuition of a pious tutor at the school of Eisleben, and at the age of fourteen was removed to Magdeburg, along with John Reineck, who afterwards rose to considerable distinction, and with whom he formed a lasting friendship. In the course of a year he was sent to the school of Eisenach, where he applied to grammatical studies with the utmost diligence. He far surpassed his schoolfellows in talent, especially in eloquence and copiousness of language, both in prose and poetical compositions. Captivated with the love of literature he panted for academical instruction, and if he had met with suitable teachers, his capacity would have enabled him to go through all the sciences; nor is it improbable that the milder studies of a sound philosophy and a careful habit of elaborate composition, might have been useful in moderating the vehemence of his natural temper. But at Erfurt he was introduced to the thorny logic of the age, which his penetrating genius soon completely understood. Eager for knowledge he was not satisfied with this, but hastened to read Cicero, Virgil, Livy, and most of the Roman writers; whom he studied not as boys do for the sake of the words, but for instruction. He entered into the meaning and spirit of the authors, and as his memory was tenacious, almost every thing he read was ready for use. Thus, even in his early youth he excited the admiration of the whole university.

"Having taken the degree of master of arts at the age of twenty, his relations urged him to embrace the profession of the law, thinking that his genius and eloquence might be employed advantageously to the state, but he very soon disappointed their wishes by entering the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. There he not only pursued ecclesiastical studies with the closest attention, but submitted to the severest discipline, and far surpassed others in the various exercises of reading, disputation, fasting, and prayer. As he was neither small in person nor feeble in constitution, I have been astonished at the small quantities of food he required, for I have known him when in perfect health, neither eat nor drink four days successively, and for a considerable length of time subsist on a slight allowance of bread and a herring, day after day.

"The occasion of his commencing that course of life, which he considered most suitable to piety and sacred learning, was this, as he related it himself, and as many know. When deeply meditating on the wonderful instances of divine wrath and judgment, he was frequently so alarmed, that he was ready to die with terror. I saw him once wrought up to such a pitch of feeling in the course of an argument on some doctrinal point, that he threw himself on a bed in a neighbor's chamber, and amidst the most fervent supplications, frequently exclaimed, 'he hath concluded all under sin, that he might have mercy upon all.'

"It was not poverty, therefore, but religion which induced him to seek a monastic life, in which though his proficiency in scholastic learning, and his skill in the inextricable labyrinths of disputation were remarkable, yet as he was rather in quest of solid improvement than of fame, he regarded these pursuits as only ornamental and subordinate. He eagerly resorted to the fountains of heavenly knowledge, that is, the writings of the prophets and apostles; that he might ascertain the will of God and have his faith established upon the firmest evidence. To this he was the more disposed, in consequence of those anxieties which preyed upon his mind.

"He used to relate that an elderly priest in the monastery at Erfurt, to whom he explained his feelings, consoled him by discoursing on the nature of faith, and directing his attention to the article in the creed, 'I believe in the remission of sins.' This he interpreted not merely as implying a general belief, for such a faith even devils possess, or a conviction that some persons of peculiar excellence as David or Peter are pardoned, but that it was the divine command that each individual should personally appropriate the doctrine. This interpretation he confirmed by a reference to St. Bernard, and to the language of St. Paul, 'We are justified by faith.' Luther was thus led to pay greater attention to the

doctrine of justification by faith, so much inculcated by Paul; and by the study of the different passages on this subject in the writings of the prophets and apostles, accompanied by daily prayer, he acquired increasing light.

"At that period he began to read the works of Augustine, where, particularly in his commentary on the Psalms and his book concerning the Spirit and the Letter, he found many decisive passages which confirmed his idea of faith and afforded him much consolation. Nor did he altogether relinquish the Sententiarii. He was studious of Occam, Gerson, and others, and some of their writings he could almost repeat by heart, but Augustine was his favorite author.

"Staupitz, who was anxious to promote theological studies in the recent academical establishment at Wittemberg, recommended Luther to a professorship in 1508, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. His genius was soon noticed in the daily exercises, especially by Martin Mellerstadius, who plainly predicted the mighty change he was likely hereafter to accomplish in the current doctrine of the schools.

"Here he expounded the logic and physics of Aristotle, but continued to pursue his theological studies. Some time afterwards he went to Rome to settle a dispute with the monks, and upon his return the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him at the expense of the Elector Frederic, who had heard him preach and admired the force of his genius, his nervous language, and the excellent matter of his discourses.

"Afterwards he expounded the Psalms and the epistle to the Romans in such a luminous manner, that truth seemed to arise with new splendor after a long and cloudy night. He pointed out the distinction between the law and the gospel, he refuted the Pharisaical error at that time inculcated both in the schools and pulpit, that men may merit the remission of sin by their own works and become righteous before God. Thus he directed the minds of men to Jesus Christ, and like John the Baptist, pointed to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.

"This revival of important truth procured him a very extensive authority, especially as his conduct corresponded with his instructions, and these proceeded not merely from the lip, but from the heart. This purity of life produced a great effect upon the minds of his hearers, and the old proverb was verified. 'Virtue makes the speech persuasive.' Wherefore many worthy men influenced by the excellence of his doctrine and the sanctity of his character, were afterwards induced to comply with some of the changes which he introduced in certain established ceremonies.

"Not that Luther at that time meditated an innovation upon the customary observances, or broached any alarming opinions, but he was illustrating more and more the doctrines so essential to all, of repentance, the remission of sins, faith, and salvation by the cross of Christ. Every pious mind was charmed with these lovely truths, and the learned were pleased to see Christ, the prophets and apostles, brought as it were, out of darkness, mourning and imprisonment, and the differences between the law and the gospel, between philosophy and evangelical doctrine established, nothing of which was to be discerned in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and other scholastics. Add to this, the study of the Greek and Latin languages was promoted by the writings of Erasmus, and many persons of cultivated minds began to despise the barbarism of the schools. Luther himself studied Greek and Hebrew, that he might enjoy access to the fountains of sacred wisdom.

"Such was the course which Luther was diligently pursuing at the moment when the impudent Dominican Tetzel published his prostitute indulgences in these parts; and so irritated was Luther by Tetzel's impious discourses, and so inflamed with the love of pure religion, that he issued those propositions concerning indulgences which are inserted in his works. These he posted up in Wittemberg on the day of the feast of All Saints, in the year 1517. Tetzel, hoping to ingratiate himself into the favor of the Roman pontiff, immediately convoked his monks to assist him in writing against Luther. But this did not satisfy him. He thundered against Luther as a heretic, and publicly committed his propositions to the flames, threatening a similar fate to their author. This conduct compelled Luther to discuss the subjects of difference at greater length, in support of the truth.

"In this manner the great controversy commenced, when Luther did not in the least suspect or dream of the change about to be accomplished, nor indeed of even rooting out indulgences. It is therefore calumnious in those who say that he only made use of this affair as a plausible pretext to subvert the establishment, and to introduce himself and his friends into power. So far from this, the Elector Frederic in particular beheld these contentions with sorrow, and acted with extreme caution. Frederic was distinguished above all his contemporary princes as a lover of peace, neither stimulating nor even applauding Luther, and frequently expressing his apprehensions of future discords. But he was a wise man, by no means disposed to follow the advice of those who are for crushing every innovation in the bud, but rather regarding the admonitions of heaven, to listen to the gospel, and not resist the truth. He read the word of God for himself, and submitted to its authority. I know, too, that he often asked wise and good men to give their opinion; and particularly at Cologne, at the time of the coronation of Charles V. he affectionately urged Erasmus to speak freely on the subject of Luther and the existing controversies. To which Erasmus replied, 'Luther is right in his sentiments, but he wants more mildness.' Frederic took occasion afterwards to exhort him to moderate the asperity of his style.

"Luther promised Cardinal Cajetan to be silent, if silence were also imposed upon his adversaries; from which it is evident that he was at that time solicitous of peace, and not of contention: but he was provoked into disputation by illiterate writers, who obliged him to publish on the sacraments, on the distinction between divine and human laws, on vows, and other subjects. Eckius, for the purpose of rendering him hateful to the hierarchy, moved the question respecting the supremacy of the Roman see.

"Human policy detests change and innovation; and it must be confessed that, in the present unhappy state of mankind, there will always be a mixture of good and evil in the very best of causes: but in the church the command of God is paramount to all human authority. 'This,' says the eternal Father, 'is my beloved Son, HEAR YE HIM;' and he denounces eternal vengeance against those who impiously endeavor to abolish any part of revealed truth. Luther, therefore, was engaged in a work both of piety and necessity, especially as a teacher in the church of God, when he opposed pernicious errors. If innovation be odious, if the prevalence of discord be unpleasant and we cannot witness it without grief, be it remembered, the blame attaches to the promulgators and abettors of error.

"I state this not merely for the sake of defending Luther and his adherents, but that pious people now, and in future ages, may perceive what is, and always will be, the ruling principle in the true

church of God; and how God, by the word of the gospel, selects his eternal church from the great and corrupt mass of sinners, amongst whom his word shines as a light in a dark place. Thus, in the time of the prevalence of Pharisaical impiety, Zacharias, Elizabeth, Mary, and many others, preserved the purity of truth; and previous to that age there were many who saw, with greater or less degrees of clearness, the genuine gospel, and worshipped the true God. Such an one was that aged priest I have mentioned, who encouraged Luther amidst his conscientious convictions and struggles, and was in some respects his teacher in the faith. Let us then join in the fervent supplication of Isaiah for his hearers, 'Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples.' Isaiah 8:16. This statement will tend to show that base superstitions cannot last for ever, and will explain the causes of religious innovation.

"No private ambition induced Luther to undertake this cause at first; and though he was naturally ardent and passionate, yet he was always mindful of his peculiar department; and, discriminating wisely between the office of a magistrate who wields the sword to govern the multitude, and that of a Christian preacher who is to instruct the church of God, he disclaimed the use of arms or coercive measures. When Satan, who perpetually aims to disgrace the cause and subvert the church of God through the errors of miserable men, excited several seditious characters to tumultuous irregularities, he condemned them in the severest manner, and both adorned by his example, and strengthened by his eloquence, the bonds of social order. But when I reflect on this subject, and consider how many great men in the church have committed sad mistakes in this point, I do affirm that no human care, but a divine principle alone, could have sufficed to keep him so constantly within the limits of duty.

"He constantly exhorted every one to 'render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's;' that is, to worship God in the exercise of genuine repentance, in an open avowal of the truth, in prayer and in a conscientious discharge of duty; and in the fear of God to regard all the civil regulations of the community. Such was Luther. He gave to God the things which are God's, he taught the truth, and prayed aright, and possessed all those virtues which are well pleasing to God; and, as a citizen, he shunned every thing seditious. Virtues greater than these cannot, I think, be desired in the present life.

"But though we extol the excellencies of the man, and the use he made of the gifts of heaven, yet we ought to feel peculiar gratitude to God, who, by his means, restored the true light of the gospel, which we should preserve and diffuse. It is this doctrine of which the Son of God says, 'If any man love me he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him.'"

The celebrated disputation at Leipsic claims some notice, both on account of its early occurrence in this great polemical campaign, and of Melancthon's concern with it. It lasted from the twenty-seventh of June to the fifteenth of July. Carolostadius, or Carlostadt, professor of divinity at Wittemberg, archdeacon of the church of All Saints in that place, and a zealous reformer, and Eckius of Ingoldstadt, the papal advocate, after some preliminary pamphleteering, agreed upon settling the controversy, according to the fashion of the age, by a public debate. George, Duke of Saxony, uncle of the Elector, offered the city of Leipsic for the purpose, expecting, no less than Eckius himself, a triumphant issue to the Catholic cause. Thither the combatants repaired on the eighth of June, Luther and Melancthon accompanying their friend. The assembly was splendid. The Duke of Saxony, the members of his council, the Magistrates of Leipsic, the Doctors and Bachelors of the University, with a number of persons of quality, were present; and scribes were appointed to take notes of the debate. It is a curious circumstance that John Agricola, of Eisleben, who was employed on the Lutheran side, was afterwards an opponent of the Reformation, and John Poliander, who was amanuensis to Eckius, attached himself to Luther at the close of the disputation, and afterwards became a preacher of the gospel in Prussia.

The first six days' discussion between Eckius and Carlostadt, on the subject of free-will, was conducted with considerable skill by both parties; but it would be very uninteresting to detail. It is sufficient to state that the principal question was—"Whether the human will had any operation in the performance of good works, or whether it was merely passive to the power of divine grace?" Eckius maintained that the will co-operated with the grace of God, and Carlostadt asserted its total inefficacy to perform any meritorious act. Melancthon, who was a hearer, says, it first gave him a practical demonstration of what the ancients understood by *sophistry*. Eckius undoubtedly acquired the greatest share of popularity, from the superior ease and fluency he discovered compared with his antagonist. Luther soon afterwards obtained the Duke's permission to take the place of Carlostadt in the debate, at the particular request of Eckius, who was impatient to encounter the leading Reformer. Each was in truth equally ardent, conscious that a mighty cause was at stake, which demanded the whole force of their respective energies of mind. On the one side was Eckius, impelled by no small degree of confidence in himself from previous conflicts, especially the recent one with Carlostadt, supported by the plaudits of the Catholic party, which was the prevalent one in point of numbers and splendor, and having acquired a very high degree of celebrity, for Eckius, had already engaged in public disputations in eight different Universities—on the other, Luther, persecuted and defamed, conscious that if he betrayed the least feebleness in argument, or the smallest degree of forgetfulness or hesitation, it would be taken advantage of by his wily adversaries, and thus prove detrimental to the important cause he advocated; and that even though he should be completely triumphant in argument, it would rather tend to irritate than convince or silence his opponents. Never was a more important crisis—never a greater cause—never more determined more equal, or more impetuous antagonists:

> ——— As when two black clouds,
> With heav'n's artillery fraught, come rattling on
> Over the Caspian, then stand front to front,
> Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
> To join their dark encounter in mid air—
> So FROWN'D THE MIGHTY COMBATANTS.
>
> *Milton's Par. Lost, B. 2.*

Eckius selected thirteen propositions from the works of Luther, as the subjects of "long debate;" but the principal one that engaged their attention was the foundation of the supremacy claimed by the Roman Pontiffs. After ten days of violent and incessant discussion, in which Eckius was obliged to admit the eminent "attainments of his reverend opponent," and even to apologize for himself, the victory was claimed by both parties. Luther says he must acknowledge that he and his friends were overcome—"*clamore et gestu*," by noise and gesture. Hoffman, the rector of the university of

Leipsic, refused to give a decision in favor of either; in consequence of which it was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfurt, who neglected, though they did not refuse to do it. The immediate effect of this dispute upon Eckius, was that of increasing his animosity against the Reformer, on whom he determined to revenge himself in every possible way. Luther considers it as some good evidence that the duke felt the force of his arguments, because on one of these controversial days when they were dining together, he laid his hands on the shoulders of the two combatants and exclaimed, "Whether the Pope exists by divine or by human right, he is, however, the Pope!"

If we may judge by the letter of Eckius himself to his friend Hoogstraat, it will not be difficult to ascertain the victorious party. He complains that the Lutherans had great advantages over him, because they brought several books to which they had recourse, they had their disputation in writing and conferred together about an answer, and they were many against one single man. It is no inconsiderable circumstance also, that a large number of the young students immediately quitted Leipsic and repaired to the university of Wittemberg.

Though Melancthon had undoubtedly favored the designs, and aided the efforts of Luther previously to this conference, he was roused by the present occasion to a more particular study of the points of difference, and a more vigorous co-operation with the great champion of religious liberty. He had an opportunity of hearing whatever one of the most zealous, eloquent, and able advocates of Popery could say in defence of his system, of perceiving the influence of that system upon the minds of men in general, and of estimating more correctly perhaps than under any other circumstances he could have done the great importance of the controversy itself. "From the period of this famous public disputation, he applied himself more intensely to the interpretation of the Scriptures and the defence of pure Christian doctrine, and he is justly esteemed by Protestants to have been under divine Providence, the most powerful coadjutor of the Saxon Reformer. His mild and peaceable temper, his aversion to schismatic contention, his reputation for piety and for knowledge, and above all, his happy art of exposing error and maintaining truth in the most perspicuous language, all these endowments concurred to render him eminently serviceable to the revival of the religion of Christ. Little did Eckius imagine that the public disputation in which he had foreseen nothing but victory and exultation, and the downfall of Lutheranism would give rise to another theological champion, who should contend for Christian truth and Christian liberty, with the primitive spirit of an apostle. At Wittemberg, Melancthon had probably been well acquainted with Luther's lectures on divinity; but it was in the citadel of Leipsic, that he heard the Romish tenets defended by all the arguments that ingenuity could devise; there his suspicions were strengthened respecting the evils of the existing hierarchy; and there his righteous spirit was roused to imitate, in the grand object of his future inquiries and exertions, the indefatigable endeavors of his zealous and adventurous friend."—*Milner's History, Vol.* 4, *page* 428.

Melancthon represents himself as only a spectator and hearer of this celebrated dispute, but he took the most lively interest in every part of the proceedings, and several writers have stated that he often went up to Carlostadt and whispered so many useful suggestions, that Eckius was provoked to exclaim: "*Tace tu Philippe, ac tua studia cura, nec me perturba;*" "Hold your tongue Philip, mind your own business, and do not interfere with me." His opinion of the different disputants is given in a letter to a friend, and may be relied on for candor and accuracy. "Eckius was much admired for his various and striking ingenuities. You know Carlostadt, he is certainly a man of worth and of extraordinary erudition. As to Luther, whom I have known most intimately, his lively genius, his learning and eloquence I admire, and it is impossible not to be in love with his truly sincere and pure Christian spirit." It is difficult to ascertain how Eckius procured a copy of this letter, which also contained a general account of the transactions at Leipsic, but he instantly published a most acrimonious reply, calling Melancthon a mere grammarian, and with preposterous self-sufficiency affirming, that, "although he might have some knowledge of Greek and Latin," yet "he was not a person with whom a divine could with propriety condescend to enter the lists." Nothing can be inferred from this contemptuous language, excepting the violent malignity of his temper, and the secret consciousness he felt of the talents of his opponent.

Melancthon replied, in a tract consisting of only five folio pages, but written with so much mildness, elegance, and acuteness, that it proved extremely serviceable to the Lutheran cause. To railing he opposes argument, to arrogance modesty, to dogmatism, sound sense and genuine piety. He contends without virulence, and triumphs without parade. Some of the sentiments are so excellent, and the manner in which they are expressed so truly characteristic, that they ought not to be suppressed.

After remarking that "in the epistle which had excited so much indignation, he had merely intended a slight sketch rather than a full description of the Leipsic disputations, for to have done otherwise would have required more time than his numerous occupations admitted;" he solemnly disavows "ever having intentionally given offence to any one, deeming it both unchristian and inhuman to injure or detract from another's merit. If he had done wrong, he wished it to be imputed either to incaution or accident, and begged to be forgiven, conscious as he was of being totally devoid of any malignity, and forced as he felt himself into this unwelcome arena of contention. He was resolved to be deaf to the calumnies of Eckius, appealing to what he had himself written for his best justification, and he would now conduct his argument without uttering any petulant or unjustifiable reproach against his antagonist, because he was more solicitous for the glory of Christ than respecting the effect which any frivolous calumnies might produce."

"Eckius," says he, "is confident of being victorious, by appealing to the authority of the holy fathers of the church. But how does this avail him? I am, indeed, by no means disposed to depreciate, on the contrary, I highly reverence those illustrious luminaries of the church and defenders of Christian doctrine. But I cannot deem it rash, as the fathers differ in their sentiments, to receive the Scripture, and not the varying opinions of men as the ultimate appeal. As there is always some one simple meaning to the language of Scripture, for divine truth is most intelligibly simple, this sense is to be sought by a comparison of passages, and by the general strain of the particular discourse. In this manner we are enjoined to investigate the sacred writings, as we examine the sentiments and decrees of men, by bringing them to the touchstone and trying their consistency. Then it is more satisfactory to consult their judgment on the meaning of Scripture, from those places where they professedly explained it, rather than where they are only indulging their own feelings in rhetorical descriptions. We all experience this fact, that Scripture is variously interpreted according to our various

dispositions of mind and cast of opinion. This or that interpretation pleases, because it seizes our feelings and captivates our passions, and as the polypus imitates the color of the rock to which it fixes, so we are prone to use our utmost endeavors to conform our sentiments to the prejudices of our own minds. It frequently happens that the mind may admit, and for a time be wonderfully charmed with the genuine force and propriety of a sentiment, but afterwards be incapable of reviving such an impression; and thus the fathers of the church, wrought up to a pitch of feeling, make use of Scripture in a sense not in itself bad, but sometimes inapplicable and foreign to the purpose. And though I do not totally condemn this, yet I think it cannot be of much avail in controversy, for according to the Greek adage, 'They run well, but then they do not keep in the course.' I dare affirm, that sometimes the fathers have given interpretations of Scripture, suggested perhaps in a state of high religious feeling, and which might not be erroneous, but which to us inferior men and in a less glowing state of mind, have not seemed to accord with the literal sense. There is a secret manna and food of the soul, to which Paul alludes, when he speaks of *spiritually discerning* it, which is more easily felt than described.

"But who does not perceive how often the Scriptures have been misapplied in the different controversies that have been agitated at various periods, of which innumerable examples might be adduced, so that it has frequently happened, especially of late, that their exposition has been at complete variance with the original text. As to the scholastic method of interpretation it is any thing but simple, a very Proteus, transforming the sense of Scripture into allegories, tropes, figures, and diverting the truth from its literal, grammatical, or historical meaning, into I know not what wretched and polluted channels."

After touching upon the various points of difference, he concludes by saying, "Eckius himself shall be witness if I have not avoided those invidious reflections, which had I been so inclined, might have been indulged." In writing to his friends, he uniformly breathes the same admirable spirit. "If," says he, "you perceive any thing of an antichristian nature in what I send, let me beg you to perform the duty of a genuine friend, admonish me instantly, reprove, yea, lash me as you please. He is, believe me, the dearest of all my friends, who is most honest and downright in his remarks, for you know, as it is not my disposition to dissemble, so I always look upon *flattering friends* as they deserve. But as genuine Christian affection neither flatters nor admits of flattery, so you will acquire the character of a friend with me, by being a faithful adviser. Eckius rages against us in the most coarse and violent manner, either from a natural impetuosity of disposition or because he considers himself aggrieved, and my purpose is not to inflict, but to compensate for any supposed injury. He is undoubtedly very severe; but I have replied only in a small publication, and with as much moderation as possible, for God is my witness, that I do not cherish the slightest animosity. I might have said more, perhaps, without transgressing the bounds of propriety, but I chose to refrain in order to write not what my adversary deserved, but what was worthy of our own character and cause. After our departure from Leipsic, Eckius certainly reviled Luther in the most outrageous manner."

Such was the temper of this amiable controversialist, who so well understood the wide difference between opprobrious epithets and solid arguments, and who it is obvious on every occasion sought *truth* rather than *victory*. He abhorred the field of strife, and hated Discord as an unnatural and ferocious demon. He valued peace as it ought to be valued, above gold and silver—above honors and empires. He was more anxious to do good than to shine, to carry the olive branch than to wield the sword, to be regarded, or—for such was the temper of the times—to be *despised*, as an humble peacemaker, than to be blazoned forth as a polemical hero!

Still let it be recollected, and in this sentiment Melancthon would have concurred, that we ought not so much to lament that controversies have arisen, as that they have been conducted in an antichristian spirit. Nothing, it is readily admitted, can be more detrimental to the interests of genuine religion than intemperate and ill-humored debatings, but on the other hand—open, fair, and candid discussion is calculated to promote good will, to pacify resentments, to smooth the wrinkled brow of bigotry, to dissipate doubts, to clear up difficulties, and to elucidate truth. Melancthon may be exhibited as a bright example to all controversial writers of the spirit in which their arguments should be conducted—or rather, let them be induced to imitate a greater than he, who, "WHEN HE WAS REVILED, REVILED NOT AGAIN!"

CHAPTER IV.

Melancthon's marriage—His domestic character—His exemplary virtues—His boundless liberality—Account of his favorite servant John—Epitaph on his tombstone—Candor of Melancthon—His meekness—Sympathy—Interesting Letter written to a friend, who had sustained a painful family bereavement—His Piety—Sincerity—Wit—Memory—Temperance—Modesty—Humility—Parental conduct—His value for Time—Marriage and settlement of his two daughters—Character of his sons-in-law, George Sabinus and Caspar Peucer—Notice of Thurzo, Bishop of Breslaw. 1520.

ALTHOUGH from the peculiarity of circumstances which surrounded Melancthon, and the important period in which he lived, we are naturally anxious to trace his public career, and follow him through the principal scenes of an active life, yet in order to accomplish the legitimate purposes of biography, it will be proper to turn aside for a moment to visit him in the recesses of privacy, by this means aiming to impart various instruction, as well as to prepare amusement.

Few persons can claim to rank amongst distinguished scholars or professors, and fewer still are destined by Providence to undergo the struggles, to encounter the resistance, and to pursue the high and holy course of Reformers; but every one occupies a place and possesses an influence in the FAMILY. One or other of the endearing names of father, husband, parent, child, brother, sister, friend, belongs to every human being; to these different relations peculiar and appropriate duties are attached, and from the manner in which they are discharged or neglected, we have an opportunity both of noticing the development of individual character, and of ascertaining the principle upon which the felicity or infelicity of life in a very considerable degree depends. Here we have all the advantage of *example*, arising from the interesting consideration that another is acting in our own circumstances, and moving in a similar sphere; and if our personal improvement be not promoted, whether the example be good or bad, we must be strangely deficient in right feeling.

The chief actors in seasons of great political change or great moral revolution, are unfavorably situated for the cultivation of the milder graces; by the collision of opposing parties and contradictory opinions, the sparks of intemperate anger are too apt to be struck out, and dispositions even naturally mild, have sometimes been inflamed. But in cases where it has been deemed necessary or prudent for the sake of the cause, to suppress the rising emo-

tions of resentment, and to check improper violence of language in public, the rage of the heart has burst forth in the circle of unrestrained friendship, and disturbed the hour of private intercourse.—Here, however, the character of Melancthon is particularly worthy of admiration. A meek and quiet spirit never forsook him. He always engaged reluctantly in disputation, and was never or seldom irritated by it, even in the smallest degree. He harbored no resentments. When he retired from the field of strife, he laid aside his weapons and most willingly renounced the glory of the controversialist, for the peace and comfort of the domestic man. He did not bring malevolent feelings or angry passions into his family, for in truth he had none to bring. But it would be doing him great injustice to represent him as a tame or effeminate character. Passions he had, but they were under the due regulation of reason and piety. Religion had completed the work of nature; he was kind and gentle upon principle, as well as by constitution. If the emotions of anger at any time arose in his mind, they were instantly suppressed as a weakness unworthy of a man, as a sin unbecoming a Christian.

In the year 1520, he married a very respectable young lady belonging to one of the principal families in Wittemberg. Her name was Catharine Crappin, and her father was a burgomaster of the town. She is described by Camerarius, whose intercourse with the family was such as to afford him every means of correct information, as a truly religious person, most assiduously attentive to her domestic concerns, extremely liberal to all, and not only benevolent to the poor, and even lavish of her own means of supplying them, but urgent with others whom she could at any time influence to minister to their necessities. With eminent piety of spirit she united great purity of manners, and avoided all extravagance in dress and all luxury in food. Nothing could be more congenial to the taste of Melancthon, who was never captivated by the blandishments of pleasure, nor seduced by the charms of sensuality. In a letter to Langius, dated in November, he speaks of her in terms of high regard, as possessed of a disposition and manners which entirely corresponded with his wishes: and he represents his marriage as the result of serious deliberation, and conformable to the advice of his friends. Seldom have two individuals become more completely one in spirit and character, and seldom has the marriage contract been more firmly sealed by mutual attachment. Reason, religion, and love, presided over their happy union, and confirmed their solemn vows.

During this year he commenced a course of lectures on the epistle of Paul to the Romans, and so indefatigable was he in the regular discharge of this and every other academical duty, that the suspension of the usual course even for the single day of his marriage was so remarkable, as to be publicly intimated in the following curious notice:

> A studiis hodie facit ocia grata Philippus
> Nec vobis Pauli dogmata sacra leget.
>
> Rest from your studies, Philip says you may,
> He'll read no lectures on St. Paul to day.

Liberality was a distinguishing feature in the mind of Melancthon and his excellent wife; and this was apparent both in the common acts of charity and in the more diffusive spirit of universal benevolence. Neither of them was disposed by oppressive exactions or parsimonious care to enrich themselves. They deeply sympathized with the feelings of the needy and the wretched; never being deaf to their importunities, but readily and most liberally supplying them with money and sustenance. The necessitous might have applied to them with the utmost propriety, the language of Paul to the Corinthian church, "To their power, yea, and beyond their power, I bear record, they were willing of themselves, praying us with much entreaty, that we would receive the gift."—2 *Corinthians*, viii. 3, 4. Their house was crowded with a constant succession of comers and goers of every age, sex, and condition, some pressing in to receive, and others departing well stored from this ample repository of kindness and bounty. It formed a part of their domestic regulations, never to refuse an applicant!

In addition to those who frequented the house to beg, the celebrity of Melancthon proved a severe tax upon his time, for multitudes resorted to him to seek his advice, to obtain recommendatory letters, to request the correction of their compositions, to lay before him various complaints, to solicit his aid in literary pursuits, or perhaps merely for the purpose of seeing so distinguished a person; all of whom enjoyed free access. Sometimes persons whom he could not altogether approve would solicit his valuable recommendations; these he has been known to dismiss with pecuniary presents, as the best method which his benevolent spirit could devise, of being released from their unwelcome importunity.

It seems scarcely possible to conceive how amidst such a profusion of benevolence Melancthon could support his own family, especially when it is recollected, that while none were sent empty away, he not only did not aim to grow richer, but frequently refused those emoluments which others usually grasp at with the utmost eagerness. Instead of availing himself of the influence of the great with whom he was connected to advance him to dignity and opulence, he was known to refuse even the presents of princes. With an admirable disinterestedness, he lectured on divinity and the Holy Scriptures, two whole years without any salary; and when a pension of two hundred florins was assigned him by the Elector of Saxony, he excused himself by saying, "I am unable to devote myself to the duty with sufficient attention and assiduity to warrant an acceptance of it." The Elector, however, by Luther's advice, intimated that it would suffice to give one or two lectures in a week, as his health might permit.

At the time which will be hereafter more particularly noticed, when the Elector Maurice was desirous of attaching Melancthon to his interests, he made inquiry into his circumstances, and whether he was not in need of some pecuniary aid. Upon his dissembling this, the prince told him, he wished he would at least ask some favor, assuring him that whatever it might be, it should readily be granted. He replied, that "he felt perfectly satisfied with his salary, and was not anxious for any augmentation of it, or indeed for any thing else." Maurice still continued to urge him, and at length he said, "Well, as your highness requires me to ask some favor, I ask *my dismission*." The prince found it necessary, however, to solicit his continuance in his professorship, remarking to the gentlemen of his court, "That he had never seen nor experienced any thing like Melancthon's conduct, who was not only too disinterested to ask for any thing, but would not even accept it when proffered."

It is proper to mention, with marked respect, an invaluable servant, of the name of John, who lived with him many years. John was a man of tried honesty and fidelity, adorning the humble sphere in which he moved, and very much beloved by his master. To his management we must in part look for an explanation of the mystery to which we have alluded, namely, the possibility of being so lavishly

benevolent with such restricted and apparently inadequate means. The whole duty of provisioning the family was entrusted to this domestic, whose care, assiduity and prudence, amply justified the unbounded confidence reposed in him. He made the concerns of the family his own, avoiding all useless expenditure and watching with a jealous eye over his master's property. He was also the first instructor of the children in the family during their infancy. This merits to be distinctly recorded, not only because such a servant is a kind of *rara avis in terris*, but because, as in the present instance, he may contribute essentially to the general good, by preventing the waste of those means which a benevolent spirit will ever feel anxious to consecrate to purposes of public utility. John grew old in his master's service, and in the year 1553, expired in his house, after the long residence of almost thirty-four years, amidst the affectionate regrets of the whole family. Melancthon invited the academicians to his funeral, delivered an oration over his grave, and composed the following epitaph for his tombstone:

Joannes patrii Nicri discessit ab undis
Huc accersitus voce, Philippe, tua
Quem comes exilii juvit precibusque fideque
Nam vere gnato credidit ille DEI.
Ipsius hic dominus sepelivit corpus inane
Vivit, conspectu mens fruiturque DEI.

Here at a distance from his native land,
Came faithful John, at Philip's first command;
Companion of his exile, doubly dear,
Who in a servant found a friend sincere—
And more than friend, a man of faith and prayer,
Assiduous soother of his master's care;—
Here to the worms his lifeless body 's given,
But his immortal soul sees God in heaven.

Perhaps no one ever attended more scrupulously than Melancthon to the injunction of Jesus Christ, "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth; that thy alms may be in secret."—*Matthew* vi 3. He was unostentatious in every thing, but especially in works of charity. Satisfied with the approbation of conscience and of God, he manifested no solicitude for the applause of men, and was content to do good without being praised for it. It will be easy to believe, that he abounded in acts of kindness which, being known only to himself, no book records excepting the register of heaven; especially when it is stated from unquestionable authority that, on several occasions when his pecuniary resources have been completely exhausted, he would contrive to supply the necessitous by privately taking cups and other vessels appropriated to domestic use, to a trader to sell, even at a very low and disadvantageous rate.

Melancthon received many presents of gold and silver coin. These he would often give to the very first person, who from avarice or curiosity might be induced to ask for them; not from any undervaluation of these ancient specimens, but simply from a disposition to oblige. Mere self-gratification appears seldom to have entered into his views, much less did such a feeling acquire any degree of ascendency over him. His prevailing desire was to communicate pleasure to others and he was satisfied with the feast, the intellectual and moral feast which a refined benevolence only can provide; in which respect, it must be acknowledged, that in a very important sense "he fared sumptuously every day."—*Luke* xvi. 19. On one remarkable occasion when he had accumulated a large collection of coins and curiosities, he offered a certain stranger who seemed peculiarly gratified with the sight, to take any one which he might happen to feel a wish to possess; upon which, the stranger said, with consummate effrontery, "I have a particular wish for them all." Melancthon, though he did not dissemble his displeasure, nevertheless granted his unwarrantable request.

If the parsimonious or the prudent should be disposed to censure this excessive and prodigal benevolence, alleging that if it be capable to "withhold more than is meet," (*Proverbs* xi. 24.) it is at least not very laudable to squander the gifts of Providence indiscriminately upon every class of importunate beggars; be it remembered, that there is an essential difference between an obvious crime and an apparent excess of virtue—between the conduct of the spendthrift and that of the person who is lavishly bountiful. In the one you perceive the very essence of selfishness, in the other the exuberance of kindness. The one lives only to seek his own gratification; *self* is the end he pursues, and the contemptible idol he worships; no sacrifices are considered too costly to be offered to this paltry god, and every thing is rendered subservient to this infamous idolatry; the other, considering himself in some degree the depository and trustee of the divine beneficence, and valuing the possessions of life only so far as they provide for his own immediate necessities, and may be made to contribute to the comfort of others, becomes at least serviceable to a number of his fellow creatures. He feels the claims of humanity, and fulfils the high duties of a neighbor. If such a person be a little more liberal in distributing than the narrow calculations of human policy or prudence seem to admit, he acts in conformity with the dictates of a pure and disinterested benevolence, reaps a rich harvest of satisfaction, and manifests the spirit while he fulfils the precepts of the Saviour of the world.

If it be alleged that it is no one's duty to impoverish himself or to injure his family, even though it be the result not of a selfish but a benevolent expenditure, this is conceded—yet in the present case, the question does not respect the waste of property *already possessed*, but the neglect to *accumulate*. If an individual be satisfied for himself with that station of life which Providence has assigned him, and with those pecuniary resources, small or great, which he already possesses, and if he prefer using that supply which industry, manual or mental, procures for him, in doing good to others, instead of aspiring after the greater honors or emoluments within his power—if he choose even to *refuse them when offered*, either from an apprehension of moral danger or from mere indifference, will any one represent this as culpable? Surely we ought rather to admire than to censure such conduct; it evinces a noble spirit of disinterestedness, and a glorious superiority of mind to the attractions of earthly splendor, which is worthy of imitation.

In this statement of some of the excellent qualities of Melancthon, his extreme *candor* and *kindness* must not be overlooked. He was never known to asperse any one, either openly or by insinuation. Nothing was further from his intentions than to injure another's character or reputation, and if his were attacked, no one could manifest a more exemplary patience. He not only could not be moved to resentment by the misconduct of offenders, but did not relax in his benevolence or familiarity with them. No dark suspicions pervaded his mind, no malevolence or envy disturbed his placid spirit. The calm summer of his soul was never beclouded or distracted with tempestuous passions.

Sympathy with the sufferings of others was not among the least of his eminent qualities, of which, perhaps, the best possible illustration will be afforded by translating one of his letters to an afflicted friend, whose sorrow for the loss of a beloved child,

the moment he heard it, he hastened to alleviate. His sentiments are to be regarded as those of the heart, and not as the mere effusions of a formal or complimentary friendship. An affectionate disposition may, and indeed will, by a generous participation, share another's woes, even though it has not yet tasted the bitterness of bereavement or personal affliction of any kind; but in order to afford effectual consolation to the mourner, it seems requisite that the person whose friendly spirit hastens to his relief, should have been himself a sufferer, that he may be duly qualified to select appropriate language, and that the distressed individual himself may feel a consciousness that his words are not words of course. Experience is the best of all instructors, and affliction superinduces a sensibility, and teaches a language which cannot possibly be attained in any degree of perfection by another process. And, "As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." Proverbs xxvii. 19. In this view Melancthon was likely to prove a judicious as well as a sympathizing friend, for during the whole of his life he drank deeply and drank often, of the bitter cup. The following letter besides claims insertion for its excellence, and as it is without date may be introduced here with propriety.

"To John Pfeffinger, with affectionate salutations.

"God has implanted the principle of natural affection in mankind, for the double purpose of strengthening the bonds of human society, and teaching us to realize the ardor of his love to his own Son and to us. He therefore approves the affection we cherish for our offspring, and the piety of our grief for their loss. Natural affection is peculiarly forcible in minds of a superior order; on which account, I doubt not, that the loss of your son—a son too not only possessed of the most amiable disposition, but of a mind well stored with literature, not only inclined by his very constitution to moral habits, but under the constant influence of true religion, and already engaged in a course of study in which his capacity promised so much—the loss of such a son, I say, must affect you with the deepest grief. And be assured, I am not disposed to accuse you of weakness, on the contrary, I acknowledge—I commend your piety—I truly lament your personal bereavement and the public loss; for I am apprehensive that in these times the churches will feel the want of teachers properly instructed. But you are well aware that we are permitted to mourn, though not immoderately. It is certain that these events are under divine superintendence; it becomes us therefore, to manifest a due submission of mind to God, and quietly to resign ourselves to his disposal in every season of adversity.

I will not now advert to the physical causes of death, for though naturally exposed to various diseases, let us regard the will of God in this dispensation, and not so much our own loss; and let us realize the blessings which in being removed from this afflictive life and these calamitous times your son is called to share. If we truly loved him, we shall rejoice in his happiness; and if we rightly understand Christian truth, we shall be disposed to congratulate him upon the society of the heavenly assembly, where he no longer drinks the streams of knowledge mingled and polluted as they are in the present world, but enjoys free access to the pure and infinite fountain of wisdom, holds intercourse with the Son of God himself, the prophets and apostles, and with inexpressible delight joins in praising God for so early an admission to that illustrious assembly; the thought of which may well enkindle within us a desire to escape from our earthly imprisonment.

"Perhaps it increases your sorrow to recollect his capacity, his erudition, his virtue; and you fondly wish for the charming company of such a son. But these very excellencies themselves ought to diminish your regrets, because you know how they contributed to the good of many during the short period of his mortal race, so that he was not a useless incumbrance upon society. You witnessed the evidences of his growing piety in this world of trial, which were but the beginnings of celestial life, and proved that his departure hence was only a removal to the happy intercourse of heaven. In fact, as often as you reflect upon these qualities of your dear son, you have reason to be thankful to God, who has shown such kindness both to you and to him, as to confer upon him the greatest of all favors: for a grateful mind will record mercies as well as crosses.

"It is becoming, therefore, as you know, to be resigned to the will of God who requires us to moderate our griefs, and to believe that no real evil has befallen your son. Let these considerations afford you comfort and repress undue anxiety. The minds of men are naturally influenced by examples, for it seems proper that we should not refuse to endure the afflictions incident to others, and which must be sustained as the common law of our nature. How calamitous must the death of Abel have appeared to our first parents, by the murder of whom their future hopes in reference to the church seemed to be cut off in regard to their own family, and how much greater cause for sorrow attached to them, when the human race consisted of so small a number, than can belong to you, who possess a surviving family, in which distinct evidences of piety may be traced? They were doubly wounded by the death of one son, and still more by the wickedness of his impious brother.

"Innumerable instances might be adduced from the history of all ages. Recollect the old Bishop of Antioch, whose three sons were slain by the tyrant Decius, in the very presence of their parents, who not only witnessed his cruel conduct, but exhorted and encouraged their children to suffer; after which, their mother beheld the murder of her husband, and having embraced the cold remains of her children and her husband, solemnly committed them to the grave.

"You remember also, the history of the Emperor Mauritius, who stood a silent spectator while his son and daughter were slain, but when the murderer approached his wife, he exclaimed, amidst a flood of tears, "Righteous art thou O Lord, and upright are thy judgments." Psalm cxix. 137.

"Wise men have often inquired with astonishment, for what reason the feeble nature of man is oppressed with such a weight of afflictions; but we who can trace the causes to a divine origin, ought to be resigned to the appointments of God, and avail ourselves of those remedies for grief which divine goodness has revealed: and while these are your solace, reflect upon this bright example of domestic piety.

"If when you are absent for a season from your family, and placed at a distance amongst persons uncongenial to your taste, the hope of returning home alleviates your vexations; so now you may be stimulated to patience by the consideration that in a little time you will again embrace your son in the delightful assembly of the skies, adorned with a more splendid distinction than any station on earth can command, I mean, with the glory of God, and placed among prophets, apostles, and the shining hosts of heaven, there to live for ever, enjoying the vision of God, and the enrapturing intercourse of Christ himself, the holy apostles and prophets. Let us constantly look forward to this glorious eternity

during the whole of our troublesome pilgrimage as to the goal of our course; and let us bear with the greater fortitude our present afflictions because the race is short, and we are destined not to the fugitive enjoyments of this life, but to the possession of that blessed eternity in which we shall participate the wisdom and righteousness of God.

"But as you, my learned and pious friend, are well acquainted with these truths, I have written the more briefly; and I pray God to invigorate both your body and mind. You remember it is said, 'In HIM we live and move and have our being.' Farewell." Acts xvii. 28.

The preceding letter renders it almost superfluous to state as a matter of fact, what must be at once obvious to every reader, and what every future transaction in Melancthon's life will render increasingly evident, that he was remarkable for *piety;* humble, genuine, undissembled piety. The association of great intellectual capacities with bad moral habits is always to be deeply deplored, and no exterior embellishments of nature or art, no power of mind, no fascination of manners, can render an infidel in principle and a profligate in character otherwise than offensive and contemptible. Vice always degrades even the great, while religion inexpressibly ennobles even the little. In the present instance we have not to weep over talent perverted and abused by vicious associations, but to rejoice in seeing it devoted to the best of purposes, and forming an alliance with true piety, which was in fact the pillar of his confidence, the brightest ornament of his unblemished character, the consolation of his most desponding hours, the stimulating motive of all his public exertions, and the LAW of his family.

Among other interesting fragments of Melancthon's composition, a short but expressive GRACE, designed for the table, and probably used by himself, is extant.

BENEDICTIO MENSÆ.

His Epulis donisque tuis benedicite Christe
Ut foveant jussu corpora fessa tuo,
Non alit in fragili panis modo corpore vitam
Sermo tuus vitæ tempora longa facit.

THE TABLE BLESSED.

To these provisions which enrich our board,
The gifts thy liberal Providence bestows,
Saviour, thy benediction now afford,
From which alone their power to nourish flows.
A few short years material food supplies
Corporeal waste, and cheers our fainting hearts;
But thy imperishable word imparts,
A principle of life that never dies.

O Saviour!———
Bless what thy providential care
Has for our bodies given!
But thy good word, superior fare!
Sustains the soul for heaven.

Melancthon was characterized by *sincerity*, and totally devoid of every thing like deceit and dissimulation. There were no reserves about him; all was transparent, open, and honest, while at the same time, his manners were remarkably captivating. From this temper resulted a freeness in common conversation, which led him sometimes to express himself with a degree of inconsideration: and even when his intimate friends have endeavored to check his frankness from an apprehension of what indeed not unfrequently happened, that his words would be invidiously misrepresented, such was his consciousness of entire purity of motive, that they could seldom or never succeed in rendering him cautious. He was not only communicative, but his conversation was seasoned with *wit*. Disputing one day with a certain Italian on the real presence in the Eucharist, "*How is it,*" *said he,* "*that you Italians will have a God in the sacramental bread—you, who do not believe there is a God in heaven?*" When he first changed his religious views, he conceived it impossible for others to withstand the evidence of truth in the public ministry of the gospel, but after forming a better acquaintance with human nature, and living to witness the futility of those fond but ill-founded expectations which a warm hearted piety is at first disposed to cherish, he remarked that "*he found old Adam was too hard for young Melancthon.*"

He was possessed of an extraordinary *memory*, and maintained that temperance in eating and drinking, that equanimity of mind, and those habits of reflection which essentially conduce to the perfection of this faculty. He was also inquisitive and read much, but with proper selection; retaining not only the general strain of the discourse, but the very words of the writer. Nor were these merely lodged in his memory, for he was remarkable for the facility with which he could call into use whatever he knew. The various kinds of information he gained were so arranged in the different compartments of his great mental repository, that he could at any time, and without any difficulty, find whatever he wanted: for he had the power of *recollecting* as well as of *retaining* knowledge. This qualification fitted him for controversy and made him peculiarly feared by his opponents.

Such was his *modesty* that he would never deliver his opinion upon important subjects without deliberation and serious thought. He considered no time misspent and no pains ill bestowed in the search of truth, and he was incessantly occupied in examining for himself. Sophistry and every species of evasion in argument excited his just abhorrence; seldom or never could it escape his penetrating eye, and whenever he detected it no considerations could deter him from expressing the most marked disapprobation. His own conceptions were clear, his language perspicuous, and his intentions upright. There was such a transparency in the whole stream of his argument in public discourses or disputations, that you could see to the very bottom of his motives and principles.

He was kind to a fault; and so exceedingly *humble*, that in the common concerns of life he was not ashamed to stoop even to menial offices if they were not base or dishonorable. Frequently he would put to shame the ill-humored disinclination of the lowest servants to discharge any part of their duty, by doing it himself.

The same happy combination of modesty and humility characterized all his deportment, and in a very conspicuous manner influenced his private conduct, his public transactions, and his various writings. It is not every author, however conscious of the blemishes which may have disfigured his first publications, that would be willing to make concessions of this description, "Nothing is more foolish than to attempt the defence of folly. An ingenious mind will acknowledge its mistakes, especially in subjects of a literary kind, and candidly confess its weakness or negligence in order that youth may learn from the example of others, to be more diligent in investigation and more careful in their mode of study. I will not scruple therefore to censure some things in the first edition of my own writings, and will not only recapitulate the course of my juvenile studies, but explain my meaning in some public transactions, and state why I issued certain theological publications."

M. Baillet, with a zeal natural to one of his faith, is anxious that the church of Rome should be duly

honored as the mother of so illustrious an offspring. "His parents," says he, "were most excellent Catholics, irreproachable in their manners, exemplary in their conduct, careful to maintain in their family the fear of God and a due observance of his commandments, walking before God with a simplicity, a fidelity, and a zeal like that of primitive Christians. I feel myself constrained to state these particulars, that you may remember to attribute to Melancthon's excellent education all that you read or hear said of his sweetness of temper, courtesy, temperance, modesty, and other virtues, for which the Protestants have so much extolled him: and that you may consider these qualities *as produced or cherished in the bosom of the Catholic church.*" Varillas, one of the greatest enemies of the Reformation, has nevertheless spoken of him in the following manner: "He possessed a sweetness and mildness of temper, that rendered him incapable of returning injury for injury. In observing the exactest rules of morality, he only followed his inclination, and notwithstanding the meanness of his birth,* he practised the utmost generosity his means would allow. No German wrote the Latin language with greater ease or in a more intelligible manner, yet he was never so attached to his own productions, or so prejudiced in their favor as to refuse making any corrections suggested by his friends."

Neither Melancthon's attachment to literature, nor his multifarious engagements in public seduced him from the cultivation of *domestic feelings*, and the discharge of *parental duties*. His wife and children, ever dear to his heart, were not forgotten amidst the deepest abstractions of study, or the greatest perplexity of engagement.

The habits of studious men have sometimes been represented as tending to disqualify them for the familiar intercourse of domestic or social life. It is often long before the clouds which profound study gathers over the mind can be entirely chased away, even by the cheering influence of innocent conviviality. At the same time a great man never appears greater than in descending from the high station where public opinion or extraordinary genius has enthroned him to an approachable familiarity. It is then his friends will no longer censure his abstractions nor his affectionate family deprecate his fame. Melancthon may be appealed to as a pleasing illustration of this remark. A Frenchman one day, found him holding a book in one hand and rocking his child's cradle with the other. Upon his manifesting considerable surprise, Melancthon took occasion from the incident to converse with his visitor on the duties of parents, and on the regard of heaven for little children in such a pious and affectionate manner, that his astonishment was quickly transformed into admiration. The fondness he cherished for his own family extended to children in general. He possessed, in a very eminent degree, the rare art of making himself a captivating and instructive companion to them. He descended with the most happy ease to their level, promoted by his jocularity their little pleasures, and engaged with all his heart in their games and festivities. He would often exercise their ingenuity, by devising fictions and puzzles, and took great delight in relating useful scraps of history or memorable tales.

He always estimated *Time* as a most precious possession. It is said of him, that when he made an appointment, he expected not only that the day or the hour, but that the *minute* should be fixed, in order that time might not be squandered away in the vacuity or idleness of suspense.

In his youth he was remarkably troubled with sleeplessness, which the regularity of his general habits at length overcame. When letters or papers arrived in the evening he always referred them to the next morning for inspection, least the hours devoted to sleep which he found indispensable to the due preservation of health, should be disturbed.

His matrimonial connection was not only a happy, but a very lasting one. Formed for each other, this favored pair were not destined to suffer the pangs of early separation; but lived in undisturbed harmony for thirty-seven years. They had four children, two sons and two daughters.

Anne, his eldest daughter, appears to have been the favorite child, for she was not only handsome and accomplished, but of a very literary turn. Luther in one of his letters, calls her "the elegant daughter of Philip." On the sixth of November, 1536, she was married to George Sabinus, a native of Brandenburg, who being sent to Melancthon with the powerful recommendation of Erasmus to be educated, became an inmate of his family. His thirst after knowledge was so unbounded, that no labor however great, which was deemed requisite to attain it, damped his inextinguishable zeal. By day and by night he devoted himself to study, and overlooked or despised every obstacle in the path of knowledge. But his taste even surpassed his zeal, particularly in poetic compositions. Camerarius relates that he had seen him weep abundantly when reading an exquisite piece of poetry, and that though he would deeply deplore his own infelicity in composition, no one in reality excelled him. His poem entitled "*Res gestæ Cæsarum Germanorum*," procured him not only a very extensive reputation in Germany, but the notice and patronage of the most enlightened princes of the age, and he became successively professor of the Belles Lettres at Frankfort on the Oder, rector of the New Academy of Konigsberg, and counsellor to the Elector of Brandenburg. It will not appear surprising that such a youth, and in such favorable circumstances, should have ingratiated himself into Melancthon's esteem, and attracted the affections of his accomplished daughter.

It is related of Sabinus, that on a certain occasion when he was dining in company with Stigelius and Melancthon, the latter engaged them in an extempore poetical contest. Sabinus being the elder of the two was required to begin, which he did in these words:

"Carmina conscribant alii dictante Lyæo,
Multa sit in versu cura laborque meo;"
Some silly scribblers soon their pages fill
Let care and labor regulate *my* quill!

to which Stigelius replied,

"Carmina componant alii sudante cerebro,
Nulla sit in versu cura laborque meo."
Some toil and sweat to elaborate a rhyme—
Let *no* such care nor labor waste *my* time.

The two poetical gladiators had the satisfaction of being equally extolled by Melancthon, the one for his attack, and the other for his defence.

Stigelius obtained a considerable poetical notoriety, and Melancthon has expressed a very high opinion of his merit. He wrote a variety of epitaphs, epigrams, and epithalamia, a metrical translation of many of the Psalms of David, with other little compositions, of which the following monumental inscription for himself is not the least curious:—

Hic ego Stigelius jaceo; quis curat? ut omnis
Negligat hoc mundus; scit tamen ipse Deus.
Here lies Stigelius:—but who marks the spot?
Well—let the world neglect me! God will not.

* The Papists were extremely fond of representing their adversaries as low and baseborn persons, in order, as they imagined, to render their cause contemptible.

But this apparently happy and suitable connection was destined to become a source of considerable affliction. Sabinus was very different in character from his father-in-law Melancthon. The elegant pleasures of literature did not satisfy him; for he was naturally ambitious, and the fame he acquired by his poetic publications, fed the secret flame till it could no longer be suppressed. Melancthon was attached to the more humble life of a man of letters and a man of piety, nor could he be induced by the most pressing entreaties to pursue any measures for the promotion of his children to posts of civil distinction and emolument. He employed all his skill to cure the raging fever of Sabinus, but in vain; for the poet worshipped fame and wealth. They became therefore discontented with each other, and found it best to separate. The lovely spirit of Melancthon however prevented any serious dissention, and they eventually parted with mutual good will and kindness. Sabinus took his wife into Prussia, where to her father's inexpressible grief, she died, after a residence of four years, at Konigsberg.

The youngest daughter of Melancthon was married in the year 1550, to Casper Peucer, whose name is one of the most celebrated in German literature, as well as in the annals of the Reformation. He was a physician, and through the favor of the Elector of Saxony, made professor of Medicine in the University of Wittemberg. He was always sent for to court when any important deliberations of a medical kind were held, and enjoyed free access to the Elector. His writings are numerous in medicine, mathematics, and theology. Above all, he is to be ranked amongst the illustrious sufferers for the cause of truth.

After the death of Melancthon, Peucer, in conjunction with the divines of Wittemberg and Leipsic, and of several ecclesiastics and persons of distinction in the court of Saxony, aimed to introduce the Calvinistic sentiments respecting the Eucharist, denying most strenuously the Lutheran doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ. Great commotions being excited, the Elector Augustus, in the year 1571, called a solemn assembly of the Saxon divines, and of all persons concerned in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, at Dresden. Augustus commanded them to adopt his opinion respecting the Eucharist, which at that time agreed with that of Peucer and the moderate Lutherans; but he was soon seduced by the insinuations of their adversaries, who represented the church as in danger, to change sides, and in consequence of finding that the Saxon divines, who were the disciples of Melancthon, propagated their sentiments with the utmost assiduity, he called a new convention at Torgaw in the year 1574, where he assumed the dictator's chair and wielded the persecutor's sword. Of those who denied the corporeal presence, some were imprisoned, others banished, and others compelled to renounce their sentiments. Peucer had the honor of suffering amongst the former. He endured the severities of a cruel imprisonment for ten years, and was released at last only through the intercession of the Prince of Anhalt.

Among the rare instances of eminent persons attached to the reformed cause in the early period of its progress which is now under review, comprising the year 1520, the name of John Thurzo, Bishop of Breslaw, in Silesia, claims a distinguished notice. It is true little, too little is known of him; but as the early traveller watches the commencement and the gradual progress of the dawning day, by the first beams that strike successively upon surrounding objects, so the observant reader will unite with the vigilant biographer, in hailing each indication of increasing light in a world enveloped in mysterious darkness. The bishop of Breslaw, therefore, ought to be mentioned for the pleasing singularity of his character, as the decided friend of the infant Reformation. He died in peace in the month of August, meriting this noble eulogium. This was expressed in a letter addressed to the bishop, which he did not live long enough to receive. Luther wrote to him at the same time, in language indicative of an equal esteem.

"Who is there," says Melancthon, "that does not love the man, who, so far as I know, is the only man in Germany, that by his authority, learning, and piety, has furnished an example of what a bishop ought to be? If the Christian world could but produce ten persons of a similar *stamp and cast of thinking* (*sumphradmones,*) as Homer says, I should not doubt of seeing the kingdom of Christ in some measure restored."

CHAPTER V.

The Pope's Bull against Luther—His retaliation—Diet of Worms—Luther's seizure and imprisonment at the castle of Wartenberg—Feelings of Melancthon—Condemnation of Luther by the Sarbonne—Melancthon's satirical rejoinder—His publication under the feigned name of Thomas Placentinus—His declamation on the study of Paul—Extracts from his Loci Communes, or Theological Common Places—Transactions relative to the abolition of private masses. 1520, 1521.

Returning from the disputations at Leipsic, Eckius resolved if possible to ruin Luther, and pursued his purpose with inveterate malignity and unremitting zeal. He flew to Rome, implored Leo X. to excommunicate this heretic, and obtained the vigorous co-operation of the Dominicans, then in high favor at court, who were willing to revenge the quarrel of their brother Tetzel.

At length on the fifteenth of June, 1520, the Pope issued a Bull against Luther, in which after calling upon Christ, St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the saints to interpose in behalf of the church, forty-one propositions are extracted from his writings, and condemned as pestilential, scandalous and offensive to pious minds; all persons are interdicted from reading them upon pain of excommunication, and unless the heretic should present himself at Rome, within sixty days, in order to take his trial before the supreme Pontiff, he is fully excommunicated. But these menaces were ineffectual; in many places the decree was delayed or evaded—even at Leipsic it was violently opposed, and at Erfurt it was forcibly wrested from Eckius, torn in pieces and thrown into the river by a body of academicians. Many of the Roman Catholic writers condemn the imprudence of Leo in this and other hasty proceedings against the Saxon Reformer, but it is more than probable that had the effect been different, they would have spared the Tiara.

Immediately previous to the publication of this celebrated anathema, Luther had been offered an asylum from his persecutors, by Sylvester Schaumberg, a Franconian knight, whose son was under the tuition of Melancthon. "I offer you," said he, "my own protection, and that of one hundred noblemen in Franconia, with whom you can live in safety until your doctrine has undergone a deliberate investigation." The state of his mind at this critical juncture may be ascertained from his own language to his friend Spalatine, the Elector's secretary, upon transmitting to him the generous letter of Schaumberg. "As for me, the die is cast. I equally despise the favor and fury of Rome, I have no longer any wish to be connected with or reconciled to them. Let them condemn me and burn my books, and if I do not in return publicly condemn and burn the whole pontifical code, it will only be from want of fire." In fact, on the tenth of December, 1520, in the presence of an immense con-

course of people of all ranks, he committed the Bull of Leo, the decretals of the Pontiffs, and other similar documents to the flames, in testimony of his everlasting separation from the Romish communion. Nor did he neglect to use the *pen* as well as the *torch*, by which he appealed from the Pope to a general council, and exposed the pretensions and corruption of the church of Rome in several tracts. A second Bull was issued against him in the month of January, 1521, in which the Pope styles himself "the divinely appointed dispenser of spiritual and temporal punishments:" it consisted of a recapitulation of the preceding Bull, and a formal excommunication of Luther.

During these transactions the Elector Frederic acted with a prudence and discretion which proved eminently serviceable to the Reformation. Had he been *less* the friend of Luther and of truth, he would have delivered him up to his enraged adversaries; had he been *more* zealous it would have been equally fatal, by exposing himself to the papal anathemas, and the infant cause, which he secretly and therefore effectually patronized, to almost inevitable destruction. His conduct and character cannot be more accurately depicted than in the words of Melancthon. "This most excellent prince was much concerned to foresee the contests and disorders which would ensue, though the first attacks made by Luther were upon very plausible grounds. By his own judgment and sagacity, and by long experience in the art of government, he well knew the danger of revolutions. But being a truly religious man and one who feared God, he consulted not the dictates of mere worldly and political wisdom, which might have inclined him to stifle at once all symptoms of innovation. He determined to prefer the glory of God to all other considerations, and to listen to the divine command which enjoins obedience to the gospel. He knew that it was a horrible profaneness to resist the truth when plainly seen and known. He had studiously examined Luther's works, and accurately weighed his proofs and testimonies; and he would not suffer doctrines to be oppressed and smothered which he judged to be the word of God. The Holy Spirit confirmed and supported him in these excellent resolutions, so that though the Emperors Maximilian and Charles, and the Roman Pontiffs urged this prince, and not without menaces, to hinder Luther from writing and preaching in his dominions, he was not in the least degree shaken or intimidated. Yet he presumed not to rely entirely on his own judgment in a matter of such great importance, but took the advice of other persons who were venerable for their rank, learning, and experience."

After the death of Maximilian I. the unanimous vote of the electoral college placed Charles V. upon the imperial throne, who was publicly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the twenty-third of October, 1520, the year after his election. Leo immediately applied to him to inflict an exemplary punishment on Luther for disobedience to papal authority, while Frederic exerted his influence, an influence derived from the personal obligations of Charles, who had been created Emperor chiefly through his exertions, to obtain a public and fair investigation of his cause in Germany previous to the promulgation of any condemnatory edict. The result was that the Emperor appointed a diet at Worms in January, 1521, to which, under the protection of a safe conduct, Luther repaired in April.

His friends recollecting the fate of John Huss, were extremely apprehensive, and would have dissuaded him from venturing amongst his enemies. Their fears increased as he approached the city. Every argument was used to prevent his perseverance, and when at Oppenheim he was met by Bucer,* who had been sent to entreat him to take refuge in a neighboring castle; upon which occasion he uttered that heroic and most characteristic declaration which both Protestant and Papist historians have recorded: "I am lawfully called to appear in the city of Worms, and thither will I go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houses were there combined against me."

At this crisis Melancthon thus expresses himself in a letter to one of his friends. "Martin still lives and prospers, notwithstanding the indignation and fury of Leo, to whom all things have hitherto been supposed possible. Nobody approves the Bull which Eckius is enforcing, unless it be those who are more concerned for their own ease and indulgence than for the success of the gospel. We are certainly in no danger from it at present, though the hierarchy raves and thunders. O that you knew with what trembling hesitation this pontifical mandate is executed, for its abettors are in a complete strait betwixt the general opinion on the one hand, and the anger of the Roman Pontiff on the other, while there are many who would rather be openly accused of any crime than appear to be deficient in religious zeal for the Pope. You are doubtless acquainted with the proceedings at Worms, though I may say a word or two on that subject. Charles is constantly urged to proscribe Luther by an imperial edict, and there are great deliberations and debatings about it. If the Papists could prevail, in their rage they would destroy us, and they are vexed at the inefficiency of the pontifical decrees. They are in hopes that those which they are using every means, but I trust in vain, to extort from the emperor, will prove availing. Nothing can terrify Martin Luther, who would willingly purchase the advancement and glory of the gospel AT THE PRICE OF HIS BLOOD."

Private conferences and public examinations, violent threats and gentle entreaties, were alternately employed to cajole or to force him into a recantation of his heretical opinions and a submission to the Roman Pontiff. It was all in vain. He was neither to be compelled nor seduced into compliance. He COULD suffer death, but he COULD NOT violate the dictates of conscience! The wonder is, that when his enemies were so inveterate and himself so intrepid and resolute, he should have been allowed to depart from Worms in peace; but the members of the Diet refused to expose themselves to the reproach of a violation of faith, and the Emperor was unwilling to contend with them from political motives. Luther was allowed twenty-one days to return home, and required not to preach to the people in the course of his journey. A few days after he had withdrawn, an edict was issued by the authority of the Diet in the Emperor's name, declaring him a member cut off from the church, a schismatic, a notorious and obstinate heretic: forbidding all persons, under penalty of high treason, loss of goods, and being put under the BAN of the Empire, to receive, defend, maintain or protect him, either in word or writing; and all his adherents, followers, and favorers to suffer the confiscation of their property, unless they had left his party, and had received *absolution by apostolic authority!*

The formidable edict of Worms however was in

* Martin Bucer was born at Shelestadt in Alsace. He spent several days with Luther, at Worms, and embraced his opinions. He afterwards preached the doctrines of the Reformation at Strasberg and was extremely active in endeavoring to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians. In the year 1549, Archbishop Cranmer invited him to England, and he became a lecturer in Divinity, in the University of Cambridge, where he died in 1551, at the age of sixty-one.

a great measure superseded by two circumstances, namely, the multiplicity of the Emperor's engagements arising out of commotions in Spain, and the wars of Italy and the Low Countries; and a curious, but well concerted and well timed contrivance of his wary friend the Elector of Saxony. Foreseeing the meditated attack upon Luther, Frederic employed several trusty persons in masks to seize upon him as he was passing a forest in Thuringia, near Altenstein, and convey him to the castle of Wartenberg, which was situated on a high mountain in the vicinity of Eisenach. In his retreat he passed for a country gentleman, under the assumed name of Yonker George. The consequence of this sudden disappearance was unfavorable to his adversaries who were suspected of having plotted his destruction, the Imperial edict missed its aim, and his opinions—or rather, "The word of the Lord grew, and was multiplied." Acts xi. 24.

Luther's confinement in the castle of Wartenberg, placed Melancthon at the head of the reformed cause, who was well aware of the responsibility of his situation. After a considerable lapse of time he writes to his friend Hess: "I feel the need I have of good advice. Our Elijah is still confined at a distance from us, though we are expecting and anticipating his return. What shall I say more? His absence absolutely torments me." Though there was indeed an alloy of constitutional timidity, which cannot but be considered as some depreciation of his sterling value in the peculiar situation of ecclesiastical affairs, no one was so well qualified to maintain the respectability and promote the success of the Lutheran cause. The great Reformer well knew his extraordinary merit, and requested him to assist in the discharge of some of those clerical duties for which he was incapacitated by absence. In one of his letters he addresses him thus: "For the glory of the word of God and the mutual consolation of myself and others, I would rather be consumed in a blazing fire, than remain here half alive and utterly useless. If I perish, the gospel of Christ will not perish, and you, I hope, like another Elisha, will succeed Elijah." Again he writes, "The accounts which I receive of your abundant success in religion and learning during my absence, rejoice my heart exceedingly, and very much diminish the miseries of separation. The circumstance of your going on so prosperously while I am absent, is peculiarly delightful to me, because it may serve to convince the wicked one, that however he may rage and foam, their desires shall perish and Christ will finish the work which he has begun."

Melancthon was constitutionally hypochondriacal; and as even trifling circumstances frequently disturb the peace of such persons, it was to be expected that the state of things at this momentous crisis would produce a powerful effect upon his mind. His heart was interested in the cause of pure Christianity, his happiness was deeply involved in it, his sensibilities were perpetually wrought upon by surrounding occurrences, and his spirits ebbed and flowed according to the success or decline of that cause which was to him the dearest upon earth. In fact the situation of Melancthon and the friends of the Reformation was peculiarly afflictive. The transactions at Worms and the subsequent concealment of Luther, had inspired Frederic with an unusual degree of caution amounting to timidity, in his proceedings. The writings of Luther were not allowed to be published, and the academicians were interdicted the discussion of questions likely to offend persons of distinction, who were attached to Popery. That Luther deeply sympathized with his friend and participated in his sentiments, is obvious from his own words. "I sit here in my Patmos, reflecting all the day on the wretched condition of the church. I bemoan the hardness of my heart, that I am not dissolved in tears on this account. May God have mercy upon us!" It would however be flagrantly unjust to impute the strong sensation of either of these exalted characters to pusillanimity. Though much distressed, they fully coincided in the principles recognized in another of Luther's epistles—"The peace and approbation of God is ever to be preferred to the peace and approbation of the world. * * * In all circumstances we ought to adhere strictly to the simple word of God, and, not merely when that word happens to thrive and be respected among men. Let those who please take against us. But why are we to be always looking on the dark side of things? why not indulge hopes of better times?"

At length these bosom friends contrived a mode of alleviating the anxiety that was so intolerable, and of obtaining each other's assistance in the present crisis. This was a secret visit of Luther to Wittemberg, which was hastened by the prevalence of various evils, especially the conduct of Carlostadt, which will be noticed in a subsequent page. He states the circumstance to Spalatine: "I came to Wittemberg and amongst the delightful intercourse enjoyed with my friends, I found this bitter, that my little pamphlets and letters had neither been heard of nor seen, for which you shall judge, whether I was not justly displeased. However, on the whole, what I have seen and heard has afforded me the greatest satisfaction. May the Lord comfort those who are interested in the cause: but on my way I was vexed with the various rumors I heard of the imprudences of some of our friends, and I propose to publish some suitable exhortations as soon as I return to my asylum. Commend me to our illustrious prince, from whom I wish to conceal my journey to Wittemberg, for a reason of which you are aware. Farewell. I am in Amsdorff's house with my beloved friend Philip Melancthon."—*Luther*, Ep. 253.

In England Henry VIII. published a book against Luther and in defence of the seven sacraments of the Romish Church, for which he received the title never yet relinquished by his successors, of *Defender of the Faith.* In France, the divines of the Sorbonne,* published a formal condemnation of Luther's writings, dated the 15th of April, 1521, in which they show the danger to which Christians are exposed from his *poisonous errors*, and charge him with rashness in preferring his own judgment to that of the Universities and Holy Fathers of the Church, *as though God had given him the knowledge of many truths necessary for salvation, which the church had been ignorant of during the past ages, being left by Jesus Christ her spouse in the darkness of error.*

Melancthon immediately gave them a very suitable flagellation in a small piece, entitled "Adversus furiosum Parisiensium Teologastrorum decretum pro Luthero apologia;—*An apology for Luther, in opposition to the furious decree of the Parisian Theologasters.*" This was gratifying to his friend *Yonker George*, in confinement at Wartenberg. "I have seen," says he, "the Decree of the *Parisian Sophists*, together with the Apology of Philip, and from my very heart I rejoice: for Christ would not have given them up to such blindness had not he determined to

* The term applied to the faculty of Theology at Paris. The college of the University in which they assembled was called the house of the Sorbonne, which was first erected and endowed in the year 1250, by a wealthy favorite of Louis, whose name was Robert de Sorbonne. That theological society was, at that period, in the highest repute.

promote his own cause, and to put a stop to the despotism of its adversaries."

In this satirical pamphlet Melancthon begins by remarking, that, "during the past year, the Sophists of Cologne and Louvain condemned the gospel in a set of naked propositions, unsupported by either reason or Scripture, and that now the Parisian divines had acted in the same irrational manner. By the spirit which pervades the Decree it may be determined whether it is from God, who is not the author of malice, or *from another quarter!*" It appeared almost incredible that *such* a work should have proceeded from *such* a university, distinguished as it had been by remarkable men, and especially by the great and pious Gerson. A letter was prefixed to the Decree which he supposed must have been written by some hired declaimer, because it displayed such womanish violence, that it was too silly for a divine! "What does it contain? 'Oh! Luther is a Manichæan! a Montanist! he despises us forsooth!—he is mad!—he must be brought to his senses by fire and flames!' What feminine, what *monkish* weakness!

"Luther is accused of heresy, not because he differs from SCRIPTURE, but from the *Holy Fathers*, *Councils*, and *Universities*, whose opinions are received as the first principles of religion!! But are Holy Fathers, and Councils, and Universities to decree the articles of Christian faith? And how can this be the case, when they are so liable to err, Occam himself being judge, if you will not credit me? Is our faith to depend upon the opinions of men? So did not Paul determine when he affirmed, that 'other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'—1 Corinthians, iii. 11.

"Luther then does not dissent from SCRIPTURE, but from YOUR judgment, and from the sense which the *Fathers*, *Councils* and *Schools* have adopted; and this I see is the great cause of the controversy, and the great sin he has committed! But what after all is decreed by the Councils, when some things are false and some true, some conformable to Scripture, and some contrary to it; so that Scripture must be the *final appeal*, and if any passages be obscure, they are to be compared with others, and thus Scripture will explain itself. 'If an angel from heaven,' says the apostle, 'preach any other gospel than what I preach let him be accursed.'—Galatians, i. 10. Surely then Luther may oppose the obvious sentiment of Scripture to Councils, Fathers, and Universities! What can these Sophists reply? What sort of logic and what kind of glosses can they use to avoid the inference from these statements? Either deny that there is any certain sense in Scripture, or acknowledge that Luther is justifiable in placing its dictates in opposition to human opinion.

"After all he is not inclined to concede that Luther and the ancient Fathers and Councils disagree. On various points he is completely supported by the sentiments of Augustine, Cyprian, Hilary, and Chrysostom; though it is true many things are to be found in the writings of Luther on the sacraments, vows, and other subjects, which cannot be discovered in them. No wonder, for that age knew nothing of the tyrannical laws of Roman Pontiffs, nothing of our *Parisian Masters* and their articles of faith. That period may, perhaps, be considered as the noon-day of evangelical truth; ours as the declining evening in which darkness covers the minds of sinners as a punishment for their guilt; and that is darkness indeed in which the Sorbonne divinity prevails, a divinity which extols *human opinion* as paramount to *scriptural truth!* Does not the spirit of God, by his prophets, threaten such a punishment, and does not Paul speak of those who should teach for doctrines the commandments of men?—and to whom can he refer but—to the *Sorbonne divines*, or *such as they?*

"Nay more, whatever criminality may be supposed to attach to any persons for opposing the Fathers, is to be charged upon these very Parisian disputants themselves, who diametrically contradict them. The very best of the Fathers denounce whatever is not from the spirit of Christ, as sinful; but these not only do not allow of their guilt, but absolutely affirm many of them to be meritorious. The Fathers deny that mere human strength is adequate to fulfil the divine law, these Parisians state the very reverse.

"It is written, if an offender refuse to hear the church let him be as a heathen man and a publican. I pray now what do you call the church? No doubt, the *French*, or *Sorbonne Church*. But how can that be the church of Christ which has not the word of Christ, who testifies that his sheep hear his voice? We denominate *that* his true church which is built upon THE WORD OF GOD, and which is nourished, fed, and governed by it; in a word, which derives every thing, and judges of every thing, by THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST, for 'he that is of God heareth the words of God.'

"You, the Sorbonne Church, without appealing to reason or Scripture, condemn Luther and exclude him from the communion of the pious. But it did not become you to *condemn*, but to *accuse*. You do not accuse or convince by argument, but contrary both to divine and human laws, at once *condemn*, and for no other reason than because you are the Sorbonne divines, and lords of our faith, to be sure! For shame! for shame!!! But stay, I must not treat the *Sorbonne* so irreverently! for these lords over our faith say they imitate the example of the apostles, when they issue decisions without scriptural authority. I wish, however, they would verify this statement by some reference. Christ himself quotes the authority of Scripture. Paul does the same; and what are all the apostolic discourses but the testimonies derived from the records of the Old Testament concerning Christ? The *Sorbonne only* is to be believed *without* SCRIPTURE!

"He imagines this fraternity must be of Egyptian origin, and the descendants of Jannes and Jambres, who resisted Moses. The truth of the Lutheran doctrines, however, he is satisfied will remain immoveable and unshaken, not only by their opposition, but in spite of the rulers of darkness."

Soon after the publication of this performance a mock answer appeared in the name of the Parisian divines, written in a ludicrous style and intended to make them appear ridiculous. Dupin imputes it to Luther, and Seckendorf expresses a doubt whether it were written by him or some other friend.

Another controversial piece of the present year, under the feigned name of Didymus Faventinus, against Thomas Placentinus, and on behalf of Luther, is to be attributed to Melancthon. It consists of forty-four folio pages. In this performance he details the history of the Lutheran controversy, and refutes the various calumnies of the enemies of truth and the reformation. "Luther," says he, "is most iniquitously condemned for having delivered his country from the papal impositions, for daring to eradicate the errors of so many centuries, and restoring to the light pure Christianity, which had been nearly extinguished by the impious decrees of the Popes, and the vain sophistries of the schoolmen. I am not alone in ascribing this merit to Luther; the learned universally do the same: and I state this lest you should imagine that he is the sole author of the present commotions, which ought rather to be imputed to those who have done

nothing else during the past three years than plot the destruction of Luther. Do not suppose their object is the peace of the Christian community—no—it is solely that they might be able to tyrannize completely over it."

Rhadinus, in his declamatory publication, banters Luther, telling him that he ought to feel himself very much obliged to his friend Philip Melancthon, for taking the pains to *polish up his writings and enable him to cut a better figure than he would in his own barbarous style:* and censures him for discountenancing liberal studies. "Luther," replies Melancthon, "is no enemy to mathematics and natural philosophy. He thinks the study of coins, plants, and the habits of animals, conducive to the knowledge of the sacred writings, and ought to be encouraged in the academy. He approves authors of this class, which we use, as Pliny, Athenæus, and, if you please, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, not to mention the poets."

After exposing the errors of the scholastic divinity, both in metaphysics and in morals, "with prodigious force of argument and fluency of language," and discussing a variety of other topics, he proceeds to the subject of grace. "Philosophers imagine that men may obtain the highest pitch of virtue by exercise and habit; on the contrary the sacred writings teach that all human performances are polluted by sin, and can be cleansed only by the Spirit which Christ procured for men. Philosophers attribute every thing to human power; but the sacred writings represent all moral power as lost by the fall. The scholastics, in imitation of the philosophers who ascribed the merit and the goodness to human power, affirmed that the Spirit was delighted to dwell with us after this self-created excellence, but not to transform or purify the soul by his agency. Who does not perceive how the truth of Christ is obscured and lost by this statement; this utter rejection of the scriptural representations of the Spirit as the author of sanctification and of every thing good in man: and this shameless, this arrogant assumption of human merit? Hence have originated those endless disputes respecting offerings, rewards, and cardinal virtues, in which every thing is attributed to human nature, and nothing to Christ.

"The terms grace, faith, hope and charity, are so abused, that they have quite a different meaning in the sacred writings from that which is given them in the controversies of scholastic divines, so that we have not only lost the doctrine, but the very language of Christianity. Grace, denotes the favor of God through Christ—but where does it ever signify, as they assert, *a form of soul?* Whence originated the terms *faith infused* or *acquired, formed* and *unformed?* What is their authority for teaching that Christian minds must hope for salvation from human merits? Whence indeed is this profane, impious and arrogant word, *merit?*

"The church, ye princes, appeals to your faith and piety, that, enslaved as she has hitherto been by vain philosophy and human traditions, you would at length emancipate her from her wretched state, her Babylonian servitude!"

He complains bitterly of the state of the universities, and entreats the different princes to use their utmost exertions to procure that reform which was so essentially requisite. "The youth, the most tender and susceptible part of the community, are perishing in luxury, gluttony and excess. And what are they likely to do with such masters? And if they should have a diligent tutor, what will it avail if he cannot instruct them, or only in the most sparing manner, in sacred wisdom? For it is in vain you attempt to govern the youthful mind unless you arm it, by evangelical truth and holy example, against the lusts of the flesh, the influence of the world and the machinations of Satan.

"Every one of the ancient republics paid the greatest possible attention to the instruction of their youth; we, we only, who are denominated Christians, totally disregard and despise this, which is of all others the most important object. O ye princes, if no other consideration affect your minds, at least compassionate the situation of our youth, who are ruined by the wickedness of others! I have seen some of them by no means ill disposed, who would however rather continue in ignorance of letters, than purchase knowledge at so dear a rate; and who carried away nothing from the universities but a wounded conscience."

It is needless to quote any of those passages which are merely controversial, though in themselves witty, and at the time extremely necessary. Poor Rhadinus published a reply in the following year full of *feeling*, and furnishing ample proof that Melancthon had trod upon a snake.

Amongst the "Select Declamations," we find one of the present year on a subject which Melancthon was peculiarly qualified to discuss. It is entitled, "Adhortatio ad Christianæ Doctrinæ, per Paulum Proditæ, Studium;" or, An Exhortation to the Study of Christian Truth, as stated by the apostle Paul. After showing the superiority of Paul's doctrine, and the institutions of Christianity to human laws, and of Paul's eloquence to that of the most celebrated orators of antiquity, he concludes with the following solemn appeal: "If, O ye youths, you have any concern for your own best interests, devote your minds to the study of Paul. Inform yourselves from him of the genuine principles of the Christian life, the true means of religious consolation, and the estimate to be formed of all divine and human things. It concerns youth especially to embrace a doctrine of pre-eminent importance, as conducive to the felicity of man in his passage through the present life, and in prospect of departure from it. Paul instructs you how to live holily and to die happily, by warning the unwary of the snares which their formidable adversaries the flesh and the devil, have prepared for their ruin. You may without moral danger neglect other arts and studies, but it is impossible to despise the truth of the gospel, without sacrificing the hope of salvation. It becomes bishops to use their utmost endeavors, not only to see that those particularly devoted to sacred studies are well instructed, but to promote this knowledge throughout the whole Christian community; and it is incumbent on the academies to inculcate it with the greatest zeal, and substitute it for that barbarism and disputation falsely called philosophy, which our ancestors unhappily sanctioned. If it please God the brass shall become gold.

"It is with the deepest affliction of mind I observe that our public seminaries are nothing but the temples of Tophet, and the gloomy valley of the children of Hinnom. Christianity is banished. Athens had its Areopagus, and Sparta its school, where youth were trained up after the very best models, and were better instructed by these heathens than they are in our universities at this day. But do you yourselves, ye studious youth, seriously undertake the diligent study of St. Paul's writings, where Christ Jesus is evidently set forth, and his Spirit will unquestionably prosper your endeavors. No service is more acceptable to God, and no conduct can be more pious and praiseworthy than to aim at truth, and to acquire its transforming influence; and being once attempted, the labor will become so delightful that it will never be relinquished. The knowledge of any truth is pleasant, but the knowledge of Christian truth is singularly

beneficial, and you will find the writings of Paul both agreeable and useful.

"It is said that the Egyptians, a people unexampled for superstition, kept an annual festival in honor of Mercury, the reputed author of their laws and literature, on which occasion the multitude were accustomed to offer sacrifices of honey and figs. This rite proves the antiquity of the festival; for in the golden age, as it is called, almost all public entertainments and feasts were of a sacrificial nature, and honey and figs the most usual offerings to the gods, of which there is ample evidence. In the midst of these public solemnities the voice of melody was heard in a hymn to Mercury, neither rudely composed nor badly recited. It expressed the grateful sense they cherished of his having given them laws and formed a variety of institutions, and celebrated the praise of truth in general. May I not indulge the hope that the discovery of truth by the study of Paul, will excite similar sensations and strains of festive joy? for what can be more just and proper than that after being instructed in the best and most important knowledge, the burden of our song should be as theirs constantly was, "O lovely truth!"

The "Loci Communes Theologici," or "Theological Common Places," which was first published at Wittemberg in 1521, demands, on account of its magnitude and subsequent celebrity, a particular notice. None of the works of Melancthon, and scarcely any amongst the numerous productions of his illustrious contemporaries, excited greater attention, or circulated to a wider extent. It was very popular both in France and Italy. At Venice, it was published under the name of *Messer Philippo de Terra Nera*, and was extensively read. Not a syllable of disapprobation was expressed, till one Cordelier, who had read the work as it was first published, with the author's real name affixed, gave information to the inquisitors, who though they approved, or at least did not censure it, as the writing of *Philippo de Terra Nera*, instantly suppressed it as the production of *Philip Melancthon!*

"He that intends to be a good divine," says Luther, "hath a great advantage; for, first, he hath the Bible, which I have so plainly translated out of the Hebrew into the high German language, that every one may read it without difficulty. Afterwards he may read the Loci Communes of Philip Melancthon; and let him read with diligence, so that he may have it perfectly in his memory. When he has these two pieces, then he is a divine, against whom neither the devil, nor any heretic can be able to take advantage, for the whole of divinity lies open to him, so that he may read what and when he will for his edification." "We find no book where the sum of religion or divinity is more finely compacted together than in Melancthon's Loci Communes; all the Fathers and Sententiarii are not to be compared to it. It is the best book next to the holy Scriptures.

The first editions of this publication were not complicated like the succeeding ones with large discussions and illustrations which the prevalence of controversy induced its author afterwards to believe necessary. To meet the reasonings and obviate the objections of the Catholic writers, Melancthon continually republished it with enlargements, but without any material change of its principles.

In the dedication of this work to Henry VIII. the author states the motive which influenced him to prepare it, and they are such as cannot fail to secure the approbation of every pious mind. In order to secure the great purpose of *utility*, he represents himself as avoiding all questions of mere curiosity, and expresses his characteristic abhorrence of the intricacies of controversy as tending rather to perplex than instruct the mind.

To an edition published in French, at Geneva, in the year 1551, the illustrious John Calvin has prefixed an advertisement, in which he eulogizes the author in the strongest terms: and of the Common Places in particular he very justly remarks, "it is a summary of those truths which are essential to the Christian's guidance in the way of salvation." A very cursory analysis only of the sentiments contained in this celebrated performance is admissible.

God. "The human mind, originally formed in the image of God, and capable of knowing him, is, however, in consequence of sin, enveloped in darkness, and can scarcely of itself determine whether there be a God or a Providence. Although nature is every where marked with traces of the Divinity, and with evidences of his interference in human affairs, such is the weakness of man, that he is full of doubt and hesitation on the subject. It is, therefore, a proof of divine goodness to enlighten and instruct us by his word.

"God is a spiritual essence, possessing eternity and the attributes of power, wisdom, goodness, justice and mercy, in an infinite degree, which are not separable from himself, or incompatible in their operations. The unity of God is stated in the following passages: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.'—'I am the first, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God.'—'I am the Lord and there is none else, there is no God beside me.'—'We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and there is none other God but one.'—'One God and Father of all.' Deut. vi. 4. Is. xliv. 6. Is. xlv. 5. 1 Cor. viii. 4. Eph. iv. 6.

"The Scriptures teach us, however, that the essence of God consists in three persons, infinite and co-eternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

"The Son is denominated by John, the Logos or word. In the epistle to the Hebrews he is called 'the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person;' and 'all things' are said to have been 'made by him.' In the Colossians he is termed 'the image of the invisible God.' Heb. i. 3. John i. 3. Col. i. 15.

"The third person, or Holy Spirit, is represented by John as proceeding from the Father and the Son. The Son, at the predestined period of time, assumed human nature and was born of the Virgin Mary. He was the Christ, one person consisting in two natures, the divine and the human. Neither the Father nor the Spirit assumed human nature, but the Son.

"The doctrine of the Trinity is supported by Scripture. In the last chapter of Matthew mention is made of 'baptizing in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' Three persons are here distinctly named and each is assigned an equal power and honor. The appeal or invocation is made to each, and so as to imply an equal authority.

"Christ must have been possessed of a divine nature, or it would not be proper to adore and invoke him. And the adoration, as stated in various passages, was not merely external, as we bow before kings and potentates, because omnipotence is attributed to him, and John affirms, 'in the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.' John i. 1.

A copious variety of passages is here quoted from the Old and New Testaments, in proof of prayer and other acts of worship being presented to Christ, and the opinions of the Arians and Socinians are opposed by arguments and quotations from the Fathers.

In speaking of the HOLY SPIRIT, Melancthon remarks, that "the general signification of the term *spirit* is motion, either natural or by means of external impulse; but it is used in a variety of senses by the prophets and apostles, which must not be absurdly confounded together. Often it means the wind, the life of man, and the various movements of passion, good or bad. In the phrase 'God is a Spirit,' it signifies a spiritual essence, or a pure incorporeal intelligence It is applied to the Father, but not to him only, and it is requisite to distinguish those places where it refers to the Holy Spirit, and whose office is to sanctify and animate the soul."

The divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit are then maintained in a series of explanatory remarks on his appearance at the Baptism of Christ in the form of a dove, and on the day of Pentecost; and on a variety of passages commonly recited in the Trinitarian controversy.

CREATION. "All creatures are the workmanship of God; angels, men, and every other existence and substance. They were created from nothing, for 'by the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.' Psalm xxxiii. 6.

"If all things were made by the *word of the Lord*, they were not formed, as the Stoics imagined, from matter antecedently existing. And as God created, so he perpetually sustains all things and all beings. The fertility of the earth year after year, and the perpetuation of human life are to be attributed to what is called his general operations. 'In him we live and move and have our being.' 'Who upholds all things by the word of his power.' 'He giveth life to all flesh.' 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing, and not one of them shall fall to the ground without your father. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered.' 'All wait on thee that thou mayest give them their meat in due season.' 'He covereth the heavens with clouds, he prepareth rain for the earth, he maketh grass to grow upon the mountains.' Acts xvii. 28. Hebrews i. 3. Matthew x. 29. Psalm civ. 27. Psalm cxlvii. 8.

"A variety of special promises have been given to the church, relating to the care of a superintending providence, and are to be found in every part of the Scriptures. The prayer which our Saviour directs us to present, 'give us this day our daily bread,' intimates our constant dependance, so that second causes cannot operate or avail us unless God give them efficiency.

"Other proofs of this subject might be adduced; as, 1. The order of nature, that is to say, a series of effects, showing an agent and cause. The regularity of these operations, as the course of the heavenly bodies, the succession of animals, and of the various productions of the earth, and the course of rivers, demonstrate they are not accidental coincidences, but resulting from an intelligent agent. 2. The nature of the human mind: what is devoid of intelligence cannot produce it, but the human mind possesses intelligence, and since each derives his being from another, the original being must be an intelligent one. 3. The distinction between virtue and vice, and the varieties of knowledge. It is not possible these should exist in the human soul without an adequate cause and by mere accident. 4. The uniform impression of the truth that there is a God—all acknowledge it. 5. Natural conscience: persons guilty of notorious crimes, suffer great alarms of mind, and yet do not apprehend that any punishment will be inflicted by man. They have a certain internal conviction of right and of wrong. 6. The constitution of civil society, which could not be organized and maintained in its various relations, but for the wisdom imparted and the regulations maintained by an eternal Providence. 7. The knowledge which is obtained and can be obtained only by the continuance of efficient causes. These are not infinite, we must therefore, recur to a first cause. 8. The existence of final causes. All things are destined to some use, but this appointment of a suitable end and purpose could not have been fortuitous nor can it continue by chance. It implies a superintending intelligence. 9. Prophetic signs and intimations of futurity. These are not only such signs as are notorious to the heathen world, but especially particular predictions to the church; often involving the fate of empires, as the predictions of Balaam, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel. A foreseeing mind is necessarily pre-supposed. These considerations demonstrate both the being and the presiding providence of God.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE OF SIN. "This has been a fruitful subject of disputation, and many great men on both sides have involved themselves in inextricable difficulties and absurdities. Let youth be admonished to lay aside contention, and seek only that simple truth which is conducive to genuine religion and sound morality. All wise men agree in one point, that God is not the author of sin, that he neither desires it nor impels the will to commit sin, but abhors it; but it is to be attributed to the influence of the devil and to the will of man. God, when he had created the universe, pronounced all very good, and Christ imputes evil to Satan, when he represents him as 'a liar and the father of lies.' The New Testament every where states the same sentiment. 'Whosoever committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning,' that is, the devil was the orignal author of sin. 1 John iii. 8.

"Such expressions as 'I will harden Pharoah's heart' do not contradict this representation, because they are mere Hebrew idioms, signifying the permission and not the effectual operation and impulse of the divine mind.

"The nature of original sin is hence apparent. It is not the original nature which the Deity implanted in man, but the corruption arising from disobedience. God then is not the author of sin, but properly speaking, it arose from the temptation of Satan and the will of man, which was created free.

FREEDOM OF THE HUMAN WILL. "By the term free will, is to be understood a faculty and power in the human will, to choose or reject whatever is presented to it; which power was far greater before nature was corrupted, but is now impeded by various means, to be hereafter stated. The apostles speak of the *heart* and the *mind*, that is, the will and the understanding.

"Many disputes have been agitated upon this subject, and the grand question is, in what manner can the will be free, or how can it obey the law of God? This question can only be resolved by considering the magnitude of that sin, or inherent infirmity which is contracted by our very birth, and the requirements of the law of God as extending not only to external obedience, but to that of the whole nature, perpetual and perfect. If the nature of man were not corrupted by sin, its knowledge of God would be more clear and certain; it would be affected with no doubts, but possessing a genuine fear and confidence would render a perfect obedience, that is to say, all the feelings of the soul would harmonize with the divine law like those of holy angels. In consequence of original sin, however, the nature of man is now full of doubts, darkness and error, destitute of true fear and confidence in God, and polluted with vile affections. Hence the question arises, what kind of power does the human will possess? I reply, that since the understanding of man is corrupted, and the choice of those things

which are subjected to reason or to sense is perverted, so also is his external and civil obedience.

"The gospel teaches us that such is the dreadful depravity of nature, that it is totally repugnant to the law of God, so that we cannot obey; and the human will cannot, by any exertion of its own, eradicate this depravity. Such is the blindness of human nature, that we do not even discern this moral infirmity and corruption, for if we did, the reason of our incapacity to satisfy the divine law would be at once apparent. The law requires perfect obedience, but our corrupt nature cannot render it; and it is of this corruption we speak, not in reference to external acts but internal affections and conformity to God, when discoursing on the freedom of the human will.

"To this let it be added, that without the Holy Spirit we cannot exercise spiritual affections as love to God, faith in his mercy, obedience and endurance in afflictions, delight in him and others of a similar nature. Many passages of Scripture confirm this statement, 'As many as are led by the Spirit of God they are the sons of God.' If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' Rom. viii. 9, 14. These two are sufficiently obvious, for they distinctly intimate that we can only obey by the grace of the Holy Spirit. To these may be added a multitude of others, as the 'natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned.'—'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'—'No man can come to me except the Father which hath sent me draw him.'—'Without me ye can do nothing.' 1 Cor. ii. 14. John iii. 5. John vi. 44. John xv. 5.

"The question then being proposed respecting spiritual actions, this seems to be the truth which it becomes us to maintain, that without the aid of the Holy Spirit the human will can perform none of those spiritual actions which God requires, namely, the genuine fear of God, faith in his mercy, perfect love, patience in affliction, persevering constancy even to death, of which holy Stephen, Lawrence and Agnes, with innumerable others, are illustrious examples.

The Gospel. "This term is used in the most ancient of the Greek writers. In Homer, it signifies the reward which is bestowed on the messenger of good things, and in Aristophanes and Isocrates it denotes the sacrifice which is offered when any good news is announced. In other authors it is used for the *message itself, the news communicated*, in which sense the apostles have adopted it. Plutarch, in the life of Artaxerxes, plainly speaks of the reward of *the gospel* or *good news*, for to this the reference is obvious. In the life of Pompey, he says, 'the messengers arrived at Pontus bringing *the gospel*,' that is, *the good and joyful intelligence*. Cicero uses it in a similar sense in an epistle to Atticus.

"Let Christians then learn in the use of this term the delightful nature of this new loctrine, and consider the distinction between the law and the gospel. This is very clearly expressed by John, 'the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ:' (John i. 17,) the distinction is between the commandments and the remission of sins, between gratuitous promises and those of a different description. The law requires perfect obedience to God, by which sins are not gratuitously pardoned, for we are not justified before God, or received into his favor according to its requirements unless we have entirely satisfied its demands. On the contrary, the gospel speaks of repentance and good works, and contains what is indeed its grand and characteristic doctrine, the promise of salvation through Jesus Christ.

"In Scripture, therefore, there are two kinds of promises; the one attaches to the law, and includes the condition of the law. For example; the law proclaims the goodness and mercy of God, but it is to those who are sinless, and human reason inculcates a similar principle. Let every one reflect within himself, and he will find that naturally he judges of God in the same manner, namely, that he is merciful, but only to the worthy and virtuous, that is, to those who are without sin; and cannot be persuaded that they can please God when they are unholy and unworthy. So that as the law and its promises are conditional, they leave the conscience in a state of doubtful anxiety.

"The other description of promise is peculiar to the gospel not deriving its condition from the law, that is to say, not given upon the condition of fulfilling the law, but gratuitously bestowed for the sake of Christ and including the forgiveness of sin, reconciliation and justification before God. These blessings are certain, and not dependant on the condition of fulfilling the law; for were we to suppose it necessary, in order to obtain the remission of sins to fulfil the law, we should justly despair. Hence these blessings are freely bestowed, and not as a reward for our worthiness or merit; not however without a meritorious sacrifice on our behalf, for Christ gave himself for us as a propitiation for our sins, that for his sake we might be accepted of God.

Good Works. "Five questions are proposed:—

1. What good works ought we to do?—The reply is, summarily, not only external acts of morality, but whatever is commanded by God and comprised within the decalogue.

2. How can we do them?—By the effectual aid of the Holy Spirit, who can enable us to render an internal and spiritual obedience—a service of *the heart* to God.

3. In what manner are our good works *acceptable* to God?—Christians are exceedingly desirous of this, but are at the same time deeply conscious of their imperfections, infirmities, and corruptions, as Paul says, 'the evil that I would not that I do.' Rom. vii. 19. After admitting all this in the fullest extent, the reply is, that notwithstanding all the imperfection and infirmity of the Christian in the present state, and his incapacity to perform that perfect obedience which the divine law requires, he is nevertheless acceptable to God, for the sake of Christ the Mediator, who presents our prayers to the Father as our intercessor, and remits the infirmity and unworthiness of our services. Peter maintains this sentiment, 'offering spiritual sacrifices *acceptable to God by Jesus Christ*.' 1 Pet. ii. 5.

4. For what reasons ought we to perform good works?—Many present themselves, arising *first*, out of the necessity of duty and the command of heaven, that we do not grieve the Holy Spirit and injure our own consciences or incur punishment; *secondly*, from a consideration of dignity; not the dignity or merit of our works, but of our character and persons as servants of God; the dignity of our vocation of which the apostle speaks, as the magistrate or minister ought to magnify his office, and to be loyal and diligent in the discharge of it; *thirdly*, as an evidence and assurance of our reconciliation with God and the enjoyment of a gratuitous pardon through the love of his Son. Such as obey God, have the promise of eternal life; 'Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come.' 1 Tim. iv. 8. The Scripture abounds with promises to believers, inclusive of temporal, spiritual, and eternal blessings.

5. What difference exists between the nature of different sins, since it is confessed there are remains of depravity in the most holy of Christians?—Some kinds of sins are sins of infirmity only, sins which

the regenerate person resists and abhors; but others are sins *against conscience*, grace is forfeited, the Holy Spirit grieved, faith lost, that is, the confidence we ought to cherish in the mercy of God. The apostle Paul says, 'If ye live after the flesh ye shall die, but if ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live,' that is, if ye obey wicked affections ye shall be exposed to the divine displeasure and to eternal death. It is said in the same chapter, 'As many as are led by the Spirit of God they are the sons of God;' but such as commit sin against their consciences, grieve and drive away the Spirit of God, for they are no longer the children of God. 'Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate . . . . shall inherit the kingdom of God.' John says, 'He that committeth sin is of the devil.' Rom. viii. 13, 14. 1 Cor. vi. 9. 1 John iii. 8.

KINGDOM OF CHRIST. "The gospel plainly teaches us that the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, that is to say, Christ being seated at the right hand of the Father intercedes for us, pardons the sins of his church, and bestows the Holy Spirit on those who believe in him and approach God in his name; whom he sanctifies and will raise again at the last day to everlasting life. And that we may obtain these blessings, the ministry of the gospel is appointed by which mankind are called to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. But the true church will always suffer persecution from the wicked to the end of time, and in the church itself the good and the evil will continue blended together. It is necessary therefore to reject the old Jewish error revived by the Anabaptists of this age, that in the last times the church will become a worldly empire in which Christians will reign, destroying the wicked by force of arms, and seizing upon all the kingdoms and sovereignties of the earth.

PRAYER. There is an essential difference between genuine prayer as offered to God by his real church and the prayers of Pagans, Mahometans, and Jews. This difference arises from two sources, the one respects the essence of God of which they form no just conceptions, and the other the means of acceptance with him, namely, by Jesus Christ the Mediator.

"This subject may be divided into five parts:—

1. In approaching God by prayer, it is requisite to consider WHO and WHAT HE IS to whom we address ourselves. Let us reflect there is no other God, and that from the very commencement of time he has manifested himself to his church by the word of his truth and the Son of his love, Christ our Mediator.

2. Let us remember that prayer is A COMMANDED DUTY. We are not to imagine that murder, theft, adultery, are the only sins; it is one of the greatest of sins, not to render to God that service he demands, not to supplicate his throne, not to depend upon his aid in our necessities, and not to express our gratitude for the blessings we receive.

3. It is proper for a Christian to recur to THE PROMISES, that he may know that God hears and *why* he bears us, though we are unworthy, and merit of ourselves the severest punishments. The promises in their proper order, include the remission of sins and reconciliation with God, the communication of all spiritual and all temporal blessings. Inexpressible kindness! Boundless mercy to the church! He commands us to ask mercies, and then adds an ample promise to encourage us to pray! But how surprising is the folly and weakness of the human heart, to draw back instead of approaching God! Nevertheless the innumerable examples and promises of Scripture excite us to dismiss our doubts, to approach God through his beloved Son, and not to imagine that his promises are as the Epicureans suppose, mere idle words. Surely the Divine Being has not given so many indubitable manifestations of himself for no purpose; he has not declared his will in vain; but would have our ignorance and our doubts removed by his word. Taulerus very justly remarks, 'that the mind of man is never so eagerly disposed to pray, but God is still more ready to give.'

4. It is necessary that FAITH should accompany application; for it is for the purpose of increasing our faith that the promises are given. In reference to *spiritual blessings* which God has expressly promised, as the remission of sins, deliverance from the dominion of sin, and from eternal death, the gift of the Holy Spirit and eternal life, no condition is subjoined: those who repent of their sins and believe in Christ may rest assured of divine favor. Faith must also mingle with our request for *temporal blessings;* and we must recollect three things—*first*, that God is truly the source and dispenser of these favors, that we do not possess them by chance, that we cannot certainly secure them by any personal exertion or diligence; they are absolutely the gifts of God, and of him we must solicit life, protection, peace, tranquillity, prosperity in our different callings and bodily health. *Secondly*, although it is the will of God that his church and people should be subject to afflictions, yet he will certainly bestow temporal good so far as is requisite for their support and preservation. *Thirdly*, it is the will of God that when we request temporal blessings, our faith in the great reconciliation should be exercised and increased.

5. Let us RENEW AND REPEAT OUR REQUESTS: for it is honorable to the character of God to trust in him continually amidst our diversified afflictions, and to rely upon his hearing those who supplicate his throne."

The transactions relating to the abolition of private masses, constitute a very important part of the proceedings of this extraordinary year. It afforded the highest satisfaction to Luther in his retirement to find that the Augustinian friars, at Wittemberg, had ventured upon an attempt to abolish the popish mode of celebrating private masses; but the Elector felt some alarm, and deputed Pontanus, one of his counsellors, to remonstrate with the church and university upon their proceedings. Melancthon was chosen, with five others, Justus Jonas, John Doltz, Andrew Carlostadt, Jerome Schurff, and Nicholas Amsdorff, to investigate the business; and in their report, they not only expressed their approbation of this zeal, but urged the Elector "to put an end to the popish masses throughout his whole territory, and not to be deterred by the reproaches of those who would brand him with the name of *Heretic*, or *Hussite;* this Christ required of the Elector, whose mind he had enlightened with the knowledge of the truth above all other princes." The Elector directed professor Bayer to return an answer, importing, that "he was desirous of acting like a Christian prince, for the glory of God and the establishment of his gospel, but that he thought nothing ought to be done with precipitation: that the truth would be discovered by others, and he might then undertake the change; and that as many churches and monasteries had been founded for the purpose of saying masses, it should be considered whether upon their abolition their revenues might not be withheld—but that as he was only a layman, he desired them to consult with the rulers of the church and university, that every thing might be peaceably settled."

To this they replied in a manner worthy of themselves and of the noble cause in which they were engaged, stating that "they adhered to their former opinion given against private masses, that they

could be abolished as they believed without tumult or scandal; but if not they were instructed by Christ to *let them alone, for they are blind leaders of the blind;* and by the apostles to *obey God rather than men.* From the beginning of the world it had always been found that a small proportion of mankind acknowledged the truth, and according to the testimony of Christ himself, the gospel was to be preached to the weak, the few, the despised, and the unlearned; so that it was not surprising that priests and the wise of this world, apprehensive of losing their power, dignity, and other advantages, should not admit the preaching of the truth, or consent to wise and pious changes, unless they were likely to become sources of emolument to themselves. The ancient colleges and monasteries were founded not for the purpose of saying masses, but for the instruction of youth and the support of the poor: and that, even to the time of Augustine and Bernard. These institutions were only appropriated to masses within these three or four hundred years, and for the dead scarcely two hundred. Still they ought to be abolished as errors, even though they could boast of great antiquity. Besides, the very principle on which masses are celebrated is sinful, namely, that they are good works, sacrifices, or satisfactions for sin. It appeared that even to the time of Cyprian, it was the custom to receive the sacrament in *both kinds*, and that this practice prevails even to the present day in Greece and the eastern churches. It was not therefore their fault if tumult should arise; but *they* were to be censured, who, to keep up their dignity, their income, and their luxury, continue to obstruct the light of truth, and cruelly wage war against the altars of God. Christ predicted and his apostles experienced that the gospel was a *stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence.* The Christian rule was neither to regard the madness of the enemy, nor the greatness of the danger. Christ was not silent, though he foresaw the preaching of the gospel would be attended with discord, seditions, and the revolution of kingdoms; nor were his apostles less strenuous in instructing the people, because the wise men of the world detested the very name of the gospel, looking upon it as the firebrand of those disturbances, schisms, and tumults, which raged amongst the Jews at Jerusalem." The result of these communications was, that though the timid Elector refused to give them a public sanction, he connived at these innovations.

The life of Leo X. terminated with the closing year.

CHAPTER VI.

The Anabaptists—Disturbances of Carlostadt—Luther's return to Wittemberg—Account of his German version of the Scriptures, with the assistance of Melancthon and others—Luther's conference with Stubner—His letter of apology for stealing Melancthon's MS. copy of his Commentary on the Romans—Extracts from that Commentary—Progress of the Reformation—Rise of the Sacramental Controversy—Death of Muncer—Melancthon's excursion in Germany—Death of Mosellanus—His Epitaph—Melancthon's introduction to the Landgrave of Hesse—Death of Nesenus—His Epitaph—Death of Frederic the Wise—Translated extracts from Melancthon's Funeral Oration—His Epitaph—Luther's Marriage—Controversy with Erasmus—Melancthon's visits to Nuremberg to found an Academy—Translated extracts of his Oration at the opening of the Institution—Publications. 1522 to 1525.

Fanaticism soon made her unwelcome appearance in this season of religious commotion. In the spring of 1522, Nicholas Storck, Martin Cellarius, and Mark Stubner, who had been for some time engaged with the notorious Muncer in propagating the wildest sentiments at Zwickau, in Misnia, came to Wittemberg. The former was a zealous leader of this enthusiastic band. They had harangued the populace in the church of St. Catharine, and pretending to enjoy visions and inspirations from heaven, acquired a very considerable ascendancy over the minds of an ignorant populace. Storck imagined he had seen an angel in a vision, who among other things, said he would be elevated to Gabriel's seat, from which Storck supposed that he was to become the head of a new empire.

These persons have been usually designated by the term Anabaptists, on account of their denying the validity of infant baptism; a name sufficiently vague and inappropriate, as this sentiment, even if it were acknowledged to be erroneous, cannot with any candor be classed amongst their *fanatical* opinions. This epithet is deduced from their representing the office of magistracy as subversive of their spiritual liberty, affirming that civil distinctions, such as rank, birth, and opulence confer, ought to be abolished, that Christians may enjoy all things in common; and maintaining that they were favored with visions and revelations from heaven.

Although it was one of their principles to explode human science, Mark Subner was a man of some learning, having been a student at the University of Wittemberg. Melancthon, with his characteristic goodness, received and treated him with the utmost hospitality, patiently investigated his pretensions, and scrupulously avoided any precipitancy in his decisions. The state of his mind is obvious from a letter which at this critical juncture he addressed to the Elector. "Your highness is aware of the great and dangerous dissensions about religion which have distracted your city of Zwickau. Some have been imprisoned for their innovations, and three of the leaders have fled hither, two of them ignorant weavers, the third a man of learning. I have heard their statements; and it is astonishing what they relate of themselves as commissioned from heaven to teach; as having a familiar intercourse with God, and able to foresee future events; in a word, as having the authority of prophets and apostles. How much I am struck with this language it is not easy for me to say; but certainly I see great reason not to despise them, for they have many arguments to adduce, and something of an extraordinary spirit about them, but no one can judge so well upon the subject as Martin Luther. For the peace and glory of the church, therefore, he should have an opportunity of examining these men, especially as they appeal to him.

The Elector immediately had recourse to his most confidential counsellors, who, being unable to come to a decision, Melancthon continued to urge the necessity of obtaining Luther's sentiments, stating that Storck and his associates had raised disputes concerning the baptism of infants, and had appealed to divine revelations; and that for his own part he could not positively pronounce on the merit of the case. The Elector alleged, that were he to recall Luther it would endanger his life, and advised Melancthon to avoid disputes with those fanatics; but in the mean time if he knew what justice required, he was ready to discharge his duty. Spalatine, who was present in the council, has recorded these memorable words which the Elector pronounced in a manner that produced the deepest impression upon the whole assembly of ministers and counsellors, and which, he remarks, were expressive of his views to the very last day of his life. "This is a most weighty and difficult affair, which I as a layman do not profess to understand. God has given to me and my brother considerable wealth; but if I could obtain a right understanding of the matter, I declare I would rather take my staff in my hand and quit every thing I possess, than knowingly resist the will of God." Luther, in a letter to Melancthon, expresses himself in a very judicious manner. It was written on the 17th January. "In regard to these prophets I cannot approve of your timidity, though you are my

superior both in capacity and erudition. In the first place, when they bear record of themselves they ought not to be implicitly believed, but their spirits should be tried, as John admonishes. You know Gamaliel's advice, but I have heard of nothing said or done by them which Satan himself could not imitate. I would have you examine whether they can produce a proof of their commission, for God never sent any one, not even his own Son, who was not either properly called to the office, or authorized by miracles. The ancient prophets were legally appointed; and their mere assertion of being called by a divine revelation is not a sufficient warrant for receiving them, since God did not even speak to Samuel but with the authority of Eli. So much for their public character. You should also examine their private spirit, whether they have experienced spiritual distresses and conflicts with death and hell, and the power of regeneration. If you hear smooth, tranquil, and what they call *devout and religious raptures*, though they speak of being caught up to the third heavens, do not regard them, while the sign of the Son of Man is wanting, THE CROSS, the only touchstone of Christians, and the sure discerner of spirits."

In addition to the uneasiness occasioned by the affair of Storck and his associates, Melancthon was exceedingly afflicted by another untoward circumstance. At the very moment when union amongst themselves, and a vigilant discretion in all their proceedings was of the greatest importance, Carlostadt was guilty of excesses, which were not only disapproved by the other Reformers, but highly prejudicial to their cause. He was heard to say, that "he wished to be as great a man and as much thought of as Luther;" for which he was properly reproved by Melancthon, who reminded him, "that such language could only proceed from a spirit of emulation, envy, and pride." So long as he steadily pursued the great object of reforming the church from Popery by sound argument, and firm but Christian conduct, the other Reformers united to assist his efforts; but when motives of vanity, concurring with violence of temper, occasioned his zeal to degenerate into wild-fire and extravagance, they were compelled to discountenance him. But instead of being induced to correct his errors, he instantly aspired to become the leader of a turbulent mobility, whose minds he inflamed by popular harangues, and whom he encouraged to enter the great church of All Saints at Wittemberg, to break the crucifixes and images in pieces, and throw down the altars. Mislead by a strange spirit of infatuation, he began to despise human learning, and to encourage the youths of the University to quit their studies. Yet, with all this perversion of mind and impetuosity of conduct, which no remonstrances could check, it must be admitted that he held some important truths, particularly the real doctrine of the Sacrament, which the Lutherans misunderstood, and which afterwards occasioned violent controversies. And yet, even in maintaining acknowledged truth, his *manner* of doing it was equally disapproved by the gentle Melancthon and the impetuous Luther. The former, who was never addicted to exaggeration, represents him in a most unamiable light, as "a man of savage disposition, of no genius and learning, or even common sense; as having plotted against the reputation of Luther out of revenge for his opposing his fanatical practices; but at the same time as possessing a very insinuating and plausible exterior, though unable to disguise his violent ambition, passion, and envy, for any long period."

The state of Luther's mind during these transactions can be more easily imagined than expressed. Every day increased his anxieties, every occurrence excited fresh alarm. The foundations of that noble structure he had been so actively engaged in erecting seemed to be endangered. What could be done? Was he to remain at a distance from the scene of action at a period when his skill and heroism appeared peculiarly requisite; or could he venture upon incurring the Elector's displeasure by a clandestine and unauthorized return? Restless with increasing impatience he determined to hazard every thing, and at length on the 3d of March, 1522, hastened to Wittemberg. An apology for this proceeding was written to the Elector, pleading the urgent necessity of the case arising out of the existing irregularities; but in two other communications, the one a letter addressed to Melancthon and the other to Amsdorff, he assigns an additional reason for his return, namely, the assistance he wished to obtain from them and others in the translation of the Scriptures into the German language.

For the purpose of engaging in this important labor, Luther had devoted the previous summer to the study of Greek and Hebrew. His skill in German is universally admitted. Versions of a very inferior kind had been published at Nuremberg in the years 1477, 1483, 1490, and at Augsburg in 1518, which were not only ill calculated to attract public notice, but interdicted from being read. The gospels of Matthew and Mark were first published by Luther, then the Epistle to the Romans and the other books in succession, till the whole New Testament was circulated by the month of September. In a letter which Melancthon addressed to the celebrated physician George Sturciad, dated 5th May, 1522, he speaks of the whole version being in the hands of the printers. The essential assistance he rendered in completing the work is likewise apparent, for he states that he had paid particular attention to the different kinds of money mentioned in the New Testament, and had consulted with many learned men that the version might express them with the utmost accuracy. He begs his correspondent to give his opinion, and to consult Mutianus as being profoundly skilled in the knowledge of Roman antiquities. He entreats him to attend to his application from a regard to the general good, and to do it immediately, because the work was in the press and printing with great expedition. "I wait your reply," he adds, "with the utmost anxiety, and I beseech you for faith, love, and kindness' sake, and every other urgent consideration, not to disappoint us."

The difficulties of the undertaking particularly pressed upon Luther when he proceeded to the translation of the Old Testament, but he persevered with indefatigable zeal. Melancthon was deeply engaged in revising this important work for his friend two months previous to his return.

The utmost pains were taken to ensure the accuracy of the translation, for a select party of learned men at Wittemberg assembled every day with Luther to revise every sentence; and they have been known to return *fourteen successive days, to the reconsideration of a single line or even a word.* Each had an appropriate part assigned him according to his peculiar qualification. Luther collated the ancient Latin versions and the Hebrew, Melancthon the Greek original, Cruciger the Chaldee, and other professors the Rabbinical writings. At the request of Luther, Spalatine afforded them every assistance, by sending them specimens from the Elector's collection of gems. The Pentateuch went to press in December, and a second edition of the New Testament appeared at the same time. A version of the Prophets was published in the year 1527, and the other books in succession till the whole laborious task was completed in 1530. Luther

states how much he was indebted to his particular friend in writing to Spalatinus. "I translated not only the gospel of John, but the whole New Testament in my Patmos, but Melancthon and I have begun to revise the whole, and by the blessing of God it will prove a noble labor, but your assistance is sometimes requisite to suggest apt words and turns of expression. We wish it to be distinguished for simplicity of style." The whole was republished in a new edition in 1534, which was followed by others in 1541 and 1545. The names of Luther's principal coadjutors in this great undertaking ought to be had in everlasting remembrance—PHILIP MELANCTHON, CASPER CRUCIGER, JUSTUS JONAS, JOHN BUGENHAGIUS or POMERANUS, and MATTHEW AUROGALLUS: the corrector of the press was GEORGE RORARIUS.

After completing this translation of the Scriptures into the German language, Bugenhagius annually kept the return of the day on which it was finished, by inviting a select party of friends to his house in order to celebrate so important an achievement. This social meeting was usually designated THE FESTIVAL OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

To the fastidious we must leave it to censure the desire which may probably glow, at least for a moment, in many a bosom, to have been contemporary with these benevolent spirits, to have shared their noble labor, and to have annually participated in their pious convivialities. Never was a festive board more nobly surrounded or more religiously devoted—never did a more splendid occasion of holy triumph present itself. Germany had already hailed her Reformers, heard their discourses, and witnessed their progress with mingled emotions of fear and satisfaction;—already was she deeply indebted to them for a series of disinterested efforts to deliver her from the abject slavery in which superstition and tyranny had combined to chain her down during past ages; but a new obligation of far greater extent was incurred by their furnishing to every man the means of the most direct acquaintance with divine communications through his vernacular language. Nor was the mere accomplishment of this difficult undertaking the only subject of generous exultation to these eminent men, every year and almost every day exhibited great and good effects resulting from their labor. "The different parts of this translation," observes Mosheim, vol. iv. page 60, "being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome, from the minds of a prodigious number of persons."

Let us pause for a moment to reflect on the wonderful concatenation of a few past events by the invisible but efficacious agency of a superintending Providence. Leo X. had issued a Bull against Luther which totally failed of its object; the Pope exasperated at witnessing his own impotency, appealed to Charles V. newly promoted to the empire upon the death of Maximilian I. to inflict exemplary vengeance upon his heretical subject; Charles being under personal obligations to Frederic Elector of Saxony, who had materially assisted his advancement in opposition to his rival Francis I. king of France, was disposed to concede to his wishes by refraining from the publication of a condemnatory edict, but, not to offend the Pope, he resolved to summon Luther to the diet at Worms as a previous and prudential measure:—at Worms he appeared, where he breathed the spirit of an apostle and exhibited the heroism of a martyr; but he was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire and became instantly exposed to its vengeance. At this crisis Frederic screened him from the storm, by a friendly seizure and imprisonment at the castle of Wartenberg, *by which means*, while his sudden disappearance operated to the benefit of the reformed cause, by exasperating the minds of men against the Roman See for a supposed violation of its promise of security, his confinement furnished him with leisure which even had his life been spared, he could not otherwise have enjoyed at such a turbulent moment, for prosecuting the study of original languages, and preparing for the translation of the holy Scriptures into the vernacular language of Germany. While his enemies and countrymen thought him dead and his particular friends lamented his absence, trembled for his safety, and mourned over the calamitous circumstances in which they became involved, the Providence of God had unexpectedly and at the fittest moment set him about a work in the forests of Thuringia, which was hereafter to gladden the hearts of Germany, and more than any other circumstance to promote the Reformation; and thus, amidst a universal pause of wonder and apprehension, God was mysteriously and secretly operating his own purposes.

It was to be expected that the Catholics should endeavor to disparage the version of Luther, and yet Maimbourg confesses it was elegant and very generally read, although Jerome Emser, one of the counsellors of Duke George, of persecuting notoriety, and Cochlæus, attacked it in terms of bitter reproach. The former, under the patronage of his master, published what he called a correct translation of the New Testament in opposition to it, and which as it consisted of little else than a republication of Luther's very version almost verbatim, but with a *preface of his own*, was in reality the highest compliment he could have paid to his antagonist, and the most effectual condemnation of himself. The result however of this animosity was most gratifying to every pious mind. Luther's version was read even in the pages of his adversary; and he expresses himself upon the occasion in language which strikingly illustrates his character, "There is a just judge who will see to this. The best revenge which I can wish for is, that though *Luther's* NAME is suppressed, and that of his adversary put in its place, yet *Luther's* BOOK is read, and thus the design of his labors is promoted by his very enemies."

This German translation of the Scriptures was proscribed by an edict of Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, the emperor's brother, forbidding the subjects of his imperial majesty to have any copy of it in their possession. The same interdiction extended to all his writings. Several princes issued similar prohibitions, among whom we can feel no surprise at discovering Duke George, but with what kind of *effect*—such as are acquainted with the history of persecution may easily conjecture.

Soon after his return from the castle of Wartenberg, Luther consented to hold a conference in the presence of Melancthon with some of the chief fanatical pretenders to prophetic inspiration before mentioned. Mark Stubner, Cellarius and another, met the reformer and his friend on this occasion. Stubner related his visions and inspirations to very patient hearers, and when he had finished, Luther coolly replied, "that nothing he had said was supported by the authority of Scripture, but seemed to result from a deluded imagination, or the suggestions of some evil spirit." This enraged Cellarius, who with the voice and gesticulations of a madman, stamping the ground and beating the table, exclaimed against the audacity of Luther for insinuating such things against so *divine* a person! Stubner, however, was more composed, possibly fancying himself in a *tranquil and devout rapture*. "Lu-

ther," says he, "I will give you a proof that I am influenced by the Spirit of God, by revealing your own thoughts. *You are at this moment inclining to believe in the truth of my doctrine.*" The prophet however was mistaken, for Luther afterwards affirmed he was thinking of that sentence, "the Lord rebuke thee, Satan;" and he very soon dismissed them with these words, "The God whom I love and serve will confound your impotent pretensions." They retired full of self-sufficiency, pouring out execrations upon Luther, and promising what mighty things they would do to demonstrate the reality of their commission. They left Wittemberg the same day.

A genuine FANATIC is one of the most pitiable objects in creation; a compound of ignorance and enthusiasm. Enflamed with self-importance, he mistakes the conceits of his own disordered imagination for the dictates of inspiration, and fancies his intercourse with the Deity to be of a sublimer nature than that of his inferior fellow mortals. He believes himself gifted above others, destined to move in a higher sphere, to walk in the precincts of heaven, to hold an immediate connection with the Divine Spirit, which elevates him above the laws and ordinances, the instructions and the guidance of Scripture. But sure nothing can be more degrading to reason than such absurdities, nothing more disparaging to religion. The mischief such a person is calculated to do results from this circumstance, that he denominates passion by the sacred name of religion; a passion which, heated to intemperance and kindling into the ardors of rapture, spurns at reason, and substitutes a man's own fancy and good opinion of himself for the true foundation of piety. When such sentiments as these prevail, it is impossible to calculate or to conjecture the monstrous excesses into which they may precipitate the ignorant classes of mankind, who are soon attracted by plausible, however ridiculous, novelties. But genuine religion and wild fanaticism are perfect antipodes; and intelligent persons, of an observing cast of mind, will always look upon the latter as a beacon to warn them away from the dangers attending *any* deviation from the plain course of scriptural instruction.

Should any be disposed to censure the conduct of Melancthon for that extreme leniency which he manifested to Storck and his associates from Zwickau, be it recollected, that though Luther's zeal charged him with undue *timidity*, a word which both he and historians after him have applied with great incaution, several extenuating circumstances must not be overlooked. Stubner being a man of learning, and probably of some address, and knowing the importance of obtaining, if possible, the influence of Melancthon, probably resorted to every insinuating method to gain his support, disclosing his sentiments only in a very gradual manner. The real goodness and amiable temper for which Melancthon was so remarkable, predisposed him to judge favorably of others, especially if they were professedly in pursuit of truth. He was himself a diligent and patient inquirer. It was a period of religious discovery, and he daily felt that he had much to learn. The very extravagances of these prophets were not more abhorrent to the present views of the reformers, than the tenets of Lutheranism were to the mind of Luther himself at a previous and not very remote period of his life. Every impartial person must perceive, what many transactions hereafter to be recorded will fully prove, that the hesitation of Melancthon in deciding upon new subjects or in difficult cases which seemed to require a promptitude of action, resulted not so much from *timidity*, as from *conscientious scruples of mind*. It was not that he feared temporal, but moral consequences; and though Luther may be excused in a period when the mind was habitually kept warm and irascible by controversy, for using such an epithet, those who are solicitous of forming a correct idea of him will rather deem it slanderous than descriptive to call him the *timid* Melancthon. If, after all, his first treatment of Storck and his associates be considered as an unwarrantable excess of candor, his language became more decided as his convictions of their delusion and misconduct increased: and if this be a shade in his character, it is otherwise so bright that the admitted imperfection will not materially obscure it; and the biographer can feel no very powerful temptation where such a splendor of excellence is discernable, to become the labored apologist.

Luther, besides many useful tracts of his own, having secretly taken from Melancthon a manuscript Commentary on *the Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, printed it without his knowledge. It was afterwards published in the year 1540, with a dedication to Philip, landgrave of Hesse. Luther's apology for this proceeding is curious and characteristic. It is prefixed to the Commentary of his friend.

"Martin Luther to Philip Melancthon—grace and peace in Christ.

"'Be angry and sin not; commune with your own heart upon your bed and be still.' I am the person who dares to publish your annotations, and I send you your own work. If you are not pleased with it, it may be all very well, it is sufficient that you please us. If I have done wrong, *you* are to blame; why did not you publish it yourself? why did you suffer me so often to ask, to insist, to importune you to publish it, and all in vain?—So much for my apology *against* you; for you see I am willing to turn thief, and am not afraid of your future accusations or complaints. As to those whom you suspect of being disposed to sneer, I have this to say to them—'*Do better!*'—What the impious Thomists *falsely* arrogate to their leader, namely, that no one has written better upon St. Paul, I *truly* affirm of you. Satan himself influences them to boast in this manner concerning their Thomas Aquinas, and to spread his doctrines and his poison far and wide. I know in what sort of spirit and with what correctness of judgment I pronounce this of you. If these famous and mighty men should choose to sneer at my opinion, the consequence belongs to me, not to you. But I wish to vex these scorners more and more; and I say that the commentaries of Jerome and Origen are mere trifles and follies compared to your annotations. But what, you will say, is the purpose of aiming to provoke these great men against me? Well—you may be humble if you please, but let me boast for you. Who has ever prohibited persons of great capacity from publishing something better *if they can*—and thus demonstrating the rashness of my judgment. For my part, I wish we could find out those who could and would publish something better. I threaten you, further, to steal and publish your remarks upon Genesis and the Gospels of Matthew and John, unless you supersede me by bringing them forward. You say, Scripture ought to be read alone and without a commentary; this is right enough if you speak in reference to Jerome, Origen, Thomas Aquinas, and others of the same class, for their commentaries are the mere vehicles of their own notions, rather than the sentiments of Paul, and the doctrine of Christianity; but no one can properly call yours a commentary; it is rather an introduction to the study of Scripture in general, and a guide to the knowledge of Christ: in which it surpasses all the commentaries hitherto published. As to what you plead, that your annotations are not in all respects satisfactory to yourself, it is difficult

enough to believe you. But behold I do believe—you are not fully satisfied with yourself, nor is this asked or desired of you: we would have Paul maintain his pre-eminence, lest any one should insinuate that Philip is superior or equal to Paul. It is sufficient you are only second to Paul; but we shall not dislike any body for coming still nearer to this great original. We know very well that you are nothing; and we know also that Christ is all and in all, who if he pleases can speak as he did to Balaam by an ass; why then should he not speak by a man?—art thou not a man?—art thou not a servant of Christ?—has he not endowed thee with capacity? If thou shouldest choose to improve and enlarge this volume by elegant and learned additions, it will be a grateful service; but in the mean time we are determined to be gratified in spite of you, by possessing ourselves of the sentiments of Paul by your means. If I have offended you by this proceeding, I do not ask pardon; but lay aside your displeasure, by which you will rather give offence to *us*, and *you* will have to ask forgiveness. God preserve and prosper you for evermore. *Wittemberg*, July 29, 1522."

If Luther did not ask pardon for publishing Melancthon's annotations on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans without his consent, the reader will not demand an apology for inserting a few brief extracts from this valuable performance: as a specimen of our reformer's expository method, which in giving a complete view of his character and talents, could not be wholly omitted.

"CHAP. I. v. 1.—'*Paul . . . . . separated unto the gospel of God.*' Here the apostle states the business he was commanded to execute, namely, to preach the gospel. The reader should remember that there is a material difference between the law and the gospel, to which we have already adverted, and of which more will be said in remarking upon the third chapter. The description which he gives of the gospel is, that it is a divine promise communicated in the sacred writings concerning Jesus Christ the Son of God, of the seed of David according to the flesh, declared to be the Son of God with power, through sanctification of the Spirit, and resurrection from the dead; that he is the Messiah or King, by whom deliverance from sin and eternal life are dispensed.

"This description will be more obvious by noticing the contradistinction between the law and the gospel. The law represents what we are, and what we are required to do. It demands perfect obedience, without providing for the forgiveness of sin, or liberating us from the power of sin and death; but rather arms sin against us, by accusing transgressors, and alarming them with the terrors of death. But the GOSPEL freely promises the remission of sin and deliverance from death, by Jesus the Son of God, who was descended from David according to the prophetic declarations. Paul states this at the outset of his discourse, that we might know his meaning, and distinguish properly between the law and the gospel; as though he had said, 'Paul divinely called to teach the gospel of Christ; not to teach the law or to teach philosophy.'

"3, 4.—'*Concerning the Son Jesus Christ our Lord, &c.*' In this phrase he opposes the vulgar notions of the Jews, who expected a Messiah that would be—not *the Son of God by his own nature*, but only *a man like the other prophets*, though surpassing them in wisdom, virtue, and capacity to obtain and govern the whole world. But the patriarchs and prophets knew their Messiah to be the *Son of God*, who was at that period their governor and their guide. Jacob said, 'The angel who delivered me out of all evil bless the lads,' speaking of the deliverer whom he knew to be promised, and whose proper office is to deliver out of all evil. Jacob, Moses, Daniel, saw him by faith, and John testifies that the Messiah was the Son of God, and constantly present with the patriarchs. 'In the beginning,' says he, 'was the word, ... all things were made by him'—referring to those illustrious victories over the devil which this glorious leader and captain enabled Noah, Abram, Joseph, Moses, Samuel, David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah to obtain.

"The term *oristhentos*, which the Greeks explain by another, *apodeichthentos*, is singularly emphatical, and it refers to the manifestation of the Son of God, as having risen from the dead, and as being possessed of inconceivable power, evinced by numerous miracles.

"The verb *orizesthai*, signifies to be certainly proclaimed; in opposition to the opinions of the Jews, who expected a Messiah to be an extraordinary man indeed, but only a man, distinguished by heroic achievements, and who should bestow riches, but not a *new nature and eternal life*. But Paul says that this Messiah would be powerful, and would give the Holy Spirit by which new light, justification and eternal life would be dispensed, and the devil vanquished. This he calls a real deliverance, which our forefathers both understood and experienced in the various trials of their faith, their dangers, and their conflicts with Satan and with death. And how much greater is this deliverance than that which some anticipate in the appearance of a Messiah, who like Alexander is to divide kingdoms and provinces amongst his soldiers.

"CHAP. V. v. 2.—'*We rejoice in hope of the glory of God.*' It may be asked, what is the value of justification and deliverance from sin and death, when sin still adheres to us, and we continue obnoxious to death, and all the various afflictions incident to human life? In what respects are Christians happier than others? for Christians are often derided for speaking about deliverance from sin and death, when they are equally with other men exposed to calamities. Saints themselves are often ready to acknowledge their infirmities, and are agitated with doubts whether if God really delighted in them, they should be the subjects of such infirmity; and this is no trifling temptation, because when faith realizes, according to the Scriptures, that God is propitious through Jesus Christ, our weakness expects to see this kindness in some manner visibly displayed. So the Anabaptists despise the doctrine of faith, and affirm that we are to seek for celestial visions; and there are others who dream they have already perfectly obeyed, and are acceptable to God, as having satisfied the claims of his law, and being without sin.

"Paul therefore opposes each of these. He administers consolation to those who acknowledge their infirmities, and commands them to rejoice in hope; and to consider that they shall enjoy the glory of eternal life, which though not at present revealed, shall certainly be bestowed. On which account it became them to acquiesce, and not to doubt or despair, though they were at present exposed to infirmities. He directs them to rejoice *in hope*, that is, they are not to suppose that this perfection of nature and enjoyment is now to be attained, nor are they to expect any new manifestaitons from heaven, but to stand fast in the truth of Scripture, and aim to please God by faith in Christ, considering that a present perfection in this sinful state is not to be expected.

"The sentiment therefore is, that although the world, and even our own reason, may determine that we do not yet possess glory, or complete emancipation from sin and death, yet we rejoice, that is, we indulge the hope of that glory with which God

will eventually distinguish us. We cleave to this hope, for it is not fallacious.

"3.—'*And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also,*' &c. He, as it were, corrects the former statement. We have not only a glory in expectation, but in present possession; and what was it? *Affliction.* He is opposing the opinions and reasonings of the world.

"In the view of the world we are afflicted: we seem abandoned and rejected by God; and this reproach upon the gospel deters the generality of mankind from embracing it. This mode of reasoning indeed seems legitimate enough—afflictions are curses, that is, evils: and therefore signs of God's displeasure. But Paul on the contrary assures us that they are not curses, but are proper occasions of glorying; for they are not signs of the divine displeasure, but intimations of the love of God.

"We have then a double glory—the one which is the greatest is in expectation, consisting in the renovation of our nature, and the enjoyment of eternal life; but this glory we possess in hope: the other glory is in present possession, and it consists in affliction: for although the world judges that affliction is an evidence of divine anger, yet we know it to be an indication of his love; and obedience to his afflictive dispensations to be a new and acceptable kind of worship.

"Four things, therefore, ought to be well impressed upon our minds respecting afflictions:

"1. They are appointed. We do not suffer affliction by chance, but by the determinate counsel and permission of God.

"2. By means of affliction God punishes his people, not that he may destroy them, but to recal them to repentance, and the exercise of faith: for afflictions are not indications of displeasure, but of kindness—'He willeth not the death of a sinner.'

"3. God requires us to submit to his afflictive dispensations, and to expend our indignation and impatience upon our own sins; and since he determines to afflict his church in the present state, submission tends to glorify his name.

"4. Resignation however is not all; he requires faith and prayer, that we may both seek and expect divine assistance. Thus he admonishes us, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, I will answer thee, and thou shalt glorify me.'

"These four considerations are applicable to all our afflictions, and are calculated if properly regarded, to produce that truly Christian patience which essentially differs from mere philosophical endurance.

"Chap. VIII. *v.* 3.—'*God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, for sin condemned sin in the flesh.*' It is elsewhere stated, he was '*Made sin for us.*' These words are peculiarly emphatical—Christ is represented as being *made sin* or a *sacrifice for sin:* it is a Hebrew form of expression, corresponding with the Latin term *piaculum*, and the Greek *katharma.* A similar idea is conveyed in the use of the word *curse* or *anathema*, and which signifies any thing devoted to punishment in order to propitiate the offended deity. In this manner Isaiah speaks of Christ, 'thou didst make his soul a *sin*,' that is, an offering or sacrifice for sin: and Paul frequently inculcates the same sentiment in his second epistle and fifth chapter of the Corinthians, 'He who knew no sin was made *sin* for us,' that is, *an offering* or *victim* who sustained the punishment of sin and satisfied the demands of justice for us. In writing to the Galatians he suggests a similar sentiment, 'Christ was made *a curse*,' that is, *piaculum, a sacrifice*, sustaining the curse and displeasure of God against sin.

"22.—'*We know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.*' This is an argument from the example of the creation. All things are subject to corruption and to the abuse of the wicked till the period of deliverance, which therefore we expect.

"In this place, Paul contemplates with great emotion of mind the dreadful confusion and corruption of human affairs, war, bloodshed, devastation and other evils prevalent in the world. He contemplates the mighty power of sin and the tyranny of Satan, and how degrading it is that universal nature should be subjected to the devil and to death in consequence of human transgression.

"Here then in the first place is to be considered the feelings of Christians amidst their afflictions. Delay is tormenting to the mind, and we are incapable of foreseeing the method of deliverance. Troubles are daily increasing and the truly pious are deeply afflicted to witness the great dangers which surround the church of Christ; and while its distresses multiply, its deliverance appears to be delayed.

"Whatever therefore may be the source of our grief, whether public or private, the apostle endeavors to impart consolation by referring us to the heavens and the earth, to the creation at large as subjected to the abuse of the wicked. Tyrants possess the dominion of empires—the impious enjoy the riches of the world, but the church of Christ for which all things were created, suffers martyrdom and is deprived of life, light, and every other advantage. But these things were formed that they might be in subserviency to the saints for the glory of God, and as they are at present subjected to abuse and the power of corruption through the transgression of Adam, the creatures themselves wait for the promised deliverance."———

The Popish writers agree in lamenting the increase of Lutheranism during the years 1522 and 1523; its opponents, however, amongst whom George, Duke of Saxony, Henry, Duke of Brunswick, and Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, may be considered the principal, were by no means asleep. The former, the most violent bigot of the day, and the most inveterate enemy of Luther, and the Reformation, used every means to influence Frederic and his brother John, to adopt hostile measures: but their prudence frustrated his views in Saxony. The light spread rapidly in Europe, and Casper Hedio, Martin Bucer, and John Oecolampadius were diffusing it in Alsace and Switzerland.

Frederic, however, felt himself in a most critical situation. The Pope, Adrian VI. who had succeeded Leo X. had sent his legate Francis Cheregato to the Imperial Diet of Nuremberg, to demand the immediate execution of the sentence pronounced against Luther at the Diet of Worms. The Emperor concurred in his views, and the Popish princes were evidently concerting measures to crush the Reformation. In this situation the Elector applied to Luther, Melancthon and Bugenhagius for their opinion on this question. "Is it lawful for your prince if his subjects should be attacked on account of religion by the Emperor, or any other ruler to protect them by arms?" To this they replied, "*it was not lawful*, chiefly because the princes were not yet convinced in their consciences of the truth of the reformed doctrine, neither had their subjects implored protection against violence, nor had the states of the provinces deliberated on the subject of war: above all, those who took up arms for their defence, ought to be well satisfied of the justice of their cause."

Clement VII. being elevated to the Papal Chair upon the decease of Adrian, selected Cardinal Campeggio, a skilful negotiator for his legate to the

Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, where he arrived in the early part of the year 1524. He was commissioned to insist upon the princes uniting to execute the decree of Worms against Luther; and the Emperor gave similar instructions to his minister. After some debate it was resolved by the Diet that the Pope, with the consent of the Emperor, should at an early period summon a free council in Germany, to deliberate upon the Lutheran affairs, and that in the mean time a Diet should be held at Spires, to consider of the mode of proceeding. This of course did not satisfy Campeggio, and retiring to Ratisbon he held a private assembly with some of the princes and bishops of the empire, whom he engaged to resolve upon executing the decree of Worms. This unwarrantable procedure induced those who differed from Campeggio, to pursue a measure of self-defence, by holding a similar convention at Spires, to confirm the decrees of Nuremberg.

At this period, what has been called the *Sacramental controversy* originated. Carlostadt resolutely denied what Luther no less resolutely maintained, the doctrine of *Consubstantiation*, or that the real body and blood of Christ, were received together with the bread and the wine, though they were not absolutely transubstantiated. This controversy divided the early friends of the Reformation, and long threatened the most serious consequences. The Reformers of Switzerland, and many in Germany, dissented from Luther and Melancthon, maintaining that the Lord's Supper was to be observed only as a commemoration of the death of Christ. It must be owned that *Consubstantiation* and *Transubstantiation* are as similar in nature as in name, and it would require good spectacles to discern any very essential difference between these two species of nonsense.

Carlostadt found it necessary to retire to Orlamund, and became the pastor of the village in defiance of the right of appointment, vested in the Elector and the university, where he not only railed against Luther's view of the Eucharist, but appears to have been hurried on by his violence of temper to very enthusiastical pretensions. He was at length expelled by the prince and his brother from their dominions, but afterwards recalled by the Elector John.

Carlostadt, by raising mobs, pulling down images and railing against learning, gave the final impulse to the fanaticism of Muncer, Storck and their associates. "It may be true," says Luther, "and candor may require me to believe that Carlostadt does not *intend* to promote sedition and murder, yet so long as he persists in raising headstrong mobs and exciting them to demolish statues with unauthorized violence, he possesses the same seditious sanguinary spirit that has shown itself at Alsted. How often has Melancthon in vain admonished him not to raise tumults respecting ceremonies, and yet he has continued to defend the breakers of the peace to the last."

These irregularities, like a large tributary stream, swelled the torrent of insurrection that was at this moment rushing through the provinces of Germany. What has been termed *the Rustic war*, or *war of the Peasants*, arose indeed from the dissatisfaction of the lower classes with the civil restraints and oppressions of their chiefs, which they *affirmed* to be no longer tolerable, but it received an accession of strength and a character of fanaticism from the union of the Anabaptists, who hastened to wage war against their lawful governors and the rights of civil society. Muncer placed himself at their head, and was at last taken and put to death after being defeated by the confederate princes of Germany in a pitched battle at Mulhausen in Thuringia. This terminated the rebellion.

By the advice of his friends, who perceived it necessary to recruit his health and spirits, Melancthon devoted part of the year 1524, to a journey on horseback to different places in Germany. He was accompanied by Nesenus and Camerarius, two intimate associates, the former distinguished for prudence, knowledge and amiableness of disposition, the latter who was afterwards his biographer, for very eminent literary attainments. Two youths, Burcardus and Silberbornerus, both of whom afterwards acquired considerable reputation, attended them.

The travellers arrived at Leipsic, the first place of notoriety in their route, on the very day when Peter Mosellanus, the Greek professor, breathed his last. Melancthon and Camerarius had just time to visit him, and mingle their tears over his dying bed; the former deplored a friend, and the latter a tutor. Mosellanus was a man of erudition. He is praised by Erasmus as a wit and a scholar; and at his decease, which took place at the early age of *thirty-one*, Melancthon composed the following tribute to his memory.

Beneath this tomb that meets the stranger's eye
The dear remains of Mosellanus lie;
In vain might friends protracted life implore,
The lovely rhetorician speaks no more;
But in the records of eternal fame,
Ages to come shall find inscrib'd his name,
While from this transient life of tears and sighs
God has removed him to yon fairer skies.

Melancthon and his friends proceeded from Leipsic across Upper Saxony to Fulda, where they heard of the death of the celebrated Ulric Hutten, an ingenious and learned man, but of a most waspish temper, which was abundantly displayed in a book against Erasmus. Melancthon and Luther both disapproved his ferocious hostility. Though descended from a noble family, of which he was sufficiently vain, he died in extreme poverty at Zurich.

After visiting Frankfort, they remained some time with Melancthon's mother, who had married a second husband at Bretten. Parting at length most reluctantly from endeared relatives, they reached Heidelberg, where the university received their former student with every mark of distinction and regard.

Upon their return, not far from Frankfort, they unexpectedly met Philip, landgrave of Hesse, on his way to Heidelberg. The landgrave rode up to him, intimating that he understood his name was Philip Melancthon; to which he replied in the affirmative, and alighting from his horse, in token of respect to the illustrious stranger, he was requested to remount and turn back to spend the night with him. The prince assured him his intentions were not hostile, but simply to converse upon some particular topics. Melancthon replied in a suitable manner, and signified he entertained no apprehensions from the landgrave. "But," said he, smiling, "if I should deliver you into the hands of Campeggio, I fancy he would think me doing him a very grateful piece of service." On their way, for Melancthon had turned back in complaisance, the prince put a number of questions of a casual nature, which he answered briefly and without entering into much explanation, both on account of the unfitness of the time and place, and because the prince appeared to have his thoughts occupied with other concerns. At length he requested the prince's permission to return and prosecute his journey which he granted, stipulating that upon his arrival at Wit-

temberg, he should send him in writing, his deliberate opinion upon the subjects he had referred to in his conversation. He also gave him a safe conduct through his dominions. This inquisitive disposition of the landgrave, terminated in the happiest consequences, for he soon became the decided supporter of the Reformation. His allusion to Campeggio, was sufficiently significant, for previous to this interview, that subtle legate had sent to sound Melancthon upon the subject of coming over to the Papal party, but was dismissed with the following spirited reply—that, "what he maintained to be true and *knew* to be so, he did not embrace or avow to gain the respect and favor of any living mortal, or from the hope of emolument, or from any ambitious motives, nor would he cease to esteem and aid those who promoted it. In the exertions he had hitherto made for the knowledge and advancement of truth, he was determined in a spirit of meekness to persevere. Let all who are truly desirous of the general peace and safety of the community confer and co-operate to heal the wounds which cannot possibly be any longer concealed, and to restrain the fury of those who will not desist from tearing and fretting with their malicious nails the existing sores. If this be not done, and the violent bigots still pursue their course, they may expect to be the first to suffer."

Soon after returning to Wittemberg, Melancthon was plunged into the deepest affliction, in consequence of the tragical death of Nesenus. He was lying at his ease in a fishing boat which he had hired, as he frequently did, for the purpose of recreation on the river Elbe, and which he had fastened to the trunk of a tree. The boat suddenly heaved about and whirled him into the water, where he perished. The great men of the day, were deeply affected by this fatal accident. Luther exclaimed in the transports of grief, "O that I had power to raise the dead!"—Micyllus, by no means, says Seckendorf, a contemptible poet, honored his memory with an elegant epitaph. We insert a similar tribute from the pen of Melancthon.

How vain and fleeting is the race of man;—
And how uncertain when we yield our breath!
So sunk Nesenus 'neath the wave of death,
Nor knew the treacherous stream so near him ran.

It is known that Melancthon placed considerable confidence in dreams, and that both he and Luther were addicted to astrology. In the course of his late journey he expressed a presentiment of the death of one of the three fellow travellers, Camerarius, Nesenus, or himself, from the occurrence of what he considered an ominous circumstance; and on the very day when Nesenus was drowned, he often related to those who were inclined to be jocose upon superstitious notions, that in his afternoon's nap, he saw in a dream, every circumstance of his friend's deplorable end.

Another event of the present year was still more afflictive. Henry von Zutphen, to whom Melancthon and the whole university at Wittemberg were much attached on account of his wisdom, modesty and piety, had gone to preach the reformed doctrines in Ditmars, a county of Holstein, in Denmark; the neighboring priests like tigers watching for their prey, instantly sprung upon the victim and put him to death by the most exquisite tortures.

On the fifth of May, 1525, Frederic, Elector of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, departed this life. His death was peaceful and pious, and as he was the early friend, as well as the constant protector of the reformed cause, it was an event which could not fail of producing a strong impression on the minds of Luther and Melancthon. To them was entrusted the management of his funeral, which was conducted in an unostentatious manner, omitting the superstitious practices which the Papists had been accustomed to observe on similar occasions. Luther delivered a short discourse in German, and Melancthon pronounced an oration in the Latin language. From the latter the reader is presented with the following extracts.

"Amidst this public, universal and most acute sorrow, in which the removal of one of the wisest of princes, a loss so calamitous to this state, is deplored, I feel myself scarcely possessed of sufficient presence of mind to attempt by a formal oration to alleviate the affliction of the nobles and the populace, with a voice too so faultering with grief. Though the extraordinary virtues of this prince peculiarly deserve the funeral honors which well constituted nations have always bestowed on their distinguished men; I am deeply conscious that our tears cannot express his superlative merits. Deeply affected as I am with the loss of the state which in a season of public commotion, and amidst the universal darkness of the age required the light of his wisdom, private feelings mingle with the general lamentation. I could not but honor him while living and mourn him when dead, not only for his signal virtues, but for the innumerable favors of which I have been the recipient. Incapacity of mind, however, and excess of grief forbid a minute encomium upon all his merits; let these flowing tears and this tremulous voice suffice to express the sincerest feelings of a grateful heart.

"That this assembled multitude may form a correct idea of how much they are indebted to this prince, I propose slightly to allude to some things worthy of praise, and present as it were a distant view of them; and though I would by no means assume so much as to hope that I shall be able to cure the grief of those who are aware of the magnitude of that calamity which the state has sustained, yet I may at least assuage their sorrow by reminding them of his virtues.

"This nation is greatly indebted to the higher orders for the advancement of sacred literature, and under Providence for the existence of a prince, who as he was formed by nature pacific, humane and merciful, so nothing was more dear to him than the best interests of his people. The Saxon princes are notorious for their noble lineage, but Frederic was still more illustrious for his knowledge of the science of government and for genuine greatness of mind. I am mistaken if any one was so mighty in arms, and yet so anxious to render the employment of power subservient to the establishment of peace. He was just, gentle, firm, careful of the public welfare, diligent in ascertaining the rights of others, and pacifying the contentions of fellow-citizens, patient toward the faults of the people, aiming mildly to restore those who were capable of amelioration, but severe in punishing the wicked and incorrigible.

"The multitude, I am aware, are smitten with an admiration of heroic achievements, and esteem the soldier above the quiet citizen. The virtues of domestic life are overlooked, and they who cultivate peace and the arts acquire but a slender praise. But I confess myself of a far different opinion, for if you consider utility, if you remark the design of man's creation, peace is preferable to war. I cannot prefer the great but warlike Anthony, to the peaceful Augustus, nor admit that Alcibiades was of more service to Greece, than Solan; of whom the former ruined his country by promoting eternal war, the latter not only preserved but constituted it a great state by furnishing it with ample laws. Frederic was formed to excel in the more useful and therefore the superior virtues. It was for him to preserve his people in peace amidst the most turbu-

lent times. Who will venture to compare a victory with the more splendid achievement of securing tranquillity during many years, more than thirty, of commotion, while many envied and many endeavored to excite war. Believe me, the wisdom and the real fortitude of Frederic were of no common cast, co-operating to overcome the impetuosity of anger, to spare the lives of his subjects, and to allay the violence of armed hostility by reason, by counsel and even by purchase. When the friends of Pericles were enumerating his trophies and congratulating him upon his victories, he replied, the praise did not belong to *him* so much as to his *soldiers* or to *fortune*, but he would claim this as his just distinction, *that no citizen through his means ever put on mourning*—intimating that he had never been guilty of any treacherous violence to advance his own dignity; but our illustrious prince not only never revenged private injuries, but he made even war itself yield to reason and become subservient to the preservation of his citizens.

"He possessed the greatest *private* virtues and a peculiar devotedness to the study of the *Christian religion*. He always treated sacred things with the utmost seriousness, and amidst the contrariety of opinions prevalent in the present age, he diligently aimed to discover the best and most indubitable. Before the present period of reform, when human rites were appointed in the churches by pontifical authority, he ever preferred what was most conducive to morals; and, because he felt persuaded that the common people were allured by these means to pay attention to religion, he erected churches, devised ceremonies, and exerted himself to procure teachers of sacred doctrine. Often would he confer with learned men on the nature and power of religion. These I consider proofs of a well disposed mind.

"When Christianity began to rise again, as it were from the dead, and to be purified from her corruptions, he entirely devoted his mind to it, neither approving nor condemning any thing with precipitation. Wherever he saw the evidence of religious truth he embraced it with all his soul, and it became the means of establishing and nourishing his piety. He shunned insignificant disputes which did not conduce to edification; and when he observed certain impious men, upon pretence of enjoying evangelical liberty, debasing themselves and religion by a ferociousness of conduct and a contempt of public decency, he cautiously avoided giving them or others occasion of introducing rash changes through his example, perceiving the dangerous tendency of such innovations.

"I omit the detail of a variety of excellencies for which he was distinguished. I say nothing of his character as a peace maker, or his fidelity in friendship—of his care to avert dangers, or his firmness in sustaining them—of the suavity of his manners, his gentleness, or his remarkable acuteness of intellect, of his management of his financial resources, by which of late they were so much recruited—these things are all known to you, and while you cherish gratitude to God for having bestowed such a prince, ought never to be obliterated from your memories. Our country, alas! has lost not only a useful and gracious prince, and one who has for a long period preserved public peace, but also a father endowed with every various excellence. They merit the highest honor in every place who assiduously cultivate the country; he did indeed cultivate it, devoting the years of peace which he procured, to its improvement, to the education of youth, and to the promotion of commerce. Our academy has lost a Mecænas; no prince possessed more capability, more devoted attachment, or knew better how to promote its interests. All Germany has lost a prince and a counsellor in every important affair; for so great was his wisdom in German affairs, and his general influence, that he was deemed a proper person for the Imperial dignity, and was consulted as an oracle; lost too at a moment when Germany is ripe for civil war; lost, when his authority, discretion, and superiority of mind were peculiarly requisite for the restoration of peace, the regulation of the laws, and the reformation of religion.

"And shall we not mourn thy death, O Frederic? may we not lament our bereavement at so inauspicious a moment, not only of a *ruler*, but of a *father?*—all eyes are turned to thy illustrious brother, and the country feels that in him it may safely repose the utmost confidence; but he is himself most painfully sensible that by thy removal he is deprived of another self, of another mind capacitated to aid amidst surrounding difficulties! This weeping senate too, the director of public affairs, seems almost exanimate with excess of sorrow, engaged as in a dubious strife, and accustomed to follow thy signals and thy well-known voice!

"But away with intemperate grief. Wise men have usually adduced considerations respecting the brevity of human life, and the common destiny of mankind in order to fortify others against the evils incident to our condition; but we shall at present omit such references; for although Frederic derived great consolation and firmness of mind from realizing the general reason and utility of many appointments, yet another greater and more efficacious principle supported his spirit in the hour of dissolution. He knew from the instructions of Christianity that death was a change not only inflicted on the human race by divine appointment as a punishment for sin, in which view it is a melancholy circumstance; but that to all the pious it is a delightful idea that by this means sin is destroyed, and we then commence the journey of immortality.

"For how many years was our prince disturbed and distracted by religous disputes! What forms of sin and of death were perpetually presented to his mind!—so that he came *prepared* to the last great battle. When he resigned this calamitous and wretched life, we rather congratulate him on his departure, who has left so many evidences that he has put on a glorious immortality, and who therefore ought, not in fact to be represented as having lost his life. And as he departed with such tranquillity of mind, let us patiently submit to the whole will of God, and aspire after such a death whenever we are called into eternity."

Melancthon used frequently to say of the Elector Frederic, that he had plucked a flower from all the virtues. He wrote the epitaph which was inscribed on his monument.

Ante petet cursu Bojemica rura supino
Unde in Saxonicos defluit Albis agros;
Inclyta quam possit meritorum fama tuorum
Occidere in populis, Dux Frederice, tuis.
Aurea viderunt hæ gentes secula, regni
Dum tibi Saxonici sceptra tenere datum est.
Pace frui placida campique urbesque solebant
Horrenda extimuit classica nulla nurus
Bella alii ferro, sed tu ratione gerebas
Et sine vi victi sæpe dedere manus.
Ingenio claros meruisti sæpe triumphos
Militeque haud ullo fixa tropæa tibi:
Et pacis studiis florere ac artibus urbes
Contigit auspicio, Dux Frederice, tuo.
Fovisti spretas hac tempestate Camænas
Unicus et studiis præmia digna dabas
Namque tuo sumptu flavum schola condita ad Albim est
Ut vitæ verum traderet illa modum.

Hic Evangelii primum doctrina renata
Deterso cæpit pura nitere situ.
Induit hic veros vultus, iterumque colorem
Accepit tandem religio ipsa suum.
Et cum germani sumpsissent arma tyranni
Contra Evangelium sanctaque jussa Dei;
Doctores tibi cura pios defendere soli,
Et Christi late spargere dogma fuit.
His tibi pro meritis grata præconia voce
Posteritas omnis, virque puerque, canent.
Nulla tuas unquam virtutes nesciet ætas
Non jus in laudes mors habet atra tuas.

Beyond the utmost of Bohemia's bounds,
Where Albis pours along his lazy stream;
From every tongue our FREDERIC's name resounds,
And all thy people hail the glorious theme.

Whilst thou the sceptre of these regions held,
No rude alarms of war disturb'd our rest;
Another golden age our eyes beheld,
While quietness our fields and cities blest.

Thy rule was reason, and thy trophy peace,
Thou hast deserv'd the triumphs of the field,
But 'twas thy glory to bid discord cease,
And though *victorious*, the first to *yield*.

Learning and Science by thy fostering care
Adorn'd our cities, and proclaim'd thee WISE;
But not to thee were Muses only dear,
Restor'd Religion now delights our eyes.

Again we see her own celestial hue,
Stripp'd of the meretricious modes of art;
And when to arms against her, tyrants flew,
Thine was the care to shield the poison'd dart.

The truth of Christ, the doctrines brought from heaven,
By thee were well discern'd and spread around;
To thee by present times applause is given,
And future ages shall thy name resound.

Yes—distant times thy virtues shall proclaim,
Nor death extinguish thy immortal fame!

In the midst of these public calamities, Saxony recently afflicted with the loss of Frederic, and Germany bleeding from the deep wounds of a civil war, occasioned by the rebellious conduct of the peasants, Luther, quite unexpectedly to most of his friends, married Catharine de Bora. Long in relinquishing his prejudices against the marriage of monks, he had once written thus to Melancthon; "It should seem that because I supplied you with a wife, you wish to be revenged upon me; but depend upon it I will take effectual care not to be caught in your snares"—but affection charmed away his resolution. The *time* of this union was considered by some of his best friends as rather ill-chosen, amongst whom was Melancthon, who thought it would give occasion, as it assuredly did, to the numerous adversaries of Luther to make uncandid animadversions. These occasioned him some temporary depression of spirits; but a consciousness of acting right, and an ardent attachment to his new companion, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of some intimate friends with the *time*, dissipated his gloom. Melancthon addressed an apologetic letter to Camerarius on the subject. It was written in Greek, and is as follows: "As some unfounded reports will probably reach you respecting the marriage of Luther, I think it proper to write to you the true state of the case, and to give my own opinion. On the thirteenth of June, Luther, to our great surprise, and without saying a word to his friends, married Catharine de Bora, and only invited Pomeranus, Lucca the painter, and Apellus the lawyer, to supper in the evening, celebrating the espousals in the customary manner. Some, perhaps, may be astonished that he should have married at this unfavorable juncture of public affairs, so deeply afflictive to every good man, and thus appear to be unaffected and careless about the distressing events which have occurred amongst us; even though his own reputation suffers at a moment when Germany most requires his talents and influence. This, however, is my view of the subject. Luther is a man who has nothing of the unsocial misanthropist about him; but you know his habits, and I need say no more on this head. Surely it is no wonderful and unaccountable thing that his great and benevolent soul should be influenced by the gentle affections, especially as there is nothing reprehensible or criminal in it. The falsehood and calumny of the general report of his having been guilty of some misconduct is evident. He is, in fact, by nature, fitted for the married state, and it is pronounced honorable in the sacred Scriptures. The allegation that it was unseasonable and unadvised, which our adversaries are so fond of producing, is not to be regarded, much less the derisions and reproaches of the vicious and profligate. I saw that his change of situation produced some degree of perturbation and gloom of mind, and I have done my utmost to cheer him: for I cannot condemn him as having committed a fault, or fallen into sin, though I grant God has recorded many sins which some of his ancient saints committed, in order that we might be stimulated to repose our confidence, not in men, however dignified and distinguished, but in his word alone. It would be impious to condemn a doctrine because of the errors of its professors, but in the present instance I verily believe our friend has done nothing which is not fully defensible, or for which he ought to be accused. I have in possession the most decisive evidences of his piety and love to God, so that the malicious reproaches heaped upon Luther, are nothing else than the inventions of scurrilous sycophants, who want employment for a slanderous tongue. In my opinion, however, this discouraging misrepresentation may be of some use, because it is dangerous, not only to persons who sustain ecclesiastical functions, but to every class of men, to enjoy too high a reputation. For, as a certain orator remarks, wise men as well as fools may be betrayed into an undue self-estimation and vanity of mind, through being gifted with some happy art or talent. But as the proverb says, 'another kind of life, another kind of living.'

"I have said so much on this subject lest this unexpected occurrence should have occasioned you an unnecessary degree of uneasiness, for I know you are concerned for the reputation of our friend Luther."

It would be scarcely worth while in this place to introduce to notice the controversy between Erasmus and Luther, were it not for the illustration it affords of the character of Melancthon, who both on account of his connection with the parties, and his general celebrity, was almost necessarily implicated in any public transaction that affected the reformed cause. No reflecting person will be surprised that they should become avowed antagonists. The character of each must naturally be disagreeable to the other. Erasmus could not approve the undaunted and untractable heroism of Luther, nor could Luther endure the trimming artifice and sycophancy of Erasmus.

The immediate occasion of this controversy was an essay on the freedom of the human will, which Erasmus ventured to publish in the autumn of 1524,

and for which as he expresses it, he "expected to be pelted." Upwards of a year elapsed before Luther produced his reply in a treatise, de Servo Arbitrio, "on the Bondage of the Will." His antagonist re-appeared in the field of strife, in a book in two parts, entitled Hyperaspistes. "Did you ever read," says Melancthon, "a more bitter publication than this of Erasmus? He calls it Hyperaspistes, but it is absolutely *aspis*, that is, a wasp."

During this contention, Erasmus wrote some long and artful letters to Melancthon. He assures him that he felt impelled by the peculiarity of his circumstances and situation to write against Luther—that if Wittemberg had not been so distant, he should gladly have sought an interview, and should have been happy in a visit from Melancthon—that he had read his "Loci Communes," and admired more than ever his candid and happy genius—that he had given the most moderate counsel to popes and princes, but that the Reformers used him very ill in giving him the nick-name of Balaam, who was hired to curse Israel—that Cardinal Campeggio had sent one of his agents to discuss with him the propriety of removing Melancthon from his present situation. "My answer," says he, "was that I sincerely wished such a genius as yours to be perfectly free from all these contentions, but that I despaired of your recantation. *I open this secret to you in the entire confidence that you will be candid enough not to divulge it among the wicked ones!*" In a subsequent letter written with much irritation of mind, obviously because Melancthon was not to be taken in the snare he had laid for his religious integrity, he professes that he did not bestow much pains to persuade him to forsake the Reformers as he foresaw it would be useless, but he wished he had devoted his genius solely to literature, for there were plenty of actors in the religious tragedy!

Who does not perceive the insinuating purpose of Erasmus? Vexed at heart that the Lutheran cause should be strengthened by the literary authority, unquestionable moderation and superior talents of Melancthon, he employed every means to separate him from it. Yet with his characteristic duplicity, he disclaims the real motives which all his letters betray. Let us hear the noble language of Melancthon. "For my part, I cannot with a safe conscience condemn the sentiments of Luther, however I may be charged with folly or superstition—*that* does not weigh with me. But I would *oppose them strenuously if* THE SCRIPTURES *were on the other side;* most certainly *I shall never change my sentiments from a regard to* HUMAN AUTHORITY, *or from the* DREAD OF DISGRACE." These are the words of the *wavering* and the *timid* Melancthon!

In the autumn of the year 1525, by the Elector's permission, and at the express solicitation of the senate of Nuremberg, he repaired thither to assist in forming a plan for the establishment of a public seminary. When he first received the application, he writes thus to his particular friend the senior Senator. "It afforded me great pleasure to hear from you, that your citizens were so anxiously disposed to erect a public literary institution; for nothing can be a nobler ornament, or a surer defence to a city than such an establishment properly formed. And I consider you, my friend, as meriting no small praise, for stimulating your fellow citizens to the maintenance and cultivation of letters. I promise you most readily all the assistance in my power, although I am not so ignorant of myself as not to perceive that I am incapable of fulfilling your wishes and your too partial opinion of me." This journey, in which he was accompanied by Camerarius, was of a preparatory nature; in the ensuing year he visited Nuremberg, for the purpose of establishing the academical institution, and of giving his advice in the management of ecclesiastical affairs. So indefatigable was Melancthon in his attention to the interests of religion and literature! He was appointed to deliver an oration at the public opening of this academy, which is preserved in the volumes, containing his select declamations.

The following passages are extracted from it:—

"Consider the manners and general course of life for which those nations are distinguished, which are totally unacquainted with letters, as the Scythians. Having no cities under the regulation of wholesome laws and no courts of justice, those who prevail by force or faction dictate the law; commercial intercourse with neighboring states is precluded; there can be no interchange of property; public robbery is the only means of escaping from the miseries of famine; every supply must depend upon the flesh or fowl accidentally procured, and not only is there no discipline at home, but even those domestic affections which are implanted in the human bosom, conjugal fidelity, parental tenderness, the attachments of consanguinity and friendship, become utterly extinguished by excessive barbarism. The science of education, the foundation of future excellence is unknown, virtue is disregarded, no sense of propriety prevails none of the assiduities of friendship, none of the charities of life; nor, finally, the least correctness of sentiment respecting the will of God to man and religion in general. Such is the cyclopic nature of savage life, only with somewhat different shades and degrees of barbarism; and to this state these nations must always tend unless by imparting knowledge to them, they become excited and formed to virtue, humanity and piety. You therefore have acted wisely and nobly by introducing learning into your city and studying to give it a permanent establishment, from a conviction that it will be your best defence. In this tempestuous age, your zeal merits peculiar applause, because amidst the general storm that agitates the empire, literature seems in danger of being wrecked."

After this he proceeds to complain bitterly of the priesthood for their negligence of learning, and declares that their fraternity have shown themselves the greatest enemies of the liberal arts, so that the institution at Nuremberg is peculiarly well-timed. "And," says he, "do not be loth to add this to the other ornaments of your city which is already so distinguished for its wealth, its edifices, and the ingenuity of its artificers, as to bear a comparison with the most celebrated cities of antiquity. There is not a place in Germany more remarkable for well informed citizens, who having added the establishment of the liberal sciences to their excellent civil polity, will be long regarded as pre-eminent in rank above all the cities of the empire; for it is impossible to express what an accession of honor to that already acquired, will result from the erection of this institution of useful learning.

"If you proceed to cultivate these studies, you will not only be illustrious in your own country, but renowned abroad. You will be regarded as the authors of your country's best defence, for 'no walls or bulwarks can prove more durable memorials of cities than the learning, wisdom, and virtues of its citizens. A Spartan said, that their walls ought to be constructed of iron and not of stone, but I am of opinion that wisdom, moderation and piety, form a better protection than arms or walls."

The orator then endeavors to inspirit and excite the citizens of Nuremberg to a noble emulation of Florence, which had been so distinguished for the encouragement of the exiled literati and the cultivation of Greek and Roman lore: at a time, too, when the Roman Pontiff refused the great Theo-

dore Gaza, the least remuneration for his laborious services. He traces the revival of letters in Europe to the example of Florence, representing it as "the harbor into which shipwrecked literature was received and secured."

"It is not only a sin against heaven, but betrays a brutal mind, whenever any one refuses to exert himself for the proper instruction of his children. One great distinction between the human race and the brute creation is this, that nature teaches the animal to desist from all further care of its offspring as soon as it grows up, but enjoins it upon man not only to nourish his children during the first and infantine period of life, but as they rise into maturer age to cultivate their moral powers with increased assiduity and diligence.

"In the proper constitution of a state, therefore, schools of learning are primarily requisite, where the rising generation, which is the foundation of a future empire, should be instructed, for it is a most fallacious idea to suppose that solid excellence is likely to be required without due regard to instruction; nor can persons be suitably qualified to govern the state without the knowledge of those principles of right government which learning only can bestow.

"Having devoted yourselves then to this object, do not be thwarted by the efforts of malice nor by any other difficulties thrown in the way to prevent the studies of your citizens. Respecting your professors, this we may venture to promise, that they are equal to the task they have undertaken, and you may rely on the diligent discharge of their important office.

"May the Lord Jesus Christ bestow his blessing upon these transactions, and abundantly prosper your counsels and the studies of your youth!"

It appears from a long letter addressed to the principal senator of Nuremberg already mentioned, and with whom he maintained an uninterrupted correspondence of nearly thirty-seven years, that he was invited to occupy a professorship in the new institution, but he declined it in the most modest yet firm manner, assuring his friend, that he felt the imperious nature of his obligations to his prince, and would rather perish with hunger than abandon the duties of his station at Wittemberg.

During these almost innumerable public and private engagements which Melancthon represents as both oppressive to his mind and injurious to his health, he composed and published, from time to time, a variety of useful pieces; amongst which were several introductions to different books of Scripture, a Latin version of the proverbs of Solomon, and an epitome of the doctrines believed and taught in the reformed churches.

CHAPTER VII.

John succeeds his brother Frederic in the Electorate—Changes—Diet of Spires—Melancthon's Memorial—The Landgrave of Hesse promotes the Reformation in his dominions—Melancthon's "Libellus Visitatorius"—Commissioners appointed to inspect the Reformed Churches—Second Diet of Spires—Anecdote of the Landgrave of Hesse—Remarkable story of Grynœus—Melancthon's visit to his mother—Continuance of the sacramental controversy—Conference at Marpurg—Melancthon's Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians. 1526 to 1529.

No circumstance could be more favorable to the Reformation in Saxony, than the succession of John, brother of the deceased Frederic, to the Electoral dominions. Had he been influenced by the sentiments of the infatuated papist, Duke George, unhappy consequences might have been apprehended; for though we feel assured it was the cause of truth and righteousness, and possessed as such a principle of imperishable vitality, had these princes "taken counsel together against the Lord," it would doubtless have checked its growing prosperity and deferred its final triumphs. The wisdom of a superintending Providence was most apparent in all these transactions. The policy and prudence of Frederic resulting from conscientious scruples blended with some apprehensions of the overawing domination of Rome, was admirably adapted to parry the repeated thrusts of ecclesiastical tyranny, and to furnish opportunity for the Reformers to disseminate their principles; but when these had taken root, it required a more decided protection and a firmer authority to favor the maturing harvest. John was of a bolder cast of mind than his deceased brother, and avoided his temporizing caution, though it ought to be recorded to the honor of the latter, that a little previous to his death he had intended to give a more determined support to the reformed religion. The new Elector was warmly seconded by his son John Frederic. Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, also, might now be esteemed his zealous friend and coadjutor, for at a conference between the three princes at Creutzberg, he had most fully avowed the similarity of his views and determinations.

The Elector soon introduced important changes into the university and collegiate church of Wittemberg. A new order of worship was provided, the sacrament was administered in the German instead of the Latin language, and Luther transmitted to him the new ecclesiastical rites practised by the Reformers, and drawn up with the advice of Melancthon and Pomeranus. A general visitation of the Saxon churches was also promised.

In the mean time Charles V. in letters to his brother Ferdinand, had commanded a diet to be held at Augsburg, which though he wrote from Toledo in May, 1525, was not assembled till the following November, and was then so thinly attended as to be prorogued to the 3d May, 1526, when the place was directed to be exchanged for Spires. The Elector availed himself of this opportunity to form an association between the chief cities and princes of the empire who were moderately disposed, for the purpose of representing to Ferdinand the danger of attempting to execute the decree of Worms. At length Ferdinand confessed the necessity of adopting pacific measures, and allowed the princes to send such divines to the diet as they judged most capable of giving advice. The Elector of Saxony directed a brief memorial to be prepared, containing a reply to the principal objections of the papists. It was written in German by Melancthon. The following is a specimen:—

"The first question to be considered is, whether in preaching certain doctrines and omitting certain usages in opposition to the authority of the bishops and prelates we are guilty of schism; for though they cannot deny our doctrine they seek a pretext to condemn us from the alleged defect of authority from the ecclesiastics. They argue, 1. That the bishops possess authority in the church, and no one else. 2. The masses, monastic vows and other practices have prevailed for so many ages—but the church is infallible, therefore they cannot be abrogated. 3. To obey is better than sacrifice, we ought therefore to be obsequious. 4. Charity requires the toleration of human infirmity. 5. Civil commotion, to which disobedience to superiors would expose us, ought by every means to be avoided."

"To this it is replied:

"The ministers of the gospel are bound by the precept of Jesus Christ, in Matthew x. 32, to preach the primary article of the Christian system, *justification by faith in Christ*, and on no pretence to omit or conceal it. This doctrine has been greatly misapprehended, and to the disparagement of Christ, mankind have placed an unwarrantable dependence on masses, invocation of saints, and

other works of their own: and these things, though they are manifest blasphemies, it is notorious, have been taught in the Romish church, and substituted for the merits of Christ. The pope and the bishops neglect their duties, usurp authority over emperors and princes, and misapply the revenues of the church to tyrannical purposes; all this in the sacred name of Christ himself. Surely these are positive violations of the second commandment, and require the interference of our assemblies to rectify and remove.

"On these grounds it is incumbent on the pastors of churches, from the very nature of their calling, to preach the truth, especially when the bishops allowing their authority, neglect to do it. In vain do our ministers both by their voice and their pen remonstrate; the only consequence is, they subject themselves to persecution—but when placed in circumstances similar to Christ and his apostles before Anna and Caiphas, they can adopt the declaration of the primitive disciples, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.'

"We deny that the pope and the clergy constitute the true church, though it is granted there exist some among them who are real members of that church, and who renounce the prevailing errors; for the true church consists of those and those only who have the word of God and are 'sanctified and cleansed.'—Eph. v. 26. The Holy Spirit expressly warns us against mistaking the pope and his clergy for the CHURCH, for he has predicted by Paul that Antichrist would come as God sitting in the temple of God; that is, in the church. We are not departing from the church, therefore, in contending against the errors of Antichrist, which they themselves who adhere to the papal establishment acknowledge. Nor is it to the purpose to contend about the alteration in external ordinances, for the unity of the church does not consist in these things, and whoever affirms it does, ought to be opposed.

"With respect to disobedience and the late insurrections, our conduct has not occasioned them, but THE POPE AND THE BISHOPS THEMSELVES ARE THE CAUSE by their persecutions and excommunications, and by demanding AN OBEDIENCE WHICH AMOUNTS TO NOTHING SHORT OF A RENUNCIATION OF THE WORD OF GOD.

"The pretence of charity to the weak and erring is altogether inapplicable, for our papistical adversaries who refuse all instruction and act only as persecutors and tyrants, are not to be classed amongst the persons of that description to whom Paul refers."

He confirms his statements by an appeal at large to the precepts of Christ and to examples in the history of the Jewish and Christian churches, and concludes by affirming that the doctrine of justification by faith without works ought to be maintained, though it expose us to persecution and every species of distress.

"The second question," says Melancthon, "is this, whether the princes have done right in authorizing the reformation of abuses in their colleges and monasteries?" The reply is, "it has been shown already that the princes have done right in receiving the doctrines of the gospel, it follows, therefore, that it is no less right to remove abuses which corrupt it. The question is whether the reformed doctrines are true or not; if true, the princes ought to protect them who are no more under an obligation to obey the persecution edicts of emperors and rulers than Jonathan was to kill David, or Obadiah to kill the prophets. Nor ought they to be stigmatized with the name of *schismatics*, because they do not separate from the church of Rome out of mere hostility and petulence of disposition, but because they are compelled to it by the express command of Scripture."

The diet of Spires assembled in June. Several of the Lutheran divines were heard in explanation of their doctrines, and the deputies presented their memorial on the abolition of abuses. The result was favorable to the Reformation, a decree being obtained after much debate recognizing the necessity of a general council, appealing to the emperor for that purpose, and claiming on behalf of the German princes in the mean time the liberty of acting independently in religion till such an appointment.

The Landgrave of Hesse, upon his return from the diet, devoted himself with his characteristic ardor to the great and good work of promoting the reformation in his own dominions. He wrote letters to Melancthon soliciting his advice; who in reply urged the Landgrave to proceed in a gradual and cautious manner, conniving for a time at certain non-essentials, the sudden abolition of which might be prejudicial to the cause he was desirous of promoting. He laments the contentions which subsisted amongst the reformers themselves, frequently about trifles, which should by every means be avoided. The preachers of the gospel ought, he said, to inculcate not only the doctrines of faith, but the practices of piety, the fear of God, love to man, and obedience to magistrates. He besought his highness to abstain from every attempt to extend the reformation by military force; for the late occurrences of the rustic war would evince that they who delight in war should certainly be scattered.* "The Romish ecclesiastics instigate to war, why do not the rest exhort men to gain a knowledge of the subject, and to preserve peace? Your highness, I am convinced might do a great deal with the princes, if you would exhort them to take pains to understand the points in dispute, and endeavor to terminate these contentions."

During the two years of peace to the reformed churches which succeeded the diet of Spires, the Elector of Saxony employed himself in the very important work of regulating ecclesiastical affairs. Preparatory to a general visitation by persons suitably authorized and accomplished for the undertaking, Melancthon composed a directory for the use of the churches, which was published under the immediate sanction of the Elector. It is divided into eighteen sections, comprehending the doctrine of forgiveness and justification by faith in Christ—the law—prayer—the endurance of tribulation—baptism—the Lord's supper—repentance—confession—the atonement—public worship—marriage—freedom of the will—Christian liberty—the Turkish war—the mode of preaching—excommunication—the office of superintendents or bishops—public schools of literature. The arrangement of these divisions might perhaps be criticised, but the whole appears to have been written with the author's characteristic skill and perspicuity. A preface, at the Elector's request, was prefixed by Luther.

This publication, called *Libellus Visitatorius*, involved some unpleasant consequences to Melancthon. The papists professed to discover in it a defection from many of the sentiments of Luther, and

* The impetuosity of this enterprising prince could scarcely be restrained within proper limits. He was for the use of arms, but was checked by Melancthon, and by the Elector John, who acted with the advice of Luther. The latter declared, "If the Landgrave were determined to have recourse to arms, it would be better for the Elector to dissolve alliance with him; but if force were to be first used by their adversaries, they then had a right to repel it."

hailed the imaginary difference with a prodigious but premature exultation. It cannot be doubted that such a circumstance was eagerly desired, and it must be confessed would have been worthy their mutual congratulations. Luther despised the charge. "Let our adversaries," says he, "glory in their lies, as they always do, for they take no pleasure in truth. Their glorying is a miserable one, and will be of no long continuance; but let them solace themselves with their vain hopes and joys, as they often do, and let them swell and bluster, I am very well pleased." At the same time Melancthon discloses a secret in a letter to his confidential friend Camerarius. "I am applied to from Bohemia to desert the reformed cause, and promised any remuneration from king Ferdinand. Indeed my defection is publicly reported as a fact, because in the little book written for the reformed churches I have shown an increased degree of moderation, and yet you perceive I have really inserted nothing different from what Luther constantly maintains. But because I have employed no asperity of language, these very acute men judge that I necessarily differ from Luther." Cochlæus does not scruple to charge Melancthon with a *crafty moderation*, and Luther with a *change of sentiment*; but as Seckendorf observes, "Nothing better than such malignant insinuations was to be expected from him."

But the tauntings and misrepresentations of avowed adversaries were far less vexatious than the conduct of a friend and fellow-laborer. In the first article of the Libellus Visitatorius, the pastors of churches were admonished to instruct the people in the nature of true repentance, and to be careful not to separate repentance from the doctrine of faith, the former of which was stated to originate in the fear of divine judgments, and a just impression of the terrors of the law; lest the vulgar should imagine that the remission of sins was attainable without the exercise of a penitent and contrite spirit. They were to press the consciences of men on this subject, and urge to repentance, to prevent their placing dependance on any personal merit, for salvation. John Agricola, chaplain to Count Mansfield, and his attendant at the diet of Spires, loudly exclaimed against this advice, affirming that it was improper to make these statements and appeals to the common people, and that instead of attempting to work upon their fears, and terrify their consciences, they should be exhorted to faith in God as the commencement and essence of real religion. Instead of candidly representing his objections to Melancthon himself, he vociferated his complaints to the papists, and it seems highly probable, from his whole conduct, that his intentions were to purchase a great name by obtruding himself forward as the head of a new party. In this he succeeded, for he became founder of the sect of the Antinomians, and afterwards a preacher at the court of Berlin.

Melancthon fully expresses his sentiments on the subject in his letters, one of which addressed to Justus Jonas deserves to be noticed. He begins by expressing his wish that Agricola had shown a more friendly spirit, and that instead of circulating his censures throughout Germany, even in Leipsic, and in the very court of Duke George, he had first informed him privately of any thing which he conceived objectionable in his writing. He then alludes to certain transactions relative to this document and the visitation, in the presence of the Elector, Luther, Pomeranus, and others. Agricola referred to Luther as having stated that repentance originated in the love of righteousness; quoted *the story of the heathen mariners in* JONAH, and said that Christ commanded repentance to be preached in his name, and not in the name of Moses. To this Melancthon replies, that terrors of conscience must exist previous to justification, and these terrors seem to originate more in the fear of punishment than the love of righteousness. Agricola answers, that contrition arises from faith in the divine threatenings—but what, says Melancthon, is faith in the divine threatenings but the fear of them? Nothing, he says, offends his opponent more, than that in the second article it is ordered that the ten commandments be taught; because we are free from the law, and ought to study rather the writings of Paul; to which it is answered, that Paul enforces the law, and Christ himself taught it and explained its obligatory nature. Agricola, laughably enough, objects that Christ only spoke to the Jews. This war of words was sufficiently disagreeable to the amiable Melancthon, and he informs Jonas, that he had thrice solicited Agricola to bury what had passed in oblivion, and to renew their former friendship; but that he treated his overture with contemptuous silence. This disagreement, however, assumed so serious an aspect in the opinion of the Elector, that he immediately interposed; and summoning Melancthon, Agricola, and Luther to Torgau, stopped the further progress of the dispute for the present, by an amicable adjustment.

The commissioners appointed for the great purpose of inspecting the state of the reformed churches, were twenty-eight in number, consisting of laymen and ecclesiastics. They were distributed into parties according to the different provinces. Melancthon, with five others, namely, John a Planitz, a knight, Jerome Schurff, Erasmus, (not of Rotterdam) Frederic Myconius, and Justus Menius, a clergyman of Eisenach, inspected Thuringia; Luther, Justus Jonas, Pomeranus, Spalatine, and other persons of eminence, were appointed in the general commission. All of them diligently labored to fix suitable pastors in the respective parishes, to abolish ancient superstitions, to regulate the public seminaries; in a word to promote general good order and religious improvement.

The second diet of Spires was convened in the year 1529. A pleasant anecdote is related of the Landgrave of Hesse on this occasion. Faber, bishop of Vienna, intending to ridicule the reformers, seeing the letters V. D. M. I. Æ. upon the sleeves of some of the courtiers of the Landgrave, chose to interpret them "Verbum Dei Manet Im Ermel; The word of God remains in the sleeves." To which the Landgrave immediately replied, "No, this is not the meaning, but Verbum Diaboli Manet in Episcopis; The word of the devil remains in the bishops." The real signification of the letters however was, Verbum Dei Manet In Æternam; The word of God remains for ever.

A curious circumstance occurred at this convocation, which Melancthon relates in his commentary on the angelic appearance mentioned in the tenth chapter of Daniel, and which he affirms was but one out of many of a similar nature, which he could fully authenticate. Simon Grynæus, a very intimate friend of his, and at this period Greek professor in the University of Heidelberg, who combined profound erudition with zealous piety, came over unexpectedly to see him at Spires. He ventured to encounter Faber, and to urge him closely on some of the topics in discussion between the Catholics and the Reformers. The bishop, who was plausible, but shallow, fearful of engaging in argument, but cruelly ready to use the sword, pretended that private business with the king required his attention at that moment, but that he felt extremely desirous of the friendship of Grynæus, and of another opportunity of discussing the controverted points. No dissembler himself, Grynæus returned to his friends without the least suspicion of the

wily courtier's intentions; nor could any of them have known it, but for what Melancthon deemed a supernatural interference. They were just sitting down to supper, and Grynæus had related part of the conversation between himself and the bishop, when Melancthon was suddenly called out of the room to an old man whom he had never seen or heard of, or could afterwards discover, characterized by a most observable peculiarity of manner and dress, and who said, that persons by the king's authority would soon arrive to seize Grynæus, and put him in prison, Faber having influenced him to this persecuting measure. He enjoined that instant means should be adopted to secure the departure of Grynæus to a place of safety, and urged that there should not be a moment's delay. Upon communicating this information he immediately withdrew. Melancthon and his friends instantly bestirred themselves, and saw him safe across the Rhine. It afterwards appeared that the king's messengers were in the house almost as soon as they had left it, but Grynæus was out of the reach of danger; a danger, as Melancthon remarks, easily imagined by those who were acquainted with Faber's cruelty. He says they were all of opinion that this was a divine interposition, so singular was the appearance of the old man, and so rapid the movements of the instrument of vengeance, from whose power Grynæus scarcely escaped.

Such is the narrative which the reader is put in possession of without note or comment. Some will think it supernatural, others will exclaim, *Credat Judæus Apella*, and many, perhaps, will consider it, though remarkable, capable of explanation without allowing it to have been miraculous. The use Melancthon makes of the statement, must be admitted to be worthy of his exalted piety; "Let us," says he, "be grateful to God who sends his angels to be our protectors, and let us with increased tranquillity of mind, fulfil the duties assigned us."

At this Diet the former decree, which allowed every prince to manage his own ecclesiastical affairs as he thought proper till the appointment of a general council, was revoked; all farther innovation in religion, was interdicted, the celebration of mass was nowhere to be disallowed, and the anabaptists were made subject to capital punishment. The resolutions of the first Diet had been carried *unanimously*, they were revoked, merely by a *majority* of Catholic votes, procured by imperial influence. The arguments and remonstrances of the Reformers were useless, and the only measure left them to adopt was to enter a solemn *protest* against this decree, which they did on the nineteenth of April; whence they acquired the name of PROTESTANTS. The first who thus obtained this glorious distinction were John, Elector of Saxony, George, Elector of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Lunenburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. They were seconded by thirteen or fourteen imperial cities.

The ambassadors commissioned by these noble dissenters to communicate their proceedings to the Emperor in Spain, were immediately arrested upon their arrival. This unwarrantable violence only tended to strengthen their union, and they held various meetings at Roth, Nuremberg and Smalcald, to concert measures for mutual defence. The Elector of Saxony, however, instructed by Luther and Melancthon, showed a disinclination to form a military association, and nothing decisive resulted at present from these deliberations.

The anxiety of Melancthon, who had accompanied the Elector to the Diet, was extreme. During all these transactions, he and Luther, with whom a perpetual communication was maintained, were constantly consulted. In every struggle and difficulty they largely participated, for on them it depended in a great measure to pilot the new-launched vessel through the tempestuous seas. Melancthon was sometimes entreated by his friends who witnessed his extreme agitation, to suppress these anxieties and dismiss trouble from his mind. To which he would piously reply, "if I had no anxieties I should lose a powerful incentive to prayer; but when the cares of life impel to devotion, the best means of consolation, a religious mind cannot do without them. Thus trouble compels me to pray, and prayer drives away trouble."

Availing himself of a favorable opportunity, he went from Spires to pay a short visit to his mother. In the course of conversation she mentioned to her son the manner in which she was accustomed to attend to her devotions, and the form she generally used, which was free from the prevailing superstitions. "But what," said she, "am I to believe amidst so many different opinions of the present day?"—"Go on," replied Melancthon, "believe and pray as you now do and have done before—and do not disturb yourself about the disputes and controversies of the times."

The sacramental controversy between the divines of Saxony and Switzerland, continued to rage with unabated violence, neither party being disposed to retract in the smallest degree. Oecolampadius strongly solicited Melancthon to declare in favor of Zuinglius and the Sacramentarians, to which he ingenuously replied, "that after due examination he could not approve of their opinion, not finding sufficient reason in the literal sense of the words—that if he were to act in a politic manner he should speak otherwise, knowing there were many learned men among the Sacramentarians, whose friendship would be advantageous to him, so that if he could have concurred in their opinion about the Lord's Supper, he would have spoken freely. The Zuinglians supposed, he said, the body of Christ to be absent and only *represented* in the Sacrament, as persons are represented in a theatre, but he considered that Jesus Christ had promised to be with us even to the end of the world—that it is not necessary to separate the divinity from the humanity—he was persuaded, therefore, the sacrament was a pledge of the real presence, and that the body of Christ was truly received in the Lord's Supper—that the proper import of the words 'this is my body,' was not contrary to any article of faith, but agreed with other passages in Scripture where the presence of Christ was mentioned—and that it was unbecoming a Christian to believe that Jesus Christ is as it were imprisoned in heaven—that Oecolampadius had only alluded to some absurdities, and the opinion of some of the fathers against it, neither of which ought to influence those who know that the mysteries of religion are to be judged by the word of God and not by mathematical principles, and that the writings of the ancients abound in contradictions; but, he said the greatest number of the expressions in the most eminent writers, proves the doctrine of the real presence to be the general sense of the church. He desires Oecolampadius to consider the importance of the question in dispute, and the ill consequences of maintaining his opinion with so much warmth of temper, and adds, it would be very proper for some good men to confer together on the subject." To the latter proposition Oecolampadius in his reply most cordially assents.

Some years previous to this period, Melancthon had thus expressed himself in a letter to Camerarius; "I commit the affair to Christ, that his divine wisdom may best consult his own glory. I have hitherto always entertained the hope that he would by some means make it plain what is the true doc-

trine of the sacrament." It is deplorable that such men as Luther and Melancthon should have wandered so long in darkness; yet be it remembered, that though they erred, it was from a most anxious solicitude of mind to adhere rigidly to scriptural statements. They urged the *very words of Christ* as their authority, but unhappily misinterpreted them.

The excellent landgrave of Hesse, with a view to the adjustment of the differences which had so long subsisted amongst the principal reformers respecting the sacrament, procured a friendly conference at Marpurg, a city in his dominions. It took place in October. The leaders on both sides first held a private conference, Luther with Oecolampadius, and Melancthon with Zuinglius. The prince, his courtiers, and chief counsellors, were present at the public disputation, which was conducted on the one side by Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Hedio, Jacob Sturm, a senator of Strasburg, Ulrich Funch, a senator of Zurich, and Rudolphus Frey, of Bazil; on the other by Luther, Melancthon, Eberhard, Thane of Eisenach, Justus Jonas, Casper Cruciger, and others. Jonas describes Zuinglius as rude and forward, Oecolampadius as remarkably mild, Hedio no less liberal and good, and Bucer keen and cunning as a fox.

It appears that the Swiss and Saxon reformers discussed a variety of other topics, in which they either did or supposed themselves to differ, and though both parties afterwards claimed the victory, there is every reason to rely on the statement of Melancthon. "Zuinglius," he says, "readily gave up several things which he had advanced in his writings, particularly his notion of original sin, and came over to the Wittemberg divines in all points, the single article of the Lord's Supper excepted."

No doubt can be entertained that each of the Protestant parties retired from this conference with too much self-satisfaction, and the Papists ridiculed the landgrave for his pious zeal. If, however, the great purpose of perfect agreement were not obtained, it is much to their honor that all parties signed the following statement in reference to the excepted article in Melancthon's report. "We all agree in believing that the Lord's Supper is to be administered in both kinds conformably to its original institution, but that the mass ought not to be practised to procure mercy for the quick or the dead—that the sacrament is truly a sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and that to eat of his body and blood in a spiritual sense is absolutely necessary for every Christian. We agree also respecting the utility of the sacrament, that like his holy word it is administered and appointed by God to promote the faith and joy of his feeble and dependant people through the agency of the Holy Spirit. But though we are not yet agreed whether the body and blood of Christ be corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet as far as conscience permits, each party shall manifest a Christian affection to the other, and both shall earnestly implore Almighty God that he would by his Spirit lead and establish us in whatever is the truth!"

In the present year, Luther wrote a preface to the second edition of Melancthon's Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians. He speaks of it as a book small in size, but great in point of matter and useful tendency, and affirms with extraordinary frankness that he preferred the writings of Melancthon to his own, and was much more desirous that they should be published and read. "I," says he, "am born to be for ever fighting with opponents and with the devil himself, which gives a controversial and warlike cast to all my works. I clear the ground of stumps and trees, root up thorns and briars, fill up ditches, raise causeways, and smooth the roads through the wood: but to Philip Melancthon it belongs, by the grace of God, to perform a milder and more grateful labor—to build, to plant, to sow, to water, to please by elegance and taste. O happy circumstance, and shame to their ingratitude who are not sensible of it! Had such a publication as this appeared twenty years ago, what an invaluable treasure would it have been esteemed! But now, we resemble the Israelites who loathed the manna and sighed for the garlic and the onions of Egypt. A time will come when the loss of such advantages will be deplored in vain."

So strong and so inviolable was the mutual friendship of these noble-minded Reformers. No root of bitterness grew in either bosom—no jealousy or envy divided them. Their only ambition seemed to be to promote each other's reputation, and to strengthen the common cause by zealous co-operation.

CHAPTER VIII.

Brief notice of General Affairs—Appointment of the Diet of Augsburg—Translation of the Augsburg Confession—Popish Confutation—Subsequent proceedings—Melancthon's Apology—Decree of the Diet—Deliberation of the Reformers—Striking anecdote of Melancthon—Anecdote of the Archbishop of Mentz. 1530.

Scrupulously avoiding the minute and intricate transactions of general history, excepting so far as they may be requisite to connect the parts of this narrative together, it will not be expected that the progress of the Turkish war, or the contentions of the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of France, should be detailed. Suffice it simply to allude to these circumstances, that the wonderful movements of providence at this period, may be duly remarked. The Pope and the Emperor were both sufficiently disposed to exert their respective authority as the heads of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, to extinguish the still increasing light of the Reformation. They were anxious to enforce the intolerant edict of Worms, and to concert measures for the more effectual annihilation by force of the Lutheran heresy. But at the very time when it is probable their efforts would have been most alarming, and when urged by the papal party to exert their formidable power, they were prevented from executing their purpose by personal contentions, as well as by the hostility of a foreign enemy.

During some years, France, Spain and Italy had been in a state of commotion, and after the battle of Pavia, in which Francis was defeated, the Roman Pontiff becoming uneasy at the growing power of the Emperor, entered into a league against him, which so exasperated Charles, that in the year 1527 he rushed into Italy, laid siege to Rome, and blockaded Clement in the castle of St. Angelo. Their differences, however, being at length adjusted, they were mutually pledged to the extirpation of Protestantism.

The appointment of a Diet, at Augsburg, to deliberate on the Turkish war, and on the existing disputes in religion, forms a new era in the history of the Reformation. Charles V. was personally present. He arrived on the thirteenth, and the first session was held on the twentieth of June. The Elector of Saxony, selected his most eminent divines to accompany him. Luther, who could not with safety or propriety have appeared at Augsburg, afte. being proscribed by the edict of Worms, was left at Coburg, in Franconia, at a convenient distance for consultation, so that the principal labor and responsibility devolved upon Melancthon.

It had been deemed advisable to prepare a statement of all the principal articles of the Protestant faith, in order to put the Emperor in full possession of the subject of dispute pending between the Papal and Reformed parties, and to facilitate the dispatch of ecclesiastical affairs. Luther and his friends had

already sent a concise paper to the Elector of Saxony at his own request while at Torgau, on his road to the Diet. It consisted of seventeen articles, which had been already discussed in the conferences at Sultzbach and Smalcald.

The princes, however, solicited the pen of Melancthon to draw up a more extended and accurate statement. It was an important undertaking, and a critical moment. He naturally felt anxious for his own reputation, and while it was his desire to avoid unnecessary offence, he felt as a man of piety the paramount duty he owed to God and to his conscience. Often did he weep over the page—often did he complain with sentiments of genuine humility of his own incompetency.

At length the celebrated *Confession of Augsburg* was completed. Luther's advice had been constantly sought, and there is no reason to doubt, while the mildness of the language scarcely comported with the vehemence of his temper, the skill displayed, and the sentiments stated, met with his entire approbation. It was translated into almost all the languages of Europe, and read in the courts of kings and princes.

Melancthon was desirous that it should be signed by the Theologians, only of the reformed party, alleging as a reason, that the princes would then be more at liberty to use their influence in promoting their mutual wishes; but he could not succeed.

After the despatch of other business, the Protestant princes requested the Emperor to allow their confession to be publicly read. This he would not permit in a full Diet, but commanding them to intrust it to him promised it should be read the next day in his palace; they, however, petitioned to reserve it. The next day in a special assembly of princes and other members of the empire, it was presented to his Imperial Majesty, in Latin and German, with the offer to explain any thing which might appear obscure, and an assurance that they would refer the points of difference in religion to a general council.

The reader shall now have an opportunity of inspecting this far-famed performance. It will be found to contain many sentiments, which to most Christians will appear strange, and which we should be very far from defending, but have nevertheless thought it our duty faithfully to represent them. Let the reader bear in mind that the Reformers are to be honored chiefly for the grand principles of Christian liberty which they so strenuously asserted and maintained in the face of the most powerful opponents; the detail of doctrine and practice will always occasion difference of opinion. That they were too tenacious of their particular creed, and in many cases inconsistent with themselves, cannot be denied—but this period was only the dawn of religious discovery, and it is not to be wondered at that objects appeared to them at first in a very indistinct manner. Many alterations were made in subsequent editions of this very document. They were perpetually, with the zeal of the reformers and the genuine humility of Christians, correcting their own errors.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION,

As presented to Charles V. June 25th, A. D. 1530.

ART. I. "Our churches are perfectly agreed that the Nicene decree respecting the unity of the divine essence and the three persons of the godhead, is true and worthy of the fullest belief; namely, that there is one divine essence which is called and which is God, eternal, incorporeal, indivisible, infinite in power, wisdom and goodness, the Creator and preserver of all things, visible and invisible; and yet there are three persons co-equal in power and essence, and co-eternal, the Father the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The term person is used in the same sense as ecclesiastical writers have employed it, to denote a proper subsistence in distinction from a part or quality. Hence our churches condemn every heresy upon this subject that has arisen, as that of the Manichæans, who assert two principles, the good and the evil, the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mahometans, and all others of a similar description. They condemn also the Samosatenes, both ancient and modern, who contend that there is only one person, and speak of the word and the Holy Spirit in a very wily and wicked manner, affirming that there are no distinct persons, but that the word signifies a mere voice, and the Spirit an influence or motion created in things.

II. "They teach also, that since the fall of Adam, all men are naturally born in sin, destitute of the fear of God and faith in him, and full of concupiscence; and that this disease or original depravity is sinful, even now condemning and exposing to eternal death all who are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit.

"They condemn the Pelagians and others who deny the sinful nature of this original depravity, disparaging the benefits which Christ dispenses to the exaltation of human merit, and contending that a man is justified before God by his own powers of reason.

III. "They also teach that the word, or Son of God, assumed human nature in the Virgin's womb, in such a manner that the two natures, the divine and the human, were inseparably united in the one person of Christ, truly God and truly man, born of the Virgin Mary, who really suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, that he might reconcile the Father to us, by his expiatory sacrifice, for both original and actual sins. He descended to the dead, (ad inferos,) and rising again on the third day, ascended into heaven to sit at the Father's right hand, to reign for ever over all creation and to sanctify all who believe in him, by sending his Spirit into their hearts to rule, console and quicken them, that they may be able to resist the devil and the power of sin. Also Christ will return to judge the quick and the dead, &c. according to the apostle's creed.

IV. "They teach also that men cannot be justified before God by their own efforts, merits or works, but are justified freely through Christ by faith, and are received into favor and enjoy the remission of sins through Christ, who by his death presented a satisfaction for sin.

"God imputes this faith for justification before him. Rom. iii. and iv.

V. "The ministry of the gospel and the administration of sacraments were instituted that we might obtain this faith: for the word and the sacraments are used as instruments by the Holy Spirit for the communication of faith, and wherever it is seen in those who hear the gospel; that is, God justifies not for our merits but for Christ's sake.

"They condemn the Anabaptists and others, who suppose that the Holy Spirit comes to men through their own works and preparations, without the external word.

VI. "They teach also that faith ought to be visible in its fruits, and that though good works are to be done as commanded, and conformable to the will of God, we are not to confide in them as meritorious for justification before him. For remission of sin and justification are apprehended by faith, as Christ testifies: 'Having done all these things, say we are unprofitable servants.'

"The ancient writers of the church teach the same doctrine. Ambrose says, 'This is the appointment of God, that whosoever believes in Christ shall be

saved without works, by faith only receiving the remission of sins.'

VII. "They teach also, that the one holy church will continue for ever; but that this church consists of a congregation of holy persons, in which the gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered; and as to true unity in the church, it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the gospel and the administration of sacraments. Nor is it universally necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men be the same in all places; so Paul says, 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, &c.'

VIII. "Although the church is properly a congregation of holy persons and genuine believers, yet as there is a great mixture of characters in this world, hypocrites and wicked persons, it is lawful to use the sacraments although administered by the wicked according to the language of Christ: 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's seat,' &c. so that the sacraments and the word of God become efficacious through the appointment and command of Christ, even though dispensed by wicked persons.

"They condemn the Donatists and such persons as deny the lawfulness of making use of the ministry of the wicked in the church, considering such a ministry useless and inefficacious.

IX. "They teach concerning baptism that it is necessary to salvation, because by baptism the grace of God is offered. Infants are to be baptized, who being brought to God by baptism are received into his favor. They condemn the anabaptists who disallow the baptism of infants and affirm that they may be saved without it.

X. "They teach respecting the Lord's supper, that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to the recipients; and disapprove of those who teach otherwise.

XI. "Concerning confession they teach that private absolution may be retained in the churches, although in making confession it is not necessary that every particular delinquency should be enumerated. This indeed is impossible, according to the language of the Psalmist, 'Who can understand his errors?'

XII. "Concerning penitence they teach that the remission of sins may be obtained by such as fall after baptism whenever they repent; and that the church should bestow absolution upon such returning penitents. But repentance may be divided into two parts, the one is contrition or the terrors which agitate the conscience under a sense of guilt; the other is, the faith derived from the gospel, or from absolution, and which believes that sin is pardoned for the sake of Christ, and the conscience pacified and released from its alarms. Upon this good works ought to follow as the fruit of repentance.

"They condemn the Anabaptists who deny that once being justified it is possible to lose the Holy Spirit, as well as those who contend that a sinless perfection is attainable in the present life. They condemn also the Novatians who refuse to absolve such as have fallen after baptism even upon their return to repentance; and they are rejected who assert that the remission of sins is not connected with faith, but is obtained by our charity and good works. They also are rejected who teach that canonical satisfactions are necessary to make amends for eternal punishment or the pains of purgatory.

XIII. "Concerning the use of sacraments, they teach that the sacraments are instituted not only as the signs to men of our religious profession, but rather as the signs and evidences of the will of God to us, to quicken and confirm the faith of those who observe them. The sacraments are to be used therefore, that faith may be increased through believing the promises particularly exhibited and impressed by sacraments. They condemn therefore those who teach that the sacraments can justify as works of merit, denying that faith is requisite in the reception of them.

XIV. "Concerning church order, they maintain that no one ought to teach publicly or to administer the sacraments unless he be lawfully called.

XV. "Concerning rites in the church, they teach that those rites are to be observed which can be observed without sin, and which conduce to the peace and good order of the church: such as certain holidays and feasts. But in reference to these things men are to be admonished lest their consciences should be burdened with the idea that such worship is essential to salvation. They must also be admonished that human traditions instituted with a view of pleasing God, purchasing his favor, and atoning for sin, are contrary to the gospel and the doctrine of faith. Hence vows, traditions respecting meats and drinks, &c. instituted to purchase divine favor and satisfy for sins are useless and contrary to the gospel.

XVI. "Concerning civil matters they teach that lawful civil appointments are good in the sight of God, and that Christians may exercise the office of a magistrate, may judge according to imperial and other existing laws, inflict legal punishments, declare war, take up the military profession, make lawful contracts, hold property, take an oath upon the requisition of a magistrate, marry, and trade.

"They condemn the Anabaptists who forbid the exercise of those civil offices by Christians, and they condemn those who do not place evangelical perfection in the fear of God and in faith, but in abandoning civil offices, because the gospel recommends the righteousness of the heart; it does not however abrogate political institutions, but requires the preservation of them as ordinances of God, and in such ordinances to exercise charity. It becomes Christians therefore to obey their own magistrates and laws, excepting when they command them to do evil, in which case we must obey God rather than men. Acts v.

XVII. "They teach that Christ will appear in judgment at the end of the world, that he will raise the dead, and bestow eternal life and everlasting felicity on his holy and elect people; but he will condemn wicked men and devils to endless torment.

"They condemn the Anabaptists who imagine there will be a termination to the punishment of wicked men and devils; and also others who are dispersing the Jewish notions, that previous to the resurrection of the dead the righteous will occupy a worldly kingdom and oppress the wicked.

XVIII. "Concerning free will they teach that the human will is in a certain sense and in reference to civil concerns and the exercise of reason, free; but it has no efficiency in spiritual concerns without the Holy Spirit, because the natural man does not perceive the things of the Spirit. They are impressed upon the heart by means of the word, through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Augustine delivers the same doctrine in his Hypognosticon, Lib. III. We admit that the will is free in all men who can judge according to reason, not indeed in divine things to begin or go forward independently of God, but only in what pertains to the present life both good and evil. I say *good* referring to those things which arise out of our natural welfare, as the cultivation of the soil, eating and drinking, friendship, clothing, preparing a residence, marrying, tending cattle, acquiring the knowledge of various arts and whatever pertains to the welfare of the present life; all which things subsisting alone, are conducted without a *divine* direction.

By the term *evil* I referred to the worship of idols, murder, &c.

"They condemn the Pelagians and others who teach that we are able to please God supremely without the Holy Spirit and by the power of nature alone; and substantially to obey his precepts. For though nature can in some respects perform external works, as abstaining from theft and murder, it cannot command internal affections, as the fear of God, faith in him, purity, patience, &c.

XIX. "Concerning the cause of sin, they teach that though God is the creator and preserver of our nature, sin originates entirely in the will of evil beings, namely, devils and wicked men, which apart from divine influence turns them aside from God; Christ says of the devil, 'When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own.' John viii.

XX. "Our churches are falsely accused of prohibiting good works, for their writings now extant, concerning the ten commandments, and others, testify that they have given salutary instructions respecting every duty of life, what kind of life and what works in every different situation please God. Formerly public instructors taught little of these things, but urged the practice of puerile and needless observances, as certain feasts, fasts, fraternizations, peregrinations, worship of saints, rosaries, and the like. Our adversaries have now learned to do without these useless things, and not to preach them up so much as formerly. They moreover begin to speak of faith respecting which they were before wonderfully silent, although they still obscure the real doctrine of faith by disregarding trembling consciences and commanding the observances of good works in order to *merit* the forgiveness of sin.

"As therefore the doctrine of faith which ought to be regarded as of prime importance in the church, was so long spoken of in an ignorant manner, however it was admitted to be necessary by all, the most profound silence reigning in public discourses respecting justification by faith, though the doctrine of works was continually canvassed, it was deemed proper to admonish the churches on the subject of faith.

"In the first place our works cannot reconcile us to God or merit the remission of sins, the favor of God, grace and justification, for this can only follow from faith, believing that we are received into favor through Christ the only Mediator and atoning sacrifice by whom the Father is reconciled. Consequently whoever trusts in his own works as meritorious, despises the merit and the grace of Christ, and seeks a way to God without Christ, by human strength, although Christ avers, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' Paul every where teaches this doctrine concerning faith. Thus, Eph. ii. 'By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works,' &c. And lest a caviller should arise, saying that we have devised a new interpretation for the language of Paul, we appeal to the testimony of the Fathers. Augustine, in many of his writings, defends grace and the righteousness of faith in opposition to the merit of works. Ambrose does the same in his call of the Gentiles and elsewhere; for thus he speaks, 'The redemption of Christ would be of little value, and the mercy of God must yield to the merit of human performances if justification were due to antecedent merits, so as to be the reward of works and not of free bounty.'

"Although the ignorant despise this doctrine, pious and trembling consciences derive from it much consolation, because works cannot restore peace to the mind, but faith only, by which they become assured of pleasing God through Christ. So speaks Paul, Rom. v. 'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God.' The whole of his statement refers to the internal warfare of an alarmed conscience, and cannot be understood unless this warfare is experienced. Ignorant and profane persons, therefore, judge most erroneously upon this subject, who dream that there is no such thing as Christian justification, but only a philosophical and civil one.

"In former times, the consciences of men who did not listen to the gospel, were much tormented respecting the doctrine of works, some were driven into deserts and monasteries, hoping to merit grace by a monastic life; others devised other works to purchase favor and make satisfaction for sin. The greatest necessity, therefore, existed to give a clear statement of the doctrine of faith in Christ, that the trembling conscience should not seek consolation in vain, and should be instructed how by faith in Christ, favor, pardon and justification were to be obtained.

"Men are instructed that this term faith does not signify merely historical knowledge, such as wicked men and devils possess, but it includes not only a credit of the historical fact, but of the effect resulting, namely, the remission of sins, that is, that through Christ we enjoy mercy, justification and forgiveness. Whoever knows that through Christ he has a merciful Father, truly knows God, knows that he is under his care, loves him and calls upon his name; not living without God, like the heathen. Devils and wicked men cannot believe in the doctrine of remission, consequently they hate God as an enemy, neither calling upon him nor expecting any good at his hands. Augustine delivers the same doctrine respecting faith, stating that this term is used in Scripture, not for such knowledge as the wicked possess, but for that confidence which consoles and inspirits trembling minds.

"Our churches, moreover, teach that good works are necessary; not as meritorious in procuring divine mercy, but such is the will of God, for remission of sins and peace of conscience can only be obtained by faith; and the Holy Spirit is received by faith, and the heart being renewed, new affections are imparted that good works may be produced. Independently of the Holy Spirit, human nature is full of vile affections, and totally incapable of doing any thing good in the divine sight, but, under diabolical influence, men are impelled to various sins, impious sentiments and open immorality. Thus we see philosophers aiming to live in a moral manner, but they were unable to do so, and fell into open vice. Such is human imbecility when under its own guidance without faith and destitute of the Holy Spirit.

"Hence it is apparent that our doctrine cannot be accused of prohibiting good works, but is worthy of commendation as showing in what manner they can be performed. For without faith, human nature cannot fulfil the first or second precepts of the law; without faith, it cannot call upon God, or expect any thing from him, it cannot bear the cross, but seeks human supports and confides in them. When faith and confidence in God are wanting, vain desires and carnal principles reign in the heart. Hence, Christ says, 'Without me, ye can do nothing,' John xv. And the church says, 'Without thy Spirit, there is nothing in man, nothing good.'

XXI. "Concerning the worship of saints, they teach that their memory may be exhibited, that we may imitate their faith and good works, in the same manner as the Emperor could imitate the example of David in waging war to expel the Turks from the empire, both being kings; but Scripture never instructs us to invoke saints or to implore assistance from them, because it presents Christ to us as the only Mediator, sacrifice, priest and intercessor. To him we are to apply, who promises to hear

our supplications and who approves our worship, that is, that we resort to his aid in all our afflictions. 1 John ii. 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.'

"Such is nearly a summary of our doctrine, which it may be seen does not disagree with Scripture nor with the universal church, nor with the Romish church so far as may be ascertained from its writers, so that we are injuriously treated by those who denounce us as heretics. But the dissension between us refers to certain abuses which have in an unauthorized manner crept into the churches, in respect to which difference it becomes the bishops to exercise lenity and to tolerate us on account of this our confession, because the canons themselves are not so severe as to require the same rites in all places, nor were the same rites ever exactly the same in all the churches. However for the most part, the ancient rites are observed amongst us. It is therefore calumnious to represent all ceremonies and all the ancient institutions as abolished in our churches. But it has been the public complaint that abuses have adhered to the practice of the usual rites, and these, since pious sincere consciences could not approve them, are in some measure corrected."

ARTICLES

In which the particular abuses that have been changed are recited.

"Since we do not differ from the Catholic church in articles of faith, but only omit some few abuses which are both novel and are received contrary to the canons through the corruption of the times, we implore your Imperial Majesty to give us a gracious hearing respecting these changes and the reasons for them, that the people may not be compelled against their consciences to observe such abuses. Let not your Imperial Majesty listen to those who stir up hatred and distribute monstrous calumnies against us; by which means the minds of good men being irritated against us, an occasion of disagreement and discord is furnished. For your Imperial Majesty will doubtless perceive that our system both of doctrine and ceremonies is superior to what it is represented by the wicked and malevolent. Besides the truth is not to be collected from the report of the multitude or the railings of adversaries, and it is easy to perceive that nothing conduces so much to preserve the true dignity of worship and the piety of the people, as the proper administration of the public services of the church.*

Sacrament in both kinds.—"The Sacrament is administered to the laity in both kinds and not to the ministers only, because it is commanded by Jesus Christ—'Drink ye *all* of this.' Whence it is apparent that *all* were to partake of the cup; and lest there should be any dispute whether this injunction were applicable to the people, Paul testifies in the Epistle to the Corinthians that the *whole church* commonly received the Supper in both kinds. This was a long continued practice, and it is uncertain who first introduced a different custom. Cyprian and Jerome relate that this was the usual practice, and the decrees of several Popes command it. We do not admit the division of the Sacrament, as such a practice would not comport with the original institution.

Marriage of Priests.—"Upon occasion of a public complaint that some of the Priests had violated their vow of celibacy, Pope Pius is reported to have said that there were several reasons why the priesthood should be forbid to marry, but many more and weightier why they should return to the practice of it. Our priests wishing to avoid all occasion of scandal, marry and plead its legality, *first* from the language of Paul, 'Let every one of you have his own wife,' and 'it is better to marry than to burn.' *Secondly*, from the words of Christ, 'All cannot receive this saying, for some are eunuchs.'

"It is in vain to fight against the laws of nature and the appointment of God. Paul also expressly requires of a bishop that he be married. In Germany about four hundred years ago priests were compelled to marry, for they were so opposed to it that the Archbishop of Mentz, who was going to publish a decree of the Roman Pontiff on the subject, was borne down by a tumult raised by the incensed priests, so that not only was marriage forbidden in future, but contrary to all divine and human laws, those which had been contracted were dissolved.

"God himself has pronounced marriage to be honorable, and even in every well constituted heathen state it was equally sanctioned by the laws, and yet now the priests are to suffer capital punishments for it! Paul expressly asserts that forbidding to marry is a doctrine of devils. 1 Tim. iv. And be it remembered, that as no human *law*, so no human *vow* can annul the command of God.

The Mass.—"Our churches explode the general opinion of the merit and application of the mass, as false and impious; the state of the controversy may be ascertained from the following abridgment of our arguments.

1. "The remission of sins as before stated, Art. iv. is enjoyed through faith in Christ, consequently it is impossible to obtain this remission through any other means, or without the exercise of faith.

2. "The sufferings of Christ were expiatory; and designed as an oblation not only for original guilt, but for all kinds of transgression. 'We are sanctified,' says the apostle, 'by the sacrifice of Christ once for all.'—'By the one offering of himself he hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified.' The whole epistle to the Hebrews is occupied in establishing this doctrine, that the sacrifice of Christ is the only and exclusive means of pardon and reconciliation with God.

3. "In the institution of the Lord's Supper, Christ does not command the priests to offer any sacrifice either for the living or the dead. By what authority therefore is this service appointed as an offering for sin? The mass is absurdly applied to the release of souls from purgatory, whereas it was instituted for the purpose of *remembering* Christ, and thus confirming the faith and comforting the minds of his people. This misapplication therefore contrary to the authority of Scripture, is censurable as a novel and impious service.

4. "A ceremony without faith is of no avail either to those who perform it or to others, for Christ affirms they are the true worshippers who worship the Father in spirit and in truth; and the apostle states that by *faith* Abel offered a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, and 'without *faith* it is impossible to please God.'

5. "The proper application of the blessings procured by Jesus Christ is through faith, as Paul testifies in the third chapter of the Romans. 'Whom God hath set forth a propitiation through faith in

* In giving the remaining part of the Confession it has not been deemed requisite to adhere so closely to the words of the writer, but rather to furnish a correct abstract of the statement, because the *doctrinal* is the most important part and furnishes a view of the sentiments of the Reformers, which Protestants will naturally feel anxious exactly to know; and because it would be tedious and useless to detail all that at the time of the Diet of Augsburg, it was thought necessary to state respecting those abuses of which but one opinion now prevails amongst Protestants.

his blood.' Consequently this application cannot be through or by the merit of any other work.

6. "The institution of the Sacrament is diametrically opposed to this abuse of it, for while there is no command respecting any offering for the sins of the living or the dead, we are enjoined to partake of the body and blood of Christ and for the express purpose of remembering him. The great design of the institution is to exercise and excite our faith in receiving this pledge of love. Besides, the communion of saints was intended that the ministers of the church might impart the body and blood of Christ to others. That this was the primitive purpose of the institution we learn from Paul, 'the wine, is it not the *communion* of the blood of Christ, and the bread, is it not the *communion* of the body of Christ?'

Confession.—"This practice is not abolished amongst us, but the people are instructed, that a particular enumeration of all their delinquencies is not necessary, for in fact it is impossible. 'Who,' says David, 'can understand his errors?' 'The heart of man,' says Jeremiah, 'is deceitful and desperately wicked.' But if no sins could be remitted unless they were distinctly mentioned, a tender conscience could never be at rest, because the greatest number of our sins are perhaps neither observed nor can they be remembered. The fathers also sanction this omission. We do not therefore burden the conscience, but this we teach, that men must bring forth the fruits of genuine repentance, obedience, the fear of God, faith, holy joy, purity and a universal 'newness of mind.' We retain and enforce contrition, faith, remission and forgiveness of sin, reformation of life, and mitigation of present punishments.

Distinction of meats and other traditions.—"It has been commonly believed by ecclesiastics as well as the vulgar, that a regard to the distinction of meats and drinks and other human traditions may conduce to the remission of sins. Hence an innumerable multitude of ceremonies, fasts and observances, have been appointed. Many evils have resulted from this idea of traditions: as

1. "Such an opinion obscures the doctrine of grace and justification by faith, which is an essential part of the gospel, and ought to be clearly stated in all the public assemblies of the church. The merit of Christ alone, as the cause of justification, is stated by Paul, but this reliance on human tradition annuls it.

2. "It operates further to abrogate the divine precepts, because tradition is more consulted than the authority of God, and the whole of Christianity is represented as consisting in the observance of certain days, rites, fasts and clothing. These observances are dignified by the name of a spiritual and perfect way, but the commands of God to attend to our duties, the education of our children, and to obey our rulers are deemed worldly and imperfect, and far inferior to these other splendid services.

3. "Tender consciences have been exceedingly disturbed by this doctrine of human traditions, from the conviction that they could not keep them all, though they have been represented as necessary to acceptable worship. Gerson mentions many who have fallen into absolute despair, and some who have even committed suicide, because they found it utterly impossible to observe the traditions, and could not be consoled by the doctrine of grace and justification by faith.

"We teach that none can obtain the forgiveness of sin or merit justification by keeping the traditions of men, consequently they cannot be essential to the proper worship of God. The evidence of this is to be deduced from the Scriptures. Christ excuses the apostles from regarding the customary traditions, 'Do not ye understand that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth,' &c. Mat. xv. 17—20. 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink,' &c. Rom. xiv. 17. 'Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect or a holy day,' &c. Col. ii. 16. Again, 'if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances,' &c. Col. ii. 20. 'Why,' says Peter, 'tempt ye God to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?' Acts. xv. 10. 'The spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, ... commanding to abstain from meats,' &c. 1 Tim. iv. 1--3.

"To this our adversaries object that we prohibit discipline and the mortification of the flesh, but this is incorrect, for we always teach that Christians ought to bear afflictions; and to be exercised with various afflictions, and to be crucified with Christ, is true and not pretended mortification.

"At the same time we do observe some traditions, but the people are admonished against trusting in them for justification before God, or supposing they commit sin by an omission of them.

Monastic Vows.—"Our opinions on this subject will be best understood by considering that such was formerly the state of the monasteries, that every day many things were done in violation of canonical authority. In the time of Augustine, the colleges were free colleges, and after discipline became lax, vows were every where made that it should be restored, and with these vows for the restoration of good order were connected many new observances, which were imposed, contrary to the canon, upon many at an improper age. Multitudes of both sexes were allured into these establishments and subjected to the severest discipline.

"To these evils others were added, especially such a persuasion of the efficacy of vows, that they were even represented as meriting the remission of sins and justification before God, and a monastic life was not only extolled above every secular duty and every religious office, but made to supersede the precepts of the gospel itself.

"Formerly, there were schools attached to the monasteries, for the purpose of communicating instruction in sacred and secular literature; very important they were, and serviceable in supplying the church with pastors and bishops. How different the case is now, it is needless to state. Instead of being appropriated to learning, now a monastic life is pretended to be a life of perfection, conducive to justification, and far preferable to any other vocation, to which even God himself has appointed men by his providence.

"These are not exaggerated statements for the purpose of rendering the monks odious, but simple facts adduced to illustrate the nature of our doctrines. First, in reference to matrimony; we admit all to marry who are not disposed to celibacy, because vows cannot annul the divine appointment and command. 'Let every one have his own wife.' It was declared at the creation of the human race, 'it is not good for man to be alone.' What can be said in reply to this?—let the obligation of a vow be asserted as firmly as you please, it cannot be maintained that it discharges a man from his duty to obey God. The canons expressly teach, that in every vow the command of a superior is to be obeyed, how much more then is the authority of God to be regarded! If no reasons can exist for changing the obligation of vows, the Roman Pontiff himself cannot supersede them, for surely it is not lawful for a man to rescind an obligation which is purely divine. But the Popes very wisely judge,

that the claims of equity are to be observed in enforcing this obligation, and consequently, we often read of their exercising a dispensing power in reference to vows. Many of the canons rescind vows which have been made previous to the age of fifteen, and one of them states eighteen, because it is presumed that at so early a period, a youth is incapable of forming a proper judgment on a subject which is to influence the whole of his future life; hence a great number are furnished with an excuse to desert the monasteries, because they made their vow previous to the required age. After all, were it conceded that the violation of a vow is reprehensible, it does not follow that marriage ought to be dissolved, which as Augustine observes, is a serious obligation, whatever some may after contracting it suppose.

"We plead also another reason to prove that vows are not obligatory, namely, that all religious services which are merely of human appointment, having no authority from God, and represented as essential to forgiveness and justification, are impious, because 'in vain,' says Christ, 'do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men:' and Paul plainly states that remission and justification are obtained by the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, and through faith in his name. The monks teach that these blessings are procurable by those observances which are of human invention, and what is this but detracting from the honor of Christ, obscuring his glory and denying the Scripture doctrine of justification by faith? Vows are therefore both impious and vain; opposed to the gospel, and a shameful substitution of man's own works for the propitiation of Christ. 'Whoever of you,' says Paul, 'are justified by works are fallen from grace.'

"Moreover, the monks represent their mode of life as the state of perfection, because they obey both the precepts of the gospel and the appointments of councils. This is a most awful error; for they boast of the meritorious works of supererogation and conceive they not only obey the precepts themselves, but possess a superabundant righteousness to satisfy for the sins of others.

"When the people are assured that the monkish is the only perfect life, the precepts and the whole service of God are undervalued, because Christian perfection is to live in the habitual fear of God, to confide in his favor through faith in Christ, to seek and to depend on his help in all the various duties which devolve upon us in our respective situations, to be holy in our conduct and to be devoted to our proper callings. Christian perfection consists not in celibacy, nor in mendicity and mean attire.

"The examples are sufficiently numerous of persons, who deserting their families and offices in civil life, have withdrawn into monasteries; and this they call flying from the world and pursuing a kind of life more acceptable to God; but surely to keep his commandments and not the traditions of men, is alone deserving the name of a good and perfect kind of life.

Ecclesiastical Power.—"This subject has proved a fertile source of the most violent contentions, while the ecclesiastical and civil power have been united in the same ruler. The Roman Pontiffs relying on their influence and authority, have not only oppressed the consciences of men with violent excommunications and appointed new modes of worship, but have even aimed to seize and appropriate imperial sceptres and gain the dominion of the world. This conduct has been long and often condemned by learned and pious men in our churches, and we have endeavored to console afflicted consciences by pointing out the distinction between the power of the church and the power of the sword, and showing how each ought to be revered as appointed by God for the welfare of mankind.

"The power of bishops we apprehend to be a power or authority from God to preach the gospel, to remit and retain sins, and to administer the ordinances. The commission of Christ to his disciples, is thus expressed, 'As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive the Holy Ghost—whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained.'—'Go and preach my gospel to every creature,' &c.

"This power is to be exercised only in teaching and preaching the gospel, and in administering the ordinances or services of their proper calling, because they are not entrusted with the temporal but spiritual concerns of men and whatever relates to an eternal life. These things belong to the ministry, and the gospel is 'the *power* of *God* unto salvation to every one that believeth.' Ecclesiastical power, therefore, is to be exercised in the preaching of the gospel and in reference to eternal things, but not to impede or control the political administration of empires. Nor is it the business of the magistrate to legislate for the conscience, but for the temporal interests of men to protect them from injuries, to coerce them by the sword, to inflict corporeal punishments, to administer civil justice and to maintain social order and peace. The ecclesiastical must not therefore be confounded with the civil power. The former is to teach and to administer the ordinances, but ought not to interfere with another office, to aim at secular dominion, to abrogate the law of the civil magistrate, to prevent due subordination, or to obstruct the course of ordinary justice. 'My kingdom,' exclaimed the Saviour, 'is not of this world.' Again, 'who constituted me a judge or a divider amongst you?' And the apostle intimates, that 'the weapons of our warfare are *not carnal*, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds and casting down every *imagination* that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God.'

"If bishops possess the power of the sword, it is given them not by the authority of Scripture, but by the command of kings and princes.

"Considerable disputes have been agitated, whether bishops or pastors possess an authority to institute ceremonies in the church, and to prescribe feasts, fasts and other observances. They who assign this right to bishops, allege this sentence, 'I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear it now, but when he, the Spirit of truth, shall come, he will lead you into all truth:' and they plead the example of apostolic injunctions which prohibited the use of blood and things strangled—which changed the day of the Sabbath contrary as it appears to the original appointment of the law. But we reply, that the bishops have no authority to introduce another gospel. Besides, to establish traditions, is contrary to the Scripture, and the glory of Christ is tarnished when we expect by such observances to merit remission of sins and justification before God. This vain hope has occasioned an almost infinite number of traditions to creep into the church.

"If the bishops are endowed with authority to load the churches with endless traditions and thus to ensnare tender consciences, why does Scripture so frequently prohibit the multiplication of traditionary services? Why does it denominate them doctrines of devils?

"It may be inquired, what then is to become of our dominical days, and similar institutions? The reply is, that bishops or pastors may make appointments for the ordinary regulation of the churches, but not represent these services as necessary to the

remission of sins, or in any degree so obligatory on the consciences of men, as that they are to imagine themselves guilty of any crime in omitting them. Such appointments conduce to the preservation of love and peace, that all things may be done decently and in order, but are not to be oppressive to the conscience, or represented as essential to salvation.

"Such are the principal articles of our faith. We have omitted to notice many other abuses and subjects of violent contention in order to avoid prolixity. We are firmly persuaded that these our sentiments are conformable to the prophetic and apostolic writings, and the general opinion of the true universal church of Christ. We are ready to furnish any additional information or explanation whenever it shall be deemed necessary; in the mean time we beseech the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ that he would preserve, purify and increase his own church, which is redeemed by the blood of his Son.

"Your Imperial Majesty's

"Faithful and submissive servants:

"JOHN, DUKE ELECTOR OF SAXONY.
GEORGE, MARQUIS OF BRANDENBURG.
ERNEST, DUKE OF LUNENBURG.
PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.
JOHN FREDERIC, DUKE OF SAXONY.
FRANCIS, DUKE OF LUNENBURG.
WOLFGANG, PRINCE OF ANHALT.
SENATE AND MAGISTRATES OF NUREMBERG.
SENATE OF REUTLINGEN."

The preceding confession was read in the German language, by Christian Beyer, Chancellor of Saxony. A copy was also presented at the same time in *Latin*, by Pontanus. Cœlestine relates that when he gave it to one of the Emperor's secretaries, he had the boldness to exclaim, "by the grace and through the help of God, this confession will prevail against the gates of hell." This, however, was more probably said at some other less public moment.

It is reported of William, duke of Bavaria, who vehemently opposed the doctrine of the gospel, that as soon as the confession was read, he asked Eckius whether they might overthrow this doctrine out of the Holy Scriptures; "No," replied Eckius, "by the Holy Scripture we cannot overthrow it, but we may by the fathers." Upon which Cardinal Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, said to the duke of Bavaria, "Behold, how finely our divines support us! The Protestants prove what they say out of the Holy Scriptures, but we have our doctrine without Scripture."

The Emperor immediately dismissed the assembly, and entered into a serious consultation with the Popish fraternity respecting the proper line of conduct to be adopted. Some were for enforcing the edict of Worms and compelling the consciences of their opponents to submit to imperial and ecclesiastical authority, others were desirous of selecting a certain number of learned men to consult and advise the Emperor. But the prevailing opinion, which Melancthon had anticipated, was to procure a confutation of the Protestant anticles from the Popish divines, which should be read in a full Diet. Faber, Eckius, Conrad de Wimpina, Conrad Collinus, John Cochlæus, and other select associates undertook and speedily completed the work. It was reviewed by the Emperor and the Catholic princes, who advised the omission of all expressions calculated to promote irritation. On the third of August, the Diet was convened to hear it; and on the sixth Melancthon thus expresses his opinion in a letter to Luther. "At length we have heard the confutation, and at the same time the Emperor's sentiments which were sufficiently bitter. Before this document was read, he declared that he was resolved to abide by the opinions he had caused to be there stated, and desired that our princes would adopt the same; but if they refused, he as the defender of the church would no longer tolerate the German schism. This was the sum of his oration, which, infamous as it was, the Catholics welcomed with prodigious applause. The same may be said of their *puerile* confutation, for absolutely it is more foolish than any thing which even Faber has published." In another letter to Luther, two days afterwards, he intimates "that their adversaries had used threatening language to terrify the princes from their adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation;" and it appears that they had distinctly assured the Elector John, that "unless he would abjure the Lutheran doctrines which he had embraced, the Emperor would raise an armed force to oblige him, and that he should be deprived of his dignities, his possessions, and even his life, with all who professed the same faith, their wives and children." It was some time before the Elector could recover from the agitation which such a violent philippic had produced, but the effect was only temporary.

"God's word," says Luther, "is powerful; the more it is persecuted, the more and further it spreadeth itself abroad. Behold the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, which doubtless is the last trumpet before the dreadful day of judgment—how raged the world there against the word."

Though many articles of the confession were approved; others, especially the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, twentieth and twenty-first were totally rejected. The second respecting original sin, they admitted, excepting the definition which appeared to them more descriptive of actual than original sin; the eleventh was only objected to in reference to what was said of confession; and the several anti-Catholic intimations in the twelfth and fifteenth were of course the subjects of animadversion. They affirm in contradiction to the second part of the Augsburg confession, that communion in one kind, the celibacy of priests, the mass, monastic vows, and the other subjects of objection introduced by the Protestants, are not abuses, but religious and holy usages commanded by Scripture and confirmed by tradition. At the same time, they admit that some degree of reformation in the practice of them was requisite, to which the Emperor would pay due attention. They finished by expressing a hope that the Protestants would return to the communion of the church.

To the concluding intimation, the Elector of Saxony, who spoke in the name of the Protestants, replied, that they were ready to do any thing which conscience would allow for the sake of promoting union in religion, that if the Catholics could prove from Scripture that they had advanced any error, it should be recanted, that they were ready to furnish any explanation that might be demanded, and that they wished to have a copy of the refutation of their articles. This request the Emperor refused, but two days afterwards, offered it upon condition of its not being published. This was not agreed to, but seventeen persons were nominated by the Catholics to discuss religious differences, whose conferences were however of no avail. The Elector of Brandenburg pressed the necessity of satisfying the Emperor, by uniting in matters of faith with the princes and members of the empire, otherwise they might incur the reproach of involving Germany in war and tumult. After due deliberation, they communicated their answer by their deputy George Brucke to this purpose, "that they took it ill to be threatened, that the Emperor would not give them a sufficient hearing, and that they were not allowed but upon a severe condition, a copy of the refuta-

tion of their articles. It was expected they should assent to it without examination, which their consciences disallowed, and notwithstanding the promises of a general council in the last Diet at Spires, it had not been convened." To this the Roman deputies replied in a defensive and explanatory paper, and finally it was agreed at the suggestion of the Protestants, that a smaller number should be appointed for the determination of the present controversy. Two princes, two lawyers, and three divines were selected on each side conformably with this resolution. The Catholics were, the bishop of Augsburg, Henry, duke of Brunswick, the chancellor of the archbishop of Cologne, and the chancellor of the marquis of Baden, John Eckius, Conrad Wimpina and John Cochlæus: the Protestants were, John Frederic, son of the Elector of Saxony, George, marquis of Brandenburg; the lawyers, Gregory Pontanus and Heller; and the divines, Melancthon, Brentius and Schnepfius.

After conferring together they managed a mode of expression, in which fifteen articles of the Augsburg confession were mutually subscribed and only six remained; of these, three were only in part disputed, and the rest remitted to the second division of the confession, upon which they still continued and were likely to remain disunited.

The state of the question being reported to the Diet, it was resolved that a smaller committee consisting of three on each side, two lawyers and one divine would be more available. Melancthon was nominated for the Protestants, and Eckius for the Catholics. The principal points of debate were the mass, vows, and the celibacy of priests. The Catholics agreed that the priests who were married, might live with their wives, but they would make no concessions respecting the mass and vows.

The Emperor was extremely anxious to reconcile contending parties, and endeavored to win over the Protestant princes by the most attentive behavior and the most alluring promises. In particular he urged the Elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; but to their immortal honor be it recorded, they were neither to be allured nor alarmed into a dereliction of the noble but too often persecuted cause of Christian liberty.

All hopes of an accommodation being now at an end, the worst was anticipated. "We expect," says Melancthon, "violent measures, for no moderation can satisfy the Popish faction. They, in fact, seek our destruction. Pray that God may preserve us."

"An apology for the Augsburg confession," drawn up by Melancthon, was on the twenty-second of September, presented by the Protestant princes to the Emperor, who declined receiving it. Though not published till the following year, the insertion of a few short extracts in this place seems appropriate and will be acceptable.

"To represent justification as by faith *only*, has been considered objectionable, though Paul concludes that a 'man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law;' that we are 'justified freely by his grace,' (Rom. iii. 24, 28,) and that 'it is the gift of God not of works lest any man should boast.' Eph. ii. 8, 9. If the use of the exclusive term *only* be deemed inadmissible, let them expunge from the writings of the apostle the exclusive phrases *by grace, not of works, the gift of God*, and others of similar import. We exclude all notions of human merit, but not as our adversaries calumniously insinuate, the use of sacraments and means. It has been already stated that faith cometh by hearing, and we most highly estimate the ministry of the word. Love and obedience must be connected with faith, so that they are only excluded as the meritorious source of justification.

"We state that love is essentially connected with faith, for according to Paul, 'In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love.' But we do not admit that the remission of sins and reconciliation with God, are obtained for the sake of love as a meritorious act, or for any other kind of work, but by faith only, or faith properly so called, because the promise of forgiveness respects the exercise of faith. It is faith which assents to the promise, and is every where referred to in Scripture.

"In our churches the members are instructed into the true purpose of the sacrament as a sign and testimony of the free forgiveness of sin, a doctrine highly consolatory to trembling spirits, and in which they ought to be admonished to place their confidence. The preaching of the gospel and the legitimate use of the sacraments constitute with us a perpetual sacrifice, and the resort to our services is far more numerous than to those of our adversaries, because they are more useful and intelligible. But their doctrines, neither the learned nor the ignorant, can comprehend. Truth, holy doctrine, the proper use of the sacraments, affectionate discourses, constitute the proper ornaments of churches, but wax tapers, golden vases and other things of a similar nature, though ornamental in themselves, do not constitute the glory of the Christian church: and if our adversaries mistake these for worship, instead of the preaching of the gospel and the exercises of faith, they must be numbered amongst those whom Daniel describes, as 'honoring their own God with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things.' Dan. xi. 38.

"We are not fond of invidious comparisons, but as our adversaries are perpetually urging them, we cannot omit mentioning some of their evil practices. What mischief is done by the profanation of the mass! What evils result from their law of celibacy! What a manifest piece of idolary is the worship of saints! Then will it be affirmed there is nothing reprehensible in the ambition of their pontiffs, who for upwards of four hundred years, have waged an incessant war with our Emperors in Italy, and sometimes even in Germany itself, arming sons and fathers, relatives and citizens against each other? And if the records of history be searched to ascertain the true causes of such hostilities, I use the most moderate terms when I say, no cause, worthy of the station and character of these dignitaries, can be found. What mischief ensues from the delegation of unfit persons to the sacerdotal office and from trafficing in benefices! And is there no fault in the dangerous disputes that are prevalent, which indeed might be pardoned if the purity of doctrine were preserved in the churches? But, what impious opinions and traditions are introduced and practised, let the writings of canonists and divines testify, which abound in discussions, some useless, and some opposed to the gospel of Christ. Then, in interpreting Scripture, they trifle and take the most unwarrantable liberties."

On the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the power of bishops, Melancthon had conceded in his conferences with the Papist committee more than many of his own party thoroughly approved, and yet Luther himself in his admonition to the princes of the empire, allowed that the bishops might retain their authority both civil and ecclesiastical, if they would employ it to the glory of God and not support the Pope's supremacy. The fact was, that Melancthon entertained a hope of an essential reformation in the spirit and conduct of the bishops, while Luther despaired of the possibility of effecting it, and was therefore extremely cautious of any concession to their authority. In all doctrinal points Melancthon proved himself a firm, enlightened, inflexible Protestant. The testimony

of a good conscience supported him amidst the perpetual calumnies which his zealous, disinterested and pious labors incurred; and if, as many suspected, the Catholics selected him and Eckius, finally to adjust the points of difference from an expectation that his characteristic gentleness and dislike of contention would induce him to sacrifice truth to peace, they were completely disappointed. It is agreed he went as far as possible, and further probably than his stern friend Luther could have been induced to do; but it would be difficult to prove that impetuosity and violence are conducive to conviction, or in any respect auxiliary to truth. Inflexibility is not the more estimable for assuming a military dress or a menacing air.

Mosheim has judiciously remarked, "it was in these conferences at Augsburg that the spirit and character of Melancthon appeared in their true and genuine colors; and it was here that the votaries of Rome exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the Protestant cause. His humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness, under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And accordingly while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as he spoke, and in some measure to comply with their demands; but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did Melancthon appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardor and independence animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity and the most invincible attachment to the truth." Vol. 4. Page 96.

In the midst of these multifarious transactions a correspondence was maintained between Melancthon and many persons of distinguished character. Scarcely a day passed in which there was not some kind of communication with Luther, who suggested various consolatory sentiments to his friend, and frequently rallied him with some severity respecting his apprehensive state of mind. The following illustrative anecdote, however, ought by no means to be omitted, because it evinces, notwithstanding the imputations of historians, the sterling integrity of his principle amidst his constitutional infirmities. After the Protestant confession had been presented to the council, Cardinal Campegius and his party inquired of Melancthon if he still persisted in his opinion. Upon which he replied, that "neither he nor his associates could abandon the known truth, and he besought him not to denounce their sentiments, but to allow them to avow what they never could deny with a good conscience." Campegius answered, "I cannot allow it, for the successor of Peter is infallible." "Well then," rejoined Melancthon, "we commend ourselves and our concerns to God. If HE be for us who can be against us?—We shall await with patience whatever may happen to us. In our provinces we have upwards of forty thousand persons including poor ministers, their families and parishioners, whose spiritual interest we cannot abandon, but will do whatever we are able for them, praying for the help of Jesus Christ whose cause we espouse; and in our calling we are prepared to labor with patience, and endure all difficulties. If it be necessary we would, if such be the will of God, rather fight and die than betray so many souls."

The decree of the Diet was at length published on the nineteenth of November. It assumed a tone of high authority, asserting the Catholic doctrines and condemning the tenets of Protestantism. The people were exhorted to hear mass, to pray to the Virgin and to the saints, to observe holy days; images and statues were ordered to be replaced where they had been removed, and all alterations or innovations in religion were strictly prohibited. This decree was to be put in execution whatever opposition or appeals might be made against it, and all who refused to obey it subjected themselves to be put under the ban of the empire, and were declared incapable of being admitted to the Imperial Chamber. The princes, states, and cities which had rejected the Papal authority, were required under pain of exemplary punishment to return to their allegiance to Rome. The only consolatory circumstance amidst this imperial thunder, was a faint whisper that an application should be made to the Pope respecting the appointment of a general council within six months to decide religious controversies.

The Protestants in general, and the anxious mind of Melancthon in particular, could not but feel deeply affected with this termination of the conferences at Augsburg. The disposition of their adversaries was sufficiently obvious, for in addition to this persecuting decree the Emperor had pledged himself to unite with the confederated forces of the Popish princes, to compel the execution of it, and maintain the established religion.

The Protestant princes retired from the Diet with the strongest feelings of dissatisfaction and disappointment. Instead of despairing however, they re-assembled at Smalcald, and the result of this conference was, the adoption of *defensive* measures for the preservation of their religious liberties.

Soon after these transactions Melancthon with Luther and other divines, met together for the purpose of consulting about the proper measures to be adopted in the present exigency, and after having spent some time in prayer to God from whom alone they could expect adequate assistance, Melancthon was suddenly called out of the room, from which he retired under great depression of spirits. He saw during his absence some of the elders of the reformed churches with their parishioners and families. Several children were also brought hanging at the breast, while others a little older were engaged in prayer. This reminded him of the prophetic language, "out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." Psalm viii: 2. Animated by this interesting scene he returned to his friends with a disencumbered mind and a cheerful countenance. Luther astonished at this sudden change said, "What now! what has happened to you Philip, that you are become so cheerful?" "O sirs," replied Melancthon, "let us not be discouraged, for I have seen our noble protectors, and such as I will venture to say will prove invincible against every foe!" "And pray," returned Luther, thrilling with surprise and pleasure, "Who and where are these powerful heroes?"—"Oh!" said Melancthon, "*they are the wives of our parishioners and their little children, whose prayers I have just witnessed—prayers which I am satisfied our God will hear:* for as our heavenly Father and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has never despised nor rejected our supplications, we have reason to trust that he will not in the present alarming crisis."

During the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, had by some means obtained a Bible, and read it attentively for four hours, when one of his council suddenly entering his chamber, asked with much astonishment what his Highness was doing with that book? To which he replied,

"I know not what this book is, but sure I am, all that is written therein is quite against US."

CHAPTER IX.

Smalcald—Unfavorable circumstances announced—The Emperor retracts at Ratisbon and agrees to the suspension of all legal processes against the Protestants—Death of the Elector John—Melancthon's Funeral Oration—His Epitaph—Succeeded by John Frederic—The Emperor urges on the Pope a general Council—Continuance of the Sacramental Controversy—Melancthon and Bucer confer with the Landgrave—A vain attempt at Leipsic to restore union between contending parties—Francis I. urges Melancthon to repair to France—Their Correspondence—Entreaties of the Langœan family to the same purpose—Bellay goes into Germany and invites Melancthon into France—The Elector interposes to prevent the journey—Henry VIII. invites Melancthon into England—Their Correspondence—The King of England's eagerness in despatching Messengers to France to prevent Melancthon's continuance there if he were arrived, or otherwise to dissuade him from going—Curious original documents on the subject—A larger Commission sent into Germany—Melancthon's communication with Archbishop Cranmer—State of his health—Takes a journey—Injurious reports circulated—Writes against the Anabaptists—Conferences with Bucer and Capito. 1531 to 1536.

Two unfavorable events were announced to the Protestant princes, when they were assembled a second time in the early part of the year 1531, at Smalcald; the one the election of Ferdinand to be king of the Romans, which was considered as an artful proceeding of his brother the Emperor, for the purpose of rendering the imperial crown hereditary in his family, and consequently subversive of the liberties of the empire—the other the commencement of prosecutions against some of their number on account of their religious principles. It was deemed immediately necessary to renew their defensive league, and by means of their ambassadors to implore the protection and support of the Kings of England, France, and Denmark.

Providence again interposed to rescue the oppressed. It was not long before the Emperor perceived that it was essential to his political interests, rather to retrace his hasty steps than by pressing on in his persecuting career to involve Germany in a civil war. He found that his peace with France and his friendship with the Pope were both precarious, and that the Turkish army was advancing upon Austria with recruited forces. The malcontent princes were therefore to be conciliated and not coerced, and it was stipulated at Nuremberg, and finally agreed upon at the Diet of Ratisbon, in August, 1532, that upon condition of their rendering the requisite assistance in the war with the Turks, the Emperor would suspend all legal processes against the Protestants on account of religion, use his utmost endeavors to procure the appointment of a general council within six months, to meet within twelve; and that no person should at present, be molested for his religion.

At this juncture the Elector JOHN was removed from his useful labors, and exalted station, by an apoplexy. The event occurred on the sixteenth of August, 1532, and though Melancthon and Luther were immediately sent for, they only arrived in time to see him expire. The former delivered a Latin oration at his funeral, in which he thus admirably portrays the character of his prince.

"I shall not speak of his noble birth, for which indeed the Dukes of Saxony are sufficiently distinguished, nor of his youthful pursuits, though he might be highly eulogized for modesty and temperance; but confine myself principally to the delineation of his character during the period of his public life since the decease of his illustrious brother Frederic. Amidst a thousand difficulties, the genuine piety of the Elector John, his firmness, moderation, peaceful intentions, and every other virtue which can constitute a good prince, were conspicuous. It is a glorious trophy characteristic of his reign, and demanding our gratitude, that in a most turbulent period, these realms by the interposing mercy of Providence have been preserved in tranquillity, though many endeavored to stir up war. The preservation of peace was doubtless also a duty incumbent upon a prince so favored of heaven, and his authority, moderation, and zeal, eminently conduced to it, by frequently and forcibly disappointing the designs of ambitious men. It is easy to judge of the extent of the benefit derived from these exertions, when it is recollected that the cause in which he was engaged did not respect a single province or state only, but the whole of Germany. If war had been once kindled it would have raged throughout the empire, so that by preserving domestic peace he was instrumental in securing the tranquillity of many other states. Nor were his enemies alone restrained by his authority and moderate counsels, but his violent confederates were checked by perpetual efforts on his part, which it would not be improper on this occasion to particularize. We have seen them taking up arms, and in a situation to command victory, yet induced by the prince's justice, though contrary to their inclinations, to adjust their respective claims without bloodshed, in which he displayed an extraordinary heroism. When he could have gained the most decisive advantages over his most inveterate enemies who were at the very moment plotting his ruin, he spared them. How often has he shown a mind impregnable to sentiments of private cupidity, for after composing strife he never cherished the spirit of revenge, but was satisfied with maintaining public quiet. This, this is truly worthy of a great and wise man, to conquer anger and to prefer the welfare of his country to the gratification of his private feelings. It must indeed be acknowledged that war is sometimes necessary, the enemy must be opposed, and states must be roused to hostile preparations; but it is no less so that the turbulent emotions of the mind should be repressed and restored to reason, and that contention should be prevented by mild and judicious counsels.

"What shall I say of his domestic administration, which was replete with clemency and humanity? Homer represents Ulysses as ruling the Ithacans like a good father, and Xenophon, who proposes Cyrus as a perfect pattern for a prince, says that a good prince resembles a good father: and who ever had it in his power to say any thing worse of our departed prince, who was incapable of acting with cruelty or pride? To me he appeared to cherish the most paternal feelings for all his subjects, and I have often noticed the most striking indications of it both in private discourse and in public transactions.

"His private life was most unostentatious, free from all disgraceful excess and dissipation, and all the leisure hours he could command at intervals of business were devoted to sacred literature and especially to the study of the Christian religion. To this he gave his principal attention in the latter period of his life, and as I know from indubitable authority he abounded in the exercises of devotion. No one is ignorant of the dangers he incurred through his attachment to evangelical truth; and God eminently honored his exalted virtue, by protecting him through so many years, and liberating him from so many dangers, as he did Hezekiah when blockaded by the Assyrian army in Jerusalem. Now in a period of public tranquillity he is taken away, but happily not unprepared for the change, from miseries which may yet await us and from the agonies of a painful disorder. We may be permitted to grieve for the loss of a prince endowed with such various excellencies, so studious of general peace, and so devotedly kind to his people that he may be denominated their *father* as well as their *prince*.

"In what dangers and misfortunes the state may hereafter be involved I will not pretend to predict, but most humbly implore the supreme Jehovah, while our departed Elector rests in peace, to look upon the family of his subjects, to bestow his mercies on his son and successor, that he may prove our protector amidst impending dangers, and give peace to the state for the advancement of his truth and the glory of Jesus Christ. We acknowledge that God is the only sufficient preserver of the state—to him we fly, from him we implore assistance who has promised to hear the supplications of the afflicted.

"Let me exhort all present earnestly to unite in this prayer to God, to bless the prince under whose protection we are now placed, that he may preserve the peace of the church, maintain the doctrines of the gospel, and promote every description of useful learning."

Some tributary lines by Melancthon further honor the memory of a name, brighter and more durable than the brass on which it is recorded.

Tu quoque, Saxonice, Joannes, inclyte Princeps
Non virtute minor cognite fratre tuo:
Eximia Christum pietate fideque colebas
Vita piæ mentis testis eratque tuæ.
Vindelicis coram tua Cæsare nuper in oris
Asseruit Christi lingua professa fidem.
Notior ut fieret divini gloria verbi
Temporibus fulsit quæ rediviva tuis.
Utque Evangelii studium deponere velles
Flectere non ullæ te potuere minæ.
Ista tui incendit constantia pectoris hostes
Attulit et passim multa pericla tibi
Sed te difficili protexit tempore Christus
Et gratam pacem pro pietate dedit.
Ac tua sæpe tamen moderatio profuit ingens
Impia ne quisquam sumeret arma manu;
Hac longe superas aliorum laude triumphos
Hæc virtus magno Principe digna fuit.
Ergo tuum a nullo nomen delebitur ævo
Nec meriti laus est interitura tui.
Hic tua dum Christus meliori corpora sorte
Restituet justis, molliter ossa cubent.
Spiritus at vivat, cælique fruatur honore
Interea Christi conditus in gremio.

Virtuous as FREDERIC, thou illustrious JOHN!
Our weeping hearts reluctantly resign'd;
Whose faith and love to Christ conspicuous shone,
Whose every action mark'd a pious mind.

Thou didst the faith of Christ with zeal maintain,
Nor dread imperial dictates and decrees;
Through all our coasts the truth of heaven proclaim,
Whose glory brightens even times like these.

No threats could move thee and no fears alarm,
Though foes and dangers closely round thee press'd;
Christ for thy zeal protected thee from harm,
And with tranquillity thy country bless'd.

Thy moderation check'd enkindling strife,
A triumph—and the noblest man can gain!
A praise, surpassing far the hero's life,
And worthy such a prince, so born to reign!

In Time's vast record, a distinguish'd page
Thou shalt, illustrious JOHN! for ever grace;
Thy name shall live through every future age,
Nor change nor death th' eternal lines erase.

Here in soft slumbers shall thy *ashes* lie,
Till Christ returns his matchless power to prove;
While thy immortal *spirit* mounts the sky
T' enjoy the heaven of her Redeemer's love.

It may be regarded as a favorable circumstance in the history of the Reformation, that the venerable Elector now deceased, was succeeded by his son JOHN FREDERIC, who was zealously attached to the Protestant cause, and exerted all the energy of his mind and the vigor of his youth to promote it.

After the retreat of the Turkish army, to which it had been compelled by the menacing appearance of the Imperial forces, Charles hastened to Italy, for the purpose of procuring a personal interview with the Pope to press the appointment of a general council. The latter, urged by an importunity which he could not resist, adopted the plausible measure of deputing his Nuncio, Hugo Rangonus, bishop of Reggio, to accompany the Emperor's ambassador to the new Elector of Saxony, as head of the Protestants, to confer on the subject of a council which he proposed should be convened at Mantua, Bologna, or Placentia. The Elector immediately summoned his principal divines. Melancthon delivered it as his decided conviction "that the Roman Pontiff was practising a piece of dissimulation to cajole them into conditions to which they must not submit—that he made extraordinary concessions to induce them to agree to the decisions of a general convention of his own arrangement, to which for his part he could not agree, because it ought to be a free assembly in which opinions on both sides might be discussed fairly and without restraint—that a deceptive purpose was obvious, and it would be preposterous to consent to a council before they knew what forms of proceeding were to be adopted, or who were to be implicated in its decrees—that the Emperor *could* not, and the Pope *would* not actually convene it." In this they all concurred, intimating to the Nuncio, that as the controversy had arisen and was principally conducted in Germany, there the council ought to be assembled. Nothing was effected by this negociation, excepting the Roman Pontiff's purpose of creating delay.

Although Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were now dead, the Sacramental controversy did not expire: unquestionably the conciliating spirit of Melancthon, so happily attempering his conscientious integrity, would have reconciled contending parties, had not Luther persisted in the most unwarrantable violence, which is the more to be deplored as he was obviously mistaken. In the latter end of the year 1534, Melancthon was commissioned to go and confer upon the subject with Bucer at Cassel, in the presence of the Landgrave. Bucer, who acted in the name of the ministers of upper Germany, and who exerted himself with indefatigable zeal to effect an union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, proposed as the basis of an agreement, that "we receive truly and substantially the body and blood of Jesus Christ when we receive the sacrament—that the bread and wine are exhibiting signs, and by receiving them the body and blood of Jesus Christ are given to us and received by us—that the bread and body of Jesus Christ are united, not by a mixture of substance, but as being given with the sacrament." On the report of this statement to Luther, his hostility was somewhat abated though not eradicated, which was the only ascertainable advantage that resulted from the interview.

An attempt was made during the same year by Ferdinand, Duke George, and the Elector of Saxony, to allay religious animosities, and to promote concord. The meeting of persons appointed on each side to confer, took place at Leipsic. Vehus, and Christopher Turcus, his chancellor, were the deputies of Ferdinand; Julius Phlug and George Carlovitch, appeared on the part of Duke George; the disinterested piety, indefatigable perseverance

and excellent spirit of Melancthon, naturally induced the Elector to associate him with Pontanus in this new labor. An account of the conference is still extant in the German language. It is written by Melancthon, and distinguished by the total absence of all asperity, and the clear undisguised statement of every transaction. It appears that the attempt to unite was in vain—the papists adhered to their opinions, and the Saxon deputies would not relinquish truth. Vehus presented a form of concord, but it distinctly mentioned the errors which were most objectionable to the Protestants, especially the doctrine of the meritorious power of the mass to obtain the remission of sins. Nothing is more illustrative of the true character of Melancthon than these transactions. He was willing to approximate as far as possible, by conceding every point of difference which did not regard what he deemed essential truth; but then he became inflexible. Possessed of the most benignant temper, he was formed to pacify the world, and inherited the blessedness of the peace-maker. Matthew v. 9. Presenting to our view a rare combination of excellencies, a singular and pleasing union of the *Christian* and the *hero*, we behold him firm but not violent, modest but not servile, conscientious but not punctilious.

Wherever Lutheranism was known, or literature admired, the name of Philip Melancthon was familiar. Francis I. earnestly entreated him to repair to France. Maimbourg relates, that Margaret queen of Navarre and sister to the king, united with other illustrious females attached to the court, who cherished sentiments favorable to the reformation, in requesting that he might be sent for to be consulted on the existing religious contentions. The queen frequently spoke of him to her brother as a man of exalted piety, profound learning, and singular eloquence. Francis, whose active zeal for the revival of literature in France, had acquired him the title of the Father of Letters, listened with pleasure to these representations, and immediately adopted measures to procure a visit. Voræus Fossa was despatched with a letter from the king, and a command to urge him in his name to repair to his court. The letter is preserved.

"Francis, *by the grace of God King of France, to our beloved Philip Melancthon, greeting:*

"By means of William Bellaius Langey, our chamberlain and counsellor, to whom the management of ecclesiastical affairs is principally confided, I have for some time known it to be your peculiar study to appease the present disputes in religion; and now I find both from your letters to him, and from the report of Barnabas Voræus Fossa, who is just returned, that this is a very gratifying labor to you. I wish you to come the very first opportunity, and fully confer with some of our most eminent doctors on the reconciliation of opinions, and on other things susceptible of improvement in the government of the church, for which I feel the greatest solicitude and anxiety. However, I will send Voræus Fossa to you immediately with these letters for a safe conduct, imploring you not to be dissuaded by any one from this pious and holy undertaking. Your visit will be most grateful to me, and you are at perfect liberty to come either in a private or public character, and be assured you will find me, as indeed I always have been, most desirous of promoting your glory, reputation, and comfort, both at home and abroad.

"*From the town of* Guise, *the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand five hundred and thirty-five.*"

MELANCTHON'S REPLY.

"*Most Christian and most Potent King!*

"Although the far-famed kingdom of France greatly surpasses every other in the known world in many other honorable distinctions, this may be noticed with peculiar approbation that it has always excelled the rest of the nations in purity of doctrine and perpetual zeal in defence of the Christian religion. It has therefore deservedly obtained the appellation of most happy and most *Christian*, a title the most glorious, the most magnificent, that can be conferred. I congratulate your majesty that at this juncture you have undertaken the care of preserving the church, not by the application of violent remedies, but by rational means, worthy the name of the *Most Christian King;* and that in the midst of the present dissensions you have so studied to moderate the violence of opposing parties, that the genuine unadulterated doctrines of Christianity, the glory of Christ, the true dignity of the ecclesiastical constitution, and the tranquillity of the state may be promoted. Nothing can be imagined more becoming a king than this disposition of mind and these proceedings. I beseech your majesty to persevere in this care and concern for your kingdom: for although public dissension has in some instances furnished occasion of mischief to violent and evil-minded ecclesiastics, yet good men have brought forward in the church many things which are essentially conducive to its welfare. Although therefore a mischievous disposition of mind ought to be restrained, yet I entreat your majesty not to be influenced by the bitter sentiments or writings of the calumnious, to suffer good and useful regulations to be abandoned in the churches. For my own part I have never been pleased with those intemperate counsels which have degraded the best and most holy order of the church, and which ought ever to be held in peculiar veneration: and I am well persuaded that all good men in your nation, who value the truth as I do, cherish this feeling. When I received your royal invitation, God is my witness how much I labored immediately to comply with it; for nothing would gratify me so much as to be of some service to the church according to my feeble capacity, and I indulge the most pleasing anticipations, from my knowledge of the piety, the moderation, and the constant aim to promote the glory of Christ displayed by your majesty. Voræus can detail the numerous difficulties which have delayed my visit, and which, though they should prevent this journey, cannot detach my mind from a steady purpose of checking by my advice and exertions the existing controversies. Voræus, however, will fully state my views.

"Finally, I commit myself to your royal favor, promising constantly to contribute my judgment with that of the pious and learned men of the church for the general good. May Christ preserve your majesty in prosperity and safety, that your government may promote the general happiness of the world and the glory of God.

Your majesty's
Most devoted servant,
Philip Melancthon.

"*From Saxony, the fifth day of September, one thousand five hundred and thirty-five.*"

In addition to these very curious documents, a further illustration of the dispositions prevalent at this period in the French court, at least amongst some of its most enlightened ornaments, is afforded by a letter addressed to Melancthon, by Cardinal Bellaius, dated the twenty-seventh of June. After applauding the benevolent wishes, which he knew from Voræus that he entertained for the general cause of Christianity, the Cardinal proceeds, "I

desire nothing more ardently than that the dissensions which have so long agitated the Christian church, may be appeased. Apply the utmost of your power, my dear Melancthon, by the help of God, to promote this general pacification, and you will have the concurrent approbation of all good men, especially of Francis, who, while possessing the supreme authority, is not only the *Most Christian King* in *name* and *title*, but in *truth*, as I have long had occasion to witness. I hope every thing from your meeting, and the matured advice you will give." The warm attachment of the Cardinal may be imagined from his subscribing himself, "Yours, *from my very heart*, Bellaius."

In another letter, written by William Langey, and dated the sixteenth of July, Melancthon is urged by a variety of arguments to visit France. "I have explained," says he, "to my friends who are interested in the common cause, all circumstances, and have given them your letters and those of Bucer, to peruse. I feel myself somewhat implicated in this affair, and should be sorry for any thing to occur dishonorable to you, or injurious to the cause of truth and the glory of Christ. The Cardinal Langey was shown the letters you have received from me previous to their being sent, lest any thing should have been written which he might disapprove or deem contrary to the views of the king." He afterwards alludes to the controversy respecting the place of holding the proposed council, represents the good inclinations of the king, and alludes to a private consultation with Melancthon upon the best and safest means of reforming the state of ecclesiastical affairs. Langey apologizes for the severities which had been inflicted upon some persons for their religious opinions, alleging, what however is not very admissible, that they were only a set of enthusiasts of notorious character, whom Melancthon himself would have been inclined to punish. After urging various other considerations to induce his compliance with the king's request, who, he says, was not only prepossessed in his favor, but naturally acute, prudent and willing to listen to sound argument; he concludes thus, "I exhort you, I conjure you for Christ's sake not to neglect the present occasion of accomplishing a business of all others the most glorious in which mortals can be engaged."

The *Sorbonne divines* probably would not very readily have united in these pressing solicitations, for how could they forget or forgive the satirical pen of Melancthon? And there is reason to suspect that a temporizing policy more than a spirit of sincere inquiry after truth dictated their prince's invitation. Francis had seized the opportunity afforded him by the full employment of the emperor's confederate forces against the Turks, to renew his claims in Italy, and used every effort to excite in the different princes of Europe, a jealousy of his rival's power. But his measures were disconcerted, and from the operation of different causes, he was generally unsuccessful. The invitation he received from the associated Protestant princes at Smalcald, was therefore at this crisis peculiarly welcome, and he was naturally led to use every endeavor to promote his own views by securing their confidence. For this purpose he negotiated and flattered, accommodating himself to their religious prejudices, affecting a wonderful moderation and even a spirit of pious inquiry in matters of controversy. A very curious affair had been transacted at Paris, to which the preceding letter of Langey refers. Some of the Parisians, who had imbibed the principles of Protestantism, posted up hand bills in several of the public places, and on the gates of the Louvre, containing reflections on the doctrines, rites and clergy of the church of Rome. The king being highly incensed at these proceedings, issued a general order against heretics; and appointed a solemn procession. The Holy Ghost was carried through the city, the king walked with his feet bare and his head uncovered, attended by the queen, the princes of the blood, and all his courtiers. Six Lutherans were publicly condemned by the parliament, to be burnt, a decree which was executed with the most shocking barbarity before the procession was finished; and others were sought after with the most eager diligence.

For the purpose of explaining these circumstances and securing the Protestant alliance, Bellay was sent to the German princes. He was instructed to assure them "that the persons proscribed and punished, were guilty of seditious practices, that the king wished for an accommodation on the subject of religion, by a meeting of the Parisian and German divines, and that he was particularly desirous of a visit from Philip Melancthon." Cardinal Tournon, however, remonstrated violently against this invitation given to a *heretic*, and the princes of Germany soon saw reason to question the sincerity of Francis. In fact, it is difficult to reconcile his inconsistencies. He protected or persecuted the Reformers as interest or policy dictated. He allowed the duke of Orleans, his second son, to offer the free exercise of their religion to the Protestants in the dukedom of Luxemburg, and his sister, the queen of Navarre, to promote the reformed cause in her country of Bearn. He courted the Reformers, yet opposed the Reformation—panegyrized them at Smalcald, yet persecuted them at Paris—almost a Lutheran in Germany, and quite a Catholic in France. Francis even permitted Bellay to explain his sentiments to the German princes, on some of the most important subjects of difference, in terms not very dissimilar to those used by the Protestants.

Some of Melancthon's friends urged him to accept the king of France's invitation, believing that it might prove a most favorable occasion for promoting the reformed religion in that country, and for checking the progress of the Catholic persecutions: but others were apprehensive that his visit would be attended with considerable personal danger, and advised him to remain in Saxony. Melancthon himself was by no means indisposed to comply with the king's request, supposing that his presence in France was not unlikely to be attended with some advantage to the Reformation. Luther, for similar reasons, was very urgent with the Elector to allow his friend to go, and alleged that the very expectation of seeing Melancthon, had already put a stop to the persecutions in France.

The Elector could not, however, be prevailed upon to give his consent. He felt apprehensive of offending the Emperor, and conceived no hopes of promoting any real good to the Reformation by such a permission. Policy of course, dictated a different excuse to Francis, to whom he wrote in a courteous manner, assuring him of his inclination to gratify his wishes, but pleading "the peculiar and distressing aspect of the times, and the unpleasant reflections he should be likely to incur. The Wittemberg academicians, he said, being dispersed by a pestilential disorder and obliged to retire to Jena, he could not possibly at present part with Melancthon. If, however, his services should hereafter be deemed necessary, and the pressure of present difficulties be somewhat alleviated, he would send a more decisive answer to his Majesty and give him permission to visit France. In the mean time he offered his most ready services in promoting the gospel of Christ, together with the temporal and eternal welfare of the king, his government, and the churches of France."

Melancthon was extremely chagrined at the Elector's interdiction, and it may be justly regretted; for who can doubt that his amiable deportment, elegant taste, nice discrimination, and exemplary candor, might have produced a very favorable impression upon a prince, who if he were after all a religious bigot, was much addicted to literature, and might have been moderated, if not changed by mildness? The Langean family would have been gratified and confirmed in their good inclinations—the queen of Navarre would have hailed his visit, and a thousand secret machines might have been set in motion by his influence. But he was obliged to content himself with sending a small treatise into France, containing his opinion and advice on the best means of settling religious controversies, and which though never published is inserted in the collections of Pezelius.

Early in the spring of this year, Doctor Robert Barnes was sent by Henry VIII., king of England, to consult with the Saxon theologians, on the subject of the intended divorce of his queen. Upon his arrival, most of the professors and scholars were removed in consequence of the plague which raged in Wittemberg, to Jena, in Thuringia. Luther, Jonas, Cruciger, and Melancthon, gave him recommendatory letters to the Elector. He brought letters of invitation to Melancthon who was urged by the king to pay a visit to England. Henry offered him ample security from all molestation, and even hostages if he required it. Luther was extremely anxious that he should be allowed to go, for "who knows," says he, "what God may intend to accomplish, his wisdom is greater than ours, and his will superior." He wished Melancthon's feelings to be consulted, who was deeply disappointed at the Elector's previous refusal of his invitation to France. In his first letter to the king, written in March, he compliments Henry in a very elegant style upon his literary inclinations, and after deploring the wretched state of letters in Germany, through the intemperate violence of religious controversy, he implores him to use every effort to promote them, and to take the persecuted muses under his protection.

By means of Alexander Aless, a Scotchman, who went into England, Melancthon took the opportunity of presenting a copy of his *Commentary on the Romans* to the king, who, with a munificence worthy of a distinguished sovereign, immediately presented him with two hundred crowns, and wrote him a letter in which he expresses his high approbation of his extraordinary zeal in defending the Christian religion, and his disposition to assist and promote his good intentions by every means in his power. To this communication, Melancthon returned an answer in the following month of December. He compliments the king upon his professed attachment to religious truth, and assures him that these sentiments had afforded himself and others, to whom he had read his letters the greatest satisfaction. In addition to Dr. Barnes' commission, Haynes and Mount had been despatched secretly to Sir John Wallop, ambassador in Paris, for the purpose of dissuading Melancthon from continuing in France, if he had undertaken the journey, and to allure him to England. Sir John Wallop was soon able to alleviate the anxiety of the king of England, by assuring him, in a despatch dated the seventeenth of August, that there was reason to believe Melancthon would not visit France. Henry, however, hastened Mount to him into Germany, with the view of superseding the French ambassador's application. So solicitous were two of the most distinguished monarchs of Europe to cultivate the friendship and to obtain the advice of Philip Melancthon.

The original documents are not a little curious, and shall be quoted for the amusement of the reader.

"*Master Secretary*, after our most hearty commendations, ye shal understand that having received the letters sent unto you from Sir John Wallop, and shewed the same unto the king's majesty, his plesure thereupon was, that we should dispatch these our letters incontinentely unto you concerning the accomplishment and doing of these things ensueing.

"First, his Grace's plesure is, that you shal immediately upon the receit hereof dispatch *Barnes* in post with *Deryk* in his company into Germany: commanding him to use such diligence in his journey, that he may and it be possible, meet with *Melancthon* before his arrival in France. And in case he shal so meet with him, not only dissuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the French king doth persecute those that wil not grant unto the bishop of Romes usurped power and jurisdiction; using in this part al persuasions, reasons and means that he can devise to impeach and let his said journey thither; saying unto him how much it should be to his shame and reproach to vary and go now from that true opinion wherein he hath so long continued: But also on the other side to persuade him also that he may (be willing) to convert his said journey hither; shewing him as wel the conformity of his opinion and doctrine here, as the nobility and vertues of the king's majesty, with the good entertainment which undoubtedly he shal have here at his Grace's hands.

"And if percase the said Barnes shal not meet with him before his arrival in France, then the said Barnes, proceeding himself further in his journey toward the princes of Germany shal with al diligence return in post to the K. H. the said Diryk, of the certainty of the said Melancthon's coming into France and such other occurrents as he shal then know. And if the said Diryk be not now ready to go with him, the king's plesure is ye shal in his sted appoint and send such one other with the said Barnes as ye shal think meet for that purpose.

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"Furthermore, the king's plesure is yee shal upon the receit hereof immediately cause Mr. Haines and Christopher Mount, in post to repair into France, to Sir John Wallop in as secret a manner as they can, and coming like his friends to visit him and not as sent by the king. And in case they shal by him or otherwise learn and know, that Melancthon is there arrived, then his Grace wol, that the said Haines and Mount, shal, in such sort, as they be not much noted, resort unto him and for the dissuading of his continuance there, or the alteration of his opinion and the alluring of him hither; to use such reasons and persuasions as be before written, with such other as they can further devise for that purpose. To the which Haines and Mount, the king's plesure is, ye shal deliver like copies of the same Dean's book, (Richard Sampson Dean of the Chapel,) and the Bishops sermons to be shewed unto the said Melancthon, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for the achyevement of the king's purpose in that behalf.

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"And to make an end, his Grace wol in no wise that Barnes and Haynes shal tary for any further instruction of the bishop of Canterbury or any other. Having his Grace determined to send the same after by Mr. Almoner and Hethe; but that he Mr. Haynes and Mount shal with al possible diligence depart immediately in post without any lenger tarying than for this their depeche shal be necessary. So as their abode impeach not the king's purpose, touching the said Melancthon. And thus fare you

most heartily wel, from Langley, in much hast, this Monday at 4 of the clock at afternoon.

"Your loving friends,

"T. NORFOLK,
"GEO. ROCHFORD."

The next letter is from the secretary Cromwell, to John Wallop, the king's ambassador, in France, from which such parts only are extracted as illustrate the present subject.

"To my right loving frynd sir John Wallop, knyght, the kinges ambassadour, resident in the Corte of Fraunce.

"After my most harty recommendacions; these shal be to advertise you that the xviith day of this monthe I receyvid from you a packet of letters; which indelayedly I delyvered unto the Kinges Highnes and conferred with his Grace theffects both of your letters and al others within the sayd packet beying directed as wel to his H. as to me. And after his H. had with me perused the hoole contents thoroughly of your sayd letters; perceyvyng not only the likelihood of the not repayr into Fraunce of Philip Melancthon, but also your communications had with the Frenche Kinges Highnes upon your demaunde made of the Kynges Majesties pensions, with also your discrete answers and replications made in that behalfe, for the which his Majestie givethe unto you condigne thanks—

* * * * * * * *

"And touchyng Melancthon—consideryng there is no lykelihod of his repaire into Fraunce as I have wel perceyved by your letters, the K. H. therefore hath appoynted Christofer Mount indelayedly to take his journey where Melancthon is, and if he can to prevent Mounsr. de Langye in such wise as the sayd Melancthon his repaire into Fraunce may be stayed and diverted into England. Not doubting but the same shal take effect accordyngly. And as to Maister Haynes, the Kyng's plesure is that he shal go to Paris there to lerne and dissiphre the opynyons of the lerned men and their inclynations and affections as wel towards the K. H. procedyngs as to the Busshop of Rome his usurped power and aucthorite, after such sort as the Kyng's sayd Highnes hath now written unto hym by his Grace's letters addressed both unto hym and the sayd Christofer Mount: directyng theym what they shal do yn al thyngs commyttyd to theyr charge at this tyme; as I doubt not but they wil put thereto theyr devoires for the accomplishement of the Kynges plesure as apperteynethe .....

.....At *Thornebery* the xxiiith day of August.

"Your assuryd freend,
"THOMAS CRUMWELL."

A larger commission was afterwards sent by Henry VIII. to the Protestant princes of Germany, now assembled at Smalcald, consisting of Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, Nicholas Hethe, archdeacon, and Dr. Barnes. The opinion which Melancthon formed of them, is thus expressed in a confidential letter to his friend Camerarius. "One only of our present guests Nicholas Hethe, the archdeacon, excels in amiableness of disposition and sound learning; as for the others they have no relish for our philosophy and mode of discourse, so that I shun their society as much as possible."

In the course of these conferences, Fox represented that the king had abrogated the Popish abuses and had abolished indulgences. He designated the Papal domination by the term Babylonian tyranny, and the Pope he called antichrist. A variety of articles were drawn up by Melancthon, and some dissertations, which the ambassadors brought on their return to England, on the marriage of priests on monastic vows, and on the mass. It is intimated in the conclusion, that the Protestants felt surprised at the English decree against abuses, when no amendment was proposed, and especially as there was a total omission of the more flagrant abuses of which they complained. In a copy of this decree of Henry VIII. still extant in the German archives, Melancthon has written in several places in the margin, *not at all sound.*

The great purpose, however, which Henry really had in view by these negociations, was to obtain ultimately the sanction of the Wittemberg divines to the divorce of his queen Catharine; but their opinion was unfavorable to his proceedings. They drew up a paper, disapproving of the divorce, which was transmitted by the ambassadors; and Melancthon fully concurred with Luther upon the subject.

In the same year, 1535, Melancthon's acquaintance with the celebrated archbishop Cranmer, commenced. It seems to have originated in the visit which Alexander Aless, who had been long and intimately acquainted with Melancthon in Germany, paid to England, in the month of August. Knowing the archbishop's generous disposition, Melancthon took the liberty of giving him a recommendatory letter as a learned foreigner, and availed himself of the opportunity of conveying a present to the archbishop of one of his own books. This was probably his Commentary on the Romans. Another copy was presented, as we have related, to the king. This Alexander Aless was the same person whom Cromwell took with him to the Convocation in the year 1536, for the purpose of delivering his opinion about the sacraments, of which he insisted only two, baptism and the Lord's supper, were of Christ's original appointment. He wrote also a useful treatise on the subject of *Schism*, with which the dissenters from the Catholic church were charged; but he was furnished with both matter and argument by Melancthon.

Aless originally fled with other learned men from Scotland, in consequence of the persecutions of 1534, and was received into Cromwell's family. Henry VIII. is said to have been considerably attached to him, and to have bestowed upon him the distinguishing epithet of *his scholar*. He was afterwards made a professor in the university of Leipsic.

The recommendatory letters of Melancthon, insured his Scotch protegee a most hospitable reception at the palace of Lambeth, and the archbishop could not but feel honored by the sincere praises of his learned and pious correspondent who sought his friendship, and who in his letter said, "if the church had but some more such bishops, it would be no difficult matter to have it healed and the world restored to peace."

Several circumstances concurred at this period to excite the hypochondriacal depression of mind which so much embittered some of the years of Melancthon's life. He had a narrow escape from lightning, which produced considerable damage in his immediate neighborhood, and he suffered severely in his back from a fall, but happily it occasioned no permanent injury. The removal of the academy to Jena, in consequence of a raging infectious disorder, alluded to in the Elector's letter cited above, exceedingly discomposed and inconvenienced him—but the students and professors, returned in the beginning of the year 1536, to Wittemberg.

The state of his health required an excursion amongst his friends. He was accompanied by Jacob Milichius, a physician to whom he was particularly attached on account of his professional skill, devoted friendship, and literary taste. He was a native of Friburg, and for a series of years led a

useful and eminent course of public life at Wittemberg. At the age of fifty-nine he died, much and generally lamented. Camerarius alludes with evident pleasure to the few days passed in the companionable society of Melancthon at Tubingen, and notices the useful advice he gave respecting the management of the University, and the general regulation both of religious and literary concerns. A violent contention had arisen on the subject of giving letters of recommendation and conferring honorary titles upon the students. Many learned men were applied to for their opinion; among the rest Melancthon, who sent in a written statement of his views, and the reasons which influenced his decision. He conceived that they had been advantageous, especially as such testimonies, publicly and solemnly bestowed upon meritorious students, tended to secure the avenues to clerical office against the intrusion of ignorance and incapacity.

He addressed a long letter to Brentius on the subject of the academy at Tubingen, which is dated from the palace of the Duke of Wirtemburg. It is not to be wondered at that he felt a peculiar interest in this early scene of his studies and labors. He mentions his satisfaction in some of the professors, but intimates the *great deficiency* that existed in the Theological departments, and urges his correspondent, by desire of the Duke, to spend one year at Tubingen, till some *suitable person* could be procured to occupy that important situation. He deplores the general state of literature throughout the whole of Upper Germany, and expresses great anxiety to ameliorate the state of the academy.

He was doomed to incur in consequence of this journey what he so often experienced, the attacks of malevolence. A variety of vexatious reports were put in circulation, and instantly credited by the weak and the wicked propagators of mischief. Some asserted that he had separated from the Reformers and quarrelled with Luther, to whom his philosophical notions were disagreeable—that he would not return to Wittemberg, or if he did, no further cordiality was likely to subsist between them. The sowers of dissension however were disappointed of the produce they anxiously expected. His methods of conveying instruction, and especially his uniform and zealous efforts to purify the logic of the schools, and terminate the endless disputations of former times by introducing juster principles of reasoning, were exceedingly grateful, instead of being, as his adversaries calumniously misrepresented, disgusting to Martin Luther. That eminent Reformer always sought his advice, and with his characteristic ingenuousness acknowledged his superiority.

An anecdote which is related of them is confirmatory of this statement. Luther was writing the following words, "Res et verba Philippus; verba sine rebus Erasmus; res sine verbis Lutherus; nec res, nec verba Carolostadius. *Philip Melancthon is both substance and words—Erasmus words without substance—Luther substance without words—Carlostadt neither substance nor words*"—when Melancthon came unexpectedly, and overlooking him said with a smile, "As to Erasmus and Carlostadt it is well judged and censured, but too much is attributed to me, and good words as well as matter ought to be ascribed to Luther, for he speaks exceedingly well."

Among the variety of other important labors, Melancthon was very much occupied at this time with the furious zealots who had created so much disturbance in Germany under the name of Anabaptists. During the temporary removal of the academy to Jena, he and Cruciger were indefatigable in their efforts to reclaim them, and it must be owned were in some degree successful. Melancthon wrote an excellent treatise against them in the German language.

Soon after his return from Jena, he was engaged in a conference with Bucer and Capito on the sacramental controversy. Pursuing with unabated ardor the great purpose of a general re-union among the Reformers, Bucer and Capito had repaired, in the month of January, to an assembly of the ministers and magistrates of the Reformed cantons of Switzerland, at Basil. They urged a union with the Lutherans, which they deemed more than ever probable from their decreased animosity. A meeting was afterwards convened in May at Eisenach, to which the Swiss divines sent their confession of faith; but as Luther could not personally attend, Bucer and Capito proceeded to Wittemberg, where, after several conferences with him and his associates, Melancthon was appointed to draw up a formula on the sacrament, which, it is remarkable, the inflexible Lutherans, the moderate Reformers, and the whole Synod composed of the ministers of Upper Germany, concurred in signing. Thus the purpose of unanimity was obtained to a very considerable extent, and was celebrated on the occasion with great mutual congratulations; though it may be questioned, from a perusal of this document, whether Bucer and his moderating associate did not manifest too much of a servile and temporizing flexibility.

CHAPTER X.

A General Council proposed—Meeting at Smalcald—Melcanthon writes on the Pope's Supremacy, and against the manner of appointing the Council—Communications with Francis I.—Passage from the Recess of Smalcald—Melancthon is solicited to visit Augsburg respecting the institution of a Public Library—Letter of Cardinal Sadolet—A second Commission from Henry VIII.—Persons sent into England—Melancthon's letters to the king—Second letter against the Anabaptists—Another deputation from Frankfort—Melancthon's third and fourth letters to the king—Death of George of Saxony—Progress of the Reformation—Diet held at Haguenaw—Melancthon's dangerous illness on the way—Interesting account of Luther's visit to him—Another Diet at Worms—Referred to Ratisbon—Melancthon meets with an accident on the road—Conference between select persons—Augsburg Decree confirmed—Several anecdotes of Melancthon—Contentions about the election of a Bishop at Naumburg—Account of Melancthon and Bucer's co-operation with the Archbishop of Cologne, to introduce the Reformation into his Diocese—Acrimonious publication of some of the clergy—Melancthon's satirical reply—Private afflictions—Draws up a plan of Reform for the Elector Palatine—Engages in the ordination of George Prince of Anhalt—Sketch of his Life—Epigrams by Melancthon. 1537 to 1545.

Paul III. who had succeeded to the Popedom in the year 1534, appeared more disposed than his predecessors to convene a general Council, and sent circular letters throughout the states under his jurisdiction, appointing a time and place, namely, the *twenty-seventh of May*, 1537, at *Mantua*. The confederate Protestant Princes re-assembled together at Smalcald, and in the February preceding the proposed Council, Vorstius, the Papal Nuncio, and Heldus, Vice Chancellor to the Emperor, came to announce it, and exhort them to attend. This occasioned long and close deliberations.

The Wittemberg theologians were summoned to the meeting at Smalcald, and as Luther was incapable of attending in consequence of a severe illness, the chief trouble, accompanied as usual with no inconsiderable odium, devolved upon Melancthon. They were required to make an accurate comparison of the different sentiments which prevailed among themselves, in order to terminate the existing disputes, and devise some common form of doctrine for the Protestant churches; then to determine upon those articles of faith which from their radical importance were to be retained and avowed at all hazards, in order finally to ascertain what might be conceded to the Catholics for the sake of restoring peace and harmony.

Whether from the flattering caresses of others, or from the deliberate judgment and accionate disposition of his own mind, Melancthon could not

be induced to renounce the hope of promoting concord, not only between those who were perpetually contending on the subject of the sacramental controversy, but between the Reformers and Catholics. With respect to the first question, relative to an examination of the points of difference which divided the Reformers themselves, he complains that a calm and impartial investigation could not be obtained, owing to the rigidity of some, and the apprehension of others, lest instead of promoting harmony, the discussion of these differences should inflame resentment. With respect to the second, he was deputed to compose an essay on the power and primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and on the jurisdiction of bishops. The performance proved of signal use, and was noticed with marked approbation in the Recess or Decree of the Convention. It exceedingly confirmed the minds of all, and removed the suspicions which his calumniators had excited even in the Elector himself, who did not sufficiently distinguish between a bias to Popery and that strong desire for peace which Melancthon labored to effect, and which he cherished the hope of obtaining without the sacrifice of principle. He thought it proper to contend only about essentials; here he was firm—in other respects he aimed with incessant, but useless toil, to produce reconciliation. In fact the standard of his piety was superior to that of the age in which he lived, and unlikely to be duly appreciated or sufficiently influential in the boisterous hour of religious innovation. The performance referred to was written with no less zeal against the excessive domination of Rome and her ecclesiastics than Luther himself would have displayed, though with milder words; and it affirmed that little or no hope could be entertained of the results of a Council so constituted as that to which the Pope had summoned the Princes of Christendom. Similar sentiments are expressed in the correspondence which was carried on between the confederate Princes and the king of France. In the preceding year Francis had written letters to the assembly, which intimated some offence. He perceived, he said, from the report of his ambassador, that they did not cherish exactly the sentiments he had expected, but he was disposed to overlook any contempt they had manifested, from his ardent desire to promote a general union in Christendom, especially between Germany and France; and he was desirous they should send a deputation to him. They replied in letters written in their name by Melancthon, who may perhaps not inaptly be termed *the pen of the Reformation*,—"That they certainly had intended no contempt, and fully concurred in his views respecting mutual union. They excused themselves from sending deputies as he desired, not feeling themselves warranted to do so; and with respect to a Council, if it were not free, but ordered by the Pope merely for the purpose of condemning them, it would confirm, instead of remove abuses, and inflame greater discord. They alleged the Bull itself, in which their sentiments were condemned already, as a proof that the Council would not be a free one." The King replied in a courteous manner, declaring that on this subject they were completely agreed.

It is due to the princes assembled at Smalcald to introduce the following passage from their Recess. "As it has hitherto been the case, and still is, that some who pretend to holy orders adhere to the popish doctrines and ceremonies, and cannot agree with our faith nor conform to our worship, whence monasteries and other ecclesiastical property have or will hereafter come into our hands, the reverend and spiritual Christian teachers, preachers, and pastors, have advised and requested us that some of this property should be devoted to the honor of God and the advantage of the Christian cause, as our pious will may direct; we therefore unanimously agree, that the parochial churches in our several districts and jurisdictions, shall be provided with learned, pious, and honorable teachers, preachers, and pastors; and that in their different situations they be maintained in a decent and respectable way with their wives and families. Also we appoint superintendents to watch over the said pastors and ministers, that they keep sound doctrine and live and walk as becometh Christians. And we order the provision of suitable funds for *schools of education*, adapted to the local circumstances of each district, that youth may be trained up therein in good morals and sound learning, so that our churches may not in future be unsupplied with suitable pastors and ministers. *We further order proper funds to be appropriated to the use of those who shall devote themselves principally to the study of the sacred Scriptures.* Moreover, we order the erection and endowment of *hospitals* for the reception of the poor of both sexes; and in fine, that every one in every place shall exert himself to cause such institutions to be erected, provided, and supported, wherever the necessity exists, and whatever else the duty of Christian princes and magistrates may require."

Melancthon was solicited by the senate of the city of Augsburg to pay them a visit, but many and weighty reasons induced him to decline their invitation. They were about establishing a public library, and even applied to the Elector to permit this visit; but he answered that he could not possibly spare him, both on account of the discussions upon the subject of a general council, and of the great resort of students to Wittemberg.

In fact, Melancthon could not command a moment's leisure, and in addition to his exertions in the public cause, he was incessantly pestered with the reproaches of the malevolent, who misinterpreted all his actions, and with the unjust censures of many with whom he was connected who disliked his conciliating spirit. It was reported that in consequence of considerable differences of opinion which occasioned some discussion at Smalcald, he was alienated from his own party, and several princes studiously endeavored to induce him to relinquish his existing engagements, and become a professor in their universities; but he never sought private emolument or honor to the neglect of public duty, and therefore could not be gained. But as his friend and biographer Camerarius remarks, no integrity or innocence of character can escape suspicion and slander. He could not even receive a letter from the learned Sadolet, because it came from *Italy*, without being exposed to suspicion and charged with the crime of being connected with Catholics. This letter is produced by Camerarius as a specimen of that elegant latinity for which the writer was distinguished; we may be allowed to translate it, as being no less honorable to the spirit and character of him who wrote than of him who received it.

"James Sadolet, *Cardinal of Carpentras, sends his most affectionate salutations to* Philip Melancthon.

"During my residence at Carpentras, where I had imagined myself fixed for life, but whence I am suddenly called to Rome by the mandate of the Pope, I was perpetually conversant with your writings, which I read both on account of the ability they discovered and the general elegance of the composition. Often in the midst of this pleasurable employment, I became gradually inflamed with affection, and cherished a great anxiety to commence a friendship with you. For although some

difference of opinion exists between us, this need not cause dissension among well educated men.

"At the moment I was deliberating about writing to you to open, so to speak, the doors of friendship, suddenly I was sent for to Rome, on account of an approaching council, and a consultation respecting various affairs, on which it would become necessary soon to deliberate. I had superintended my spiritual charge for the period of ten years, when thus summoned by the secret appointment of the best and wisest of pontiffs, to be invested, ignorant and unskilled as I was, with the dignified office of cardinal. This occasioned delay in transmitting as I wished, a letter to you: for it is impossible to express how many anxieties, cares, and troubles, the translation from my former peaceful and happy life into a tumultuous and bustling one, has occasioned me. This indeed was sure to happen, for my judgment avoided it and followed my former course of life. Both, however, fell out contrary to my original inclinations, so that I cannot rejoice in what I was unwilling to possess, and not be unaffected with grief in losing what I wished to enjoy. But thus appointed by the providence of God, I shall endeavor by his aid properly and fully to discharge this honorable office.

"As my mind begins to emerge from the crowd of difficulties which beset me, I have resolved no longer to defer writing, and thus give you a pledge, my dear Philip, of my affection and of your attraction. My esteem arises from your exemplary virtues, and may I not hope that you will equally reciprocate it from your native kindness? You will, I doubt not, accede to my request and eager desire of friendly intercourse. I am not one of those who instantly cherish a violent hatred because another differs in opinion, an arrogance and a vanity to which my nature is totally repugnant. I honor intellect, virtue, and literature, which, as you possess them in no common degree, excite a proportionate regard for you. I doubt not your sentiments are similar to my own: for a person so accomplished in elegant literature cannot be otherwise than kind and courteous, and I indulge the greatest confidence that my letters will not be unacceptable, because however disjoined by distance of place, we may be united in spirit and affection. The object of my greatest anxiety and desire therefore is, to persuade you to admit me into a principal share of that regard you feel for those, and I know they must be very numerous, who have been induced, from the celebrity of your name, to solicit your friendship. Nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to have an opportunity of expressing and proving my attachment to you, and if you will furnish me with any such occasion, I shall esteem it as a high obligation. I am ready with the greatest zeal to do whatever I know may be gratifying to you; no one shall exceed me. Attachment to you and the nature of my office, require a constant concern for literary men. Farewell, most learned Melancthon, and let me share your best affections.

"Rome, *July* 15, 1537."

The justice of Luther's remark upon the preceding letter may be left to the reader's own determination. "Sadolet," says he, "who had been the Pope's secretary fifteen years, a very witty and learned man, wrote in a most courteous manner to Philip Melancthon, but exceeding craftily, according to the Italian custom, in order that, through a *Cardinalate*, they might have bought him on their side, which was done by the Pope's directions; for the good gentleman, Mr. Pope, is much perplexed, not knowing how to fall upon us."

Application was again made from the court of Great Britain for a deputation of the Saxon divines and Reformers to take a journey, for the purpose of conferring with learned men of that kingdom about ecclesiastical and other important affairs. William Paget and Christopher Mount were employed on this mission. They were instructed to go through France, and act in concurrence with the king, and Gardiner, the English ambassador at the French court: but the main purpose of Henry VIII. was to induce the German princes to disregard both the Emperor and the Pope, and to refer all the points of difference to himself and the King of France. A visit from Melancthon in particular was exceedingly urged, but year after year slipt away, and other concerns occupying his attention, the journey was never accomplished.

A legation, however, was sent, consisting of Francis Burkhard of Burgart, vice-chancellor of the Elector of Saxony, George a Boneyburg, a nobleman, a doctor of laws, and Frederic Myconius, superintendent of Saxe-Gotha. The former was charged with a letter from Melancthon to the king, in which he expresses his affectionate friendship for the vice-chancellor, who would be able to explain his high regard for his majesty and his disposition to devote himself to the public good by the illustration of Christian truth. "Private men," says he, "very much need the aid of distinguished princes and states, and your majesty has excited the greatest hopes in every country that you would promote the wishes of the pious for the reformation of the churches. What else does the papal faction aim at than the total extinction of divine truth, and the infliction of the most barbarous cruelties upon kings, princes, and nations, and the support of the Catholic abuses by a system of boundless tyranny in the church? Such being the dangerous situation of her affairs, I will not cease to exhort and implore your majesty to pay attention to the circumstances of the Christian church, now a suppliant at your feet, to promote some firm and durable union, and to dissuade other princes from connecting themselves with popish counsels. This is an affair of the greatest importance, and therefore worthy the attention of a king so superior to others in learning and wisdom."

The ambassadors were received in the most courteous manner, and the King of England frequently expressed his anxious desire to see Melancthon. But nothing of any consequence was effected by this journey, and the commissioners were at length dismissed with strong protestations of royal friendship, and an invitation to return during the ensuing year. The king sent letters to the Elector of Saxony, full of the strongest professions of kindness to himself and the reformed cause, and expressive of the greatest anxiety to enjoy a visit from Melancthon, "from whose distinguished erudition and sound judgment all good men," says he, "form the highest expectations."

The princes having discovered by means of some intercepted letters a secret correspondence between the German and English Anabaptists, wrote a long and elegant epistle to Henry VIII. containing a statement of the pernicious doctrines these persons so eagerly disseminated, and warning him of the danger likely to result from their fanatical proceedings unless prevented by a bold and timely interference. This epistle was composed by Melancthon.

A Protestant conference was held at Frankfort in the beginning of the year 1539, to which place Melancthon accompanied his prince. Violent proceedings being apprehended, he was deputed to write a paper on the subject of lawful defence, which he executed with great care and success. From this assembly a deputation was sent into England, which carried another of his letters to Henry

VIII. for, being affected by the testimony of his friends respecting the royal benignity, and desirous of promoting in the king every good inclination, he thought it proper to cherish this correspondence. His letter, dated Frankfort, March 26, 1539, was calculated to produce a good effect. After expressing his grateful sense of his majesty's regard for him, which was manifested afresh in his discourses with the commissioners, he proceeds, "I commend the cause of the Christian religion to your majesty's attention, for your majesty knows that the most important duty of great princes is to regard and promote heavenly truth, on which account God associates them with himself in the office of ruling. I am desirous, as I have written before, that a union upon the basis of doctrinal agreement should be effected among those churches which reject the domination of Rome. This would tend to promote the glory of God and conduce to general tranquillity. Your majesty has happily begun the removal of some superstitious practices, I entreat you to proceed to others. The intention of our adversaries is apparent, but they can never suppress our doctrine; God himself will be the keeper of our states and princes. They are always most anxious for public peace and tranquillity, but if our enemies resort to arms, the princes will not be deficient in their duty. I frequently call to mind the inscription upon one of King Edward's coins, "*Jesus autem transiebat per medium eorum—Jesus passed through the midst of them*," by which that wise monarch doubtless intended to intimate that the governors of kingdoms are divinely protected whilst they defend righteous causes; and, indeed, that it is truly heroic to bear arms in defence of the church against tyrants. It is said that Ajax asked Achilles what were the greatest and most difficult of all labors? To which he replied, "those which are undertaken for friends." Ajax inquired again, "What then were the most pleasant and easy?" He answered, "the same." The hero intimated by this reply, that nothing could be more delightful than to perform even the severest duties for the public good, and that he could cheerfully sustain the heaviest cares for this purpose. Such was their greatness of mind, who were ignorant of the true God; how much more does it become Christian princes to endure labor and danger for the church of Christ, when they know that they are divinely appointed to this office, and are promised celestial rewards for their services. I will not cease therefore to exhort your majesty to persevere in promoting the cause of the Christian church, and in resisting the tyranny and violence of its adversaries."

Melancthon addressed letters also to Cromwell and Cranmer, and afterwards being denied a journey to England by the Elector, who acted with the concurrent advice of Luther, from an opinion that nothing could be done with the infatuated monarch; he again, at the instigation of the Landgrave of Hesse, wrote him a long epistle in a most magnanimous spirit, many parts of which merit quotation. "Many pious and learned men in Germany have indulged the hope that your majesty's authority would have produced a considerable alteration in the conduct of other kings, and that the German princes in particular might have been influenced to relinquish the unworthy cruelty of their proceedings and deliberate on the correction of abuses. You were hailed as the promoter and leader of this most holy and illustrious design. Now, alas! your prejudices have wounded our minds most deeply: the animosity of other princes is confirmed, the vexatious obstinacy of the impious is increased, and the ancient errors are strengthened. The bishops no doubt contend that they do not maintain errors, but true doctrines and a divine right; and though by no means ignorant that they are in fact opposed to the divine authority and the apostolical constitution of the church, yet men will find out very fine interpretations, *sopha pharmaka*, artful poisons, as Euripides calls them, when policy requires it, in order to furnish a specious pretext for their errors. Sophisms of this description may not be so much admired in England for their wisdom, but they are very much in repute at Rome, where the Cardinals Contarenus, Sadolet, and Pole, are applying a new paint and varnish to old abuses. In Germany these sophisms have depraved the minds of many persons of distinction, and I am not surprised that multitudes are deluded by such fallacies; and though you are neither deficient in erudition nor in judgment, yet even wise men are sometimes diverted from the truth by specious arguments.

"It cannot be denied that the church of Christ was for a long period veiled in tremendous darkness. Human traditions, the torment of pious minds, were most shamefully introduced to the utter corruption of divine worship. Vows, gifts, vestments, meats, and drinks, a vain repetition of prayers, indulgences, and the worship of images, with every species of manifest idolatry, being substituted for the true service of God, exhibiting a striking resemblance between the religion of heathens and of Rome. The real doctrines of repentance and forgiveness of sin through faith in Jesus Christ, justification by faith, the distinction of law and gospel, and the use of the sacraments were unknown. The keys of authority were given into the hands of the Pope to support his tyranny both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The law of celibacy produced licentiousness of manners, but God has in some measure dispersed the darkness by the reformed doctrine, for this light of truth which now shines in the churches must be attributed to him, because no human skill could have removed the prevailing errors. The Spirit of God has predicted that in the last times a violent contention would arise between the Saints and Antichrist, and that Antichrist, supported by bishops, deceivers and princes, would oppose the truth and slay the pious. These very things are at this moment transacted. The tyranny of the Romish hierarchy has partly introduced and partly confirmed the existing abuses, and as Daniel predicted, 'his look is more stout than his fellows.' Daniel vii. 20. We rejoiced in the separation of your majesty, and hoped that the English church would flourish again, but alas! your bishops still adhere to Antichrist in all his idolatries and errors. The articles they have published are most craftily selected, and support every human tradition, especially vows, celibacy, and confession. In retaining the doctrine of private masses, they not only confirm priestly domination, but every dangerous error of Popery, artfully avoiding improvement, that their dignity and wealth may be secure. That this is the work of the bishops, is obvious; it speaks for itself.

"I implore you by our Lord Jesus Christ to mitigate and amend this episcopal decree, by doing which you will both consult the glory of Christ and the welfare of all your churches. May you regard the ardent desires of the pious throughout the world, that kings would use their influence to effect a reformation of the church, to remove unauthorized services, and to propagate evangelical truth! May you consider those holy persons who are in bonds for the gospel and are the true members of Christ! for if this decree be not cancelled, the bishops will practice their severities to an incalculable extent. Satan himself can alone inspire this opposition to Christ; they minister to his rage; he impels them to these cruel massacres. All good men entreat and implore you not to listen to the impious, the

cruel sentiments, and sophistical cavils in circulation against us, but to regard our just and well-founded petition. In doing this, you will secure, no doubt, a great and a divine reward, as well as the highest degree of celebrity among all Christians. Jesus Christ himself will judge of the conduct of men to his church, and while human language exists, these transactions will be transmitted to all future ages. If our churches be indeed the churches of Christ, and we seek his glory, the cause will never want patrons and protectors, who will bestow due praises on the deserving, and merited contempt on the persecutor. Hungry, thirsty, naked, bound, Christ himself complains of the fury of the Romish hierarchy, and the iniquitous severities practised by many kings and princes: he entreats for the wounded members of his body, that his true church may be defended and the gospel honored:—to acknowledge, to entertain, to minister to HIM, is the duty of a pious king, and a most grateful service to God."

New cares and labors awaited Melancthon upon his return from Frankfort, but they were pleasurable ones. George, Duke of Saxony, sovereign of Misnia and Thuringia, the inveterate enemy of the Reformation, being dead, his brother Henry, who succeeded to his dominions, espoused it with the utmost zeal. Melancthon and Luther were immediately employed to regulate the affairs of the University at Leipsic, and to investigate the state of the churches. The Reformed cause now rapidly spread in every direction, and other princes, especially Joachim II. the Elector of Bradenburg and son-in-law to Sigismund, the King of Poland, embraced it. Raynald quotes some letters written by Cochlæus, in which he imputes the *blame*, as he calls it, of this change, to Melancthon and Vicelius; and Seckendorf has preserved a pleasing letter on the subject, composed by the former, addressed in the name of the Elector of Brandenburg to the Polish sovereign.

The Protestants having solicited the Emperor to appoint a general conference between them and the Catholics, in conformity with the resolutions which had been adopted for this purpose at Frankfort, he directed them previously to deliberate on the concessions they were prepared to make to their adversaries. They met at Smalcald in the year 1540, and replied by the pen of Melancthon, that they should adhere to their Confession at Augsburg and the subsequent Apology. Amidst a multiplicity of other public engagements, he found time also to write a long and admirable vindication of the Reformers, addressed in the name of the Elector of Saxony and the confederate princes, to Charles V.; and another piece against Sebastian Frank, Caspar Schwenckfeld and others, who maintained fanatical opinions, and pretended to extraordinary revelations.

The Diet, which the Emperor had appointed to be held at Spires, was in consequence of the plague removed to Haguenaw. On his way thither Melancthon became dangerously ill, his disorder arising chiefly from the morbid melancholy incident to his constitution. The immediate cause of his present extreme dejection of mind is to be traced to the misconduct of the Landgrave of Hesse, who was forming an illicit connection, which Melancthon foresaw would prove detrimental to the Reformation by furnishing an occasion of reproach to its virulent adversaries. Varillas and Bossuet are by no means backward to avail themselves of the circumstance. Being in consequence of this indisposition detained at Vinaria, he experienced the kindest attentions from the Elector and his friends, who immediately sent for George Sturciad, a physician of Erfurt to whom he was peculiarly attached. Luther also hastened to his friend; and his cheering presence contributed not a little to aid the powers of medicine in producing his convalescence. As he had previously felt a deep persuasion that he should die, he had written his will and deposited it with Crucigер; and on his way, while crossing the Elbe, he suddenly uttered what happily proved an unfounded prediction:

"Viximus in Synodis et jam moriemur in illis."
In councils we have lived, in councils now shall die.

The interesting account written by Solomon Glass and preserved amongst the original manuscripts of the German princes, shall be presented to the English reader. "When Luther arrived, he found Melancthon apparently dying. His eyes were dim, his understanding almost gone, his tongue faltering, his learning imperfect, his countenance fallen, incapable of distinguishing any one, and indisposed to all nourishment. At such a sight, Luther was in the most terrible consternation, and turning to those who had accompanied him in his journey, exclaimed, 'Alas, that the devil should have thus unstrung so fine an instrument!'—Then in a supplicating posture, he devoutly prayed, 'We implore thee, O Lord our God, we cast all our burdens on thee and WILL CRY TILL THOU HEAREST US, pleading all the promises which can be found in the Holy Scripture respecting thy hearing prayer, so that THOU MUST INDEED HEAR US to preserve at all future periods, our entire confidence in thine own promises.' After this he seized hold of Melancthon's hand, and well knowing the extreme anxiety of his mind and the troubled state of his conscience, said, 'Be of good courage, Philip, YOU SHALL NOT DIE: although God has always a sufficient reason for removing us hence, he willeth not the death of a sinner but rather that he should be converted and live,'—it is his delight to impart life, not to inflict death. God has received into his favor the greatest sinners that ever existed in the world, namely, Adam and Eve, much more will he not cast thee off, my dear Philip, or permit thee to perish in grief and guilt. Do not therefore give way to this miserable dejection and destroy thyself, but trust in the Lord, who can remove it and impart new life.' While he thus spake, Melancthon began visibly to revive, as though his spirit came again, and was shortly restored to his usual health."

After his recovery, Melancthon wrote thus to Camerarius, "I cannot express the pain I have suffered during my illness, some returns of which I often feel. I witnessed at that period the deep sympathy of Luther, but he restrained his anxieties that he might not increase mine, endeavoring to raise me from my desponding state of mind, not only by admitting kind consolation but salutary reproof. If he had not come to me I should certainly have died." To Burcardus Mythobius he wrote, "In the summer I received two letters from you, the one at Smalcald, the other in Thuringia, at a time when I was confined by extreme illness occasioned only by overwhelming anxiety of mind on account of some affairs relative to others, of which you also complain. I must have died, if Luther had not recalled me from the gates of death."

The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse not being present at Haguenaw, no conclusive measures were adopted, but another Diet was appointed to meet at Worms in October. Thither the Emperor dispatched his Commissioner, Nicholas Granville, and the Pope his Nuncio, Campegius, Bishop of Filtri: Vergerius also appeared in the name of the king of France. It was long before the preliminary arrangements could be adjusted. On the twenty-eighth of November, Melancthon thus addressed his friend Jerome Baumgartner.

"The church of God does not often engage the serious attention of Kings, Pontiffs, and Princes; for their minds are devoted to ambitious projects, and other occupations. Truth is more generally esteemed and the church upheld by private persons and families; it was not one of the kings of Phœnicia or Syria that cherished Elijah, but a poor widow, in whose house the true religion was maintained. Jonah is said to have been the son of a widow. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were not only private individuals, but exiles; and therefore I trust that God will still preserve his church amidst the present troubles. I exhort you to pursue your pious labors and cares with increased alacrity and renewed hope. The history of our convention may soon be told: nothing is done except deliberating about the plan of conducting the disputations. You remember the saying of Aristotle, 'It would be a happy thing for the world if *artists* were to be made the sole judges of the *arts*'—but we are *favored* with canonists and nobility as arbitrators, who are quite unacquainted with our concerns, and these again have certain *managers*, as they are termed on the stage, or, as Æschines calls them, *pettifoggers of the forum*, who cajole the public."

In a letter to Granville he intimates his opinion, "that good humored discussion might tend to remove sophisms and obscurities out of the way, and diminish the number of existing differences: at the same time he nobly avows his dislike of all inexplicitness and dissimulation which rather perplex than disentangle controversies; resolving for his part, whether in private or public conferences, TO SPEAK WHAT HE THINKS, FIRMLY BUT MODESTLY, AND TO CONCEDE WHAT HE DEEMS MAY BE CONCEDED, WITH UNAMBIGUOUS INGENUOUSNESS."

The conference being at length opened in January, 1541, a debate between Eckius and Melancthon ensued. The latter characterizes his antagonist as an apt disputant, but "more solicitous of contending for the prize of ingenuity than for truth." At the close of the third day, Granville received an order from the Emperor to suspend the proceedings, and meet him in person at a Diet which he appointed at Ratisbon. It was opened early in the spring, and all the Princes of the Empire were either personally present, or sent deputies. Unfortunately in going, Melancthon was overturned in the vehicle in which he travelled, which accident, though it was not a fatal one, so essentially injured his right hand, that he never afterwards recovered the proper use of it. His wrist was dislocated by the fall.

The Catholics and Protestants having agreed to a proposal by the Emperor, that the controversies about religion should be settled by conference between select persons from both parties, his Imperial Majesty, claiming the right of nomination, chose Julius Pflug, John Eckius, and John Gropper, on the one side, and Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius, on the other. They were commanded to lay aside all passion, and respect only the glory of God. Granville, the Emperor's prime minister and commissioner at the conference, delivered a book to this Committee, which he said the Emperor desired them to peruse, but they were at liberty to approve or amend it as they pleased. It contained twenty-two articles, and was supposed to be written by Gropper. This paper was artfully constructed, but only led to long and fruitless discussions. Both parties appear to have raised objections against it; and Melancthon remarks in writing to one of his friends, that Eckius declared in a letter to the assembly of Princes, that he never had and never would approve this book, because it *Melancthonized* too much, for he suspected it to be either his dictation, or written with his advice and concurrence. But he totally disclaims it, and says that Eckius injured Gropper by this imputation. The legate, however, resented the Protestant objections, and the Diet was concluded by his Imperial Majesty's commanding that the Augsburg decree should continue in force, and all prosecutions in the Imperial chamber be suspended. At Ratisbon, every effort was made to discredit Melancthon with the Emperor; but he addressed a letter to him, refuting every charge in the most satisfactory manner.

In the course of the late discussions Melancthon remarked, that "the sacrament had no significance beyond its divinely appointed use, and that Christ was not present for the sake of the bread, but of the recipient;" a sentiment which so delighted Luther when it was repeated to him, that he exclaimed, "*Macte Philippe, tu eripuisti Pontificiis quod ego non ausus fuissem;* i. e. Admirable Philip, thou has seized from the Popedom what I should not have dared to attempt!" Eckius himself was exceedingly confounded, and as persons commonly do in similar circumstances, he uttered a violent speech in default of argument, and went home in a fit of indignation, which together with an unusual quantity of wine at supper the same evening, operated so powerfully as to produce a fever. He never again returned to the conference. Granville appears to have been considerably affected by his opponent's statements, for a few days afterwards he said, "I have been thinking, Philip, for these several days past, very closely upon your arguments, and I really perceive this controversy to be a most difficult one, and well worthy of itself to occupy the attention of a Council."

Melancthon had declared at the commencement of these discussions, "*Se mori malle, quam conscientiam et veritatem lædere et certissime ex mœrore moriturum, si id faceret:* that he would rather die than injure truth and violate his conscience, and certainly if he could possibly act so he should die with grief;" a noble declaration, and finely illustrated by the following incident. Eckius, during the heat of disputation, made use of some puzzling sophism, at which Melancthon paused, to revolve the statement in his mind, and at length replied, "I will give you an answer to-morrow." "Oh," said his antagonist, "there is no merit or honor in that, if you cannot answer me immediately." To which he replied in these memorable words, "*Mi Doctor, non quæro meam gloriam hoc in negocio, sed veritatem: cras, volente Deo, me audies.* My Doctor, I AM NOT SEEKING MY OWN GLORY IN THIS BUSINESS, BUT TRUTH: I say then, God willing, you shall have an answer to-morrow."

The same remarkable superiority of mind to all the incentives of ambition, was apparent in every part of his conduct. As he did not pursue fame, but truth, in his numerous conferences with the Catholics, so he did not aspire after rewards, but the promotion of the public good, in his academical labors. Indeed he was almost scrupulous to an extreme. Luther, in a letter addressed to the Elector of Saxony on the third of July, mentions Melancthon's hesitating to accept an increase of his salary to the amount of a hundred florins, and his wish to continue his Greek lectures, without any remuneration, that the ordinary stipend might be devoted to augment the revenue of the University. "But," says Luther, "he has sustained the greatest share of academical labor for upwards of twenty years past, and surely he has the greatest right to enjoy in quiet some of the profits. The junior masters, who are his scholars, are capable of teaching the Greek language. He has been a kind of general servant to the whole institution, and well merits the bounty of your Highness. *The whole Christian world is his debtor, and blessed be God, the Popish*

fraternity are more afraid of [redacted] *and his* SCHOLARS, *than all the learned besides put together.*"

A long and violent altercation between the Elector and the Popish party at Naumburg respecting the election of a bishop, occupied a considerable part of the year 1542. The state of the district rendered it a question of great importance. The majority of the ecclesiastical orders adhered to the degrading superstitions of Popery; but the inhabitants both of the towns and villages in the vicinity of the electorate, were panting to enjoy the doctrines of the Reformation. The Catholic influence was exerted to introduce Julius Pflug, one of the persons appointed in the select Committee at the recent conferences of Ratisbon, a man estimable in himself, but a decided Papist; the Elector on the other hand, tenacious of his right of nomination, and anxious to introduce a Reformer, after long and mature deliberations fixed upon Nicholas Amsdorff, who was eventually installed. On this occasion Luther and Melancthon, with many persons of eminence attended. The account of the Popish writer, Maimbourg, is sufficiently amusing. After intimating his displeasure at the *pride* and *insolence* of the abettors of Lutheranism, subsequently to the Council of Ratisbon, and mentioning the choice of Julius Pflug, he says, "the Duke of Saxony openly declared the election invalid, because he did not conform to the Augsburg confession, and nominated Nicholas Amsdorff in his stead, one of the principal and most zealous of the Lutherans, *upon whom his master Luther, who played the Pope at Wittemburg, laid his hands, and made him a bishop!*" The Emperor felt also excessively exasperated at these proceedings; but desired Pflug to exercise patience, "for," says he, "your cause shall be mine;" and accordingly a few years afterwards, he employed the strong arm of imperial power, to eject Amsdorff, who fled to Magdeburg, instating Pflug in the diocese of Saxe-Naumburg.

It was a mortifying circumstance to the Papists that the wide-spreading light of the Reformation extended at length into COLOGNE, and that the Archbishop and Elector Hermannus, or Herman, Count de Wied, whom Maimbourg and other writers highly panegyrize, both for his personal accomplishments and ardent zeal for the Catholic religion, became anxious at this period to reform his diocese. It was not indeed a sudden or momentary feeling. At the time of the Protestant convention at Frankfort, in the year 1539, the Archbishop sent Peter Medmannus to confer with Melancthon, and to request a visit from him; but he could at that time only return a congratulatory letter, in which he says, that "though his Lordship's personal regard to him was most grateful to his feelings, yet he was still more rejoiced on account of the public cause, as the Archbishop appeared desirous of applying proper remedies to heal the wounds of the church, instead of adopting measures calculated only to inflame and exasperate them." Towards the close of 1541, Hermannus sent for Martin Bucer, and had several conferences with him, in the following year, at Bonne; the result of which was a resolution to confer with proper persons, and pursue effectual means for the reformation of his diocese. On the fifteenth of January, 1543, he despatched letters to the Elector of Saxony, requesting him to allow Melancthon to come; who replied, after a considerable lapse of time, that he had given him permission to be absent from the University six or seven weeks. The letters of Melancthon sufficiently explain the transactions at Bonne. To Luther he writes thus, on the nineteenth of May. "The Bishop wishes a formulary of doctrines and ceremonies to be drawn up, similar to that of the Nuremberg church, and to be given to him for his inspection. I have been engaged in this the last three days. He is desirous of introducing pure doctrinal truth, and of exterminating whatever rites are now publicly practised in opposition to it; but the canons in general resist this innovation, though there are some amongst them who aim to restrain the violence of their brethren. The Bishop has been fiercely threatened to be driven from his dignity; on which account the Landgrave has written to the college, and openly avowed his own determination, and that of the confederate Princes, to unite, if it be requisite, in his defence. All the cities excepting Cologne, including the major part of the nobility are desirous of a better ecclesiastical constitution, which they see plainly enough to be necessary. I do believe that scarcely any part of Germany was in so barbarous and heathenish a state as this, which the prevailing idolatrous practices sufficiently evince; but I perceive the discourses of Bucer and Pistorius are much regarded, and I think they preach the truth. There are others also who teach the people sound doctrine, and administer the sacraments as they ought, in some of the neighboring towns and villages." In another letter, addressed to Camerarius, he says, "You could not witness without tears the wretched state of these churches, in which the people are daily crowding to the images, and this with the ignorant multitude is the sum and substance of religion. The aged Prince rightly judges, that reform is necessary, and seeks to introduce it. I have only at present begun the formulary of doctrine and ceremonies which is to be proposed to the churches. A few assist the Prince; at Cologne he is opposed, but in various places are to be found men of piety and correct sentiments." Again upon his return in August he writes, "After Bucer and myself had finished our work for the regulation of the churches, the aged Bishop, sending for his Dean and assistant, Stolbergius, a man of sense, and some other leading persons, desired me to read through the whole book in their presence, to which he paid the greatest attention, remarking upon many parts of it, sometimes suggesting very proper alterations, sometimes after discussing a point submitting to our opinion in preference to his own. This labor occupied four hours every morning in six successive days. I wondered at the assiduity and diligence of the old man."

When the Archbishop presented the Articles, which the deputation of Reformers had drawn up, to the chapter at Cologne; they requested time to examine it, while the Protestant doctors were expelled the city. With the former request he readily complied, but alleged in reference to the latter, he could not consent, unless they were convicted of false doctrines and immoral conduct. An acrimonious publication under the following title soon appeared; "*Judicium Deputatorum Universitatis et Secundarii Cleri Coloniensis de Doctrina et Vocatione Martini Buceri;*" upon which Melancthon remarks: "The publications of the Colognians is issued. It is not so much against Bucer as against the doctrine of our churches in general, and against our princes. It is the worthy effort of a well-fed Carmelite, and priest of Bacchus and Venus. They had entitled it, "*The Judgment of the Clergy and the University;*" but when some of the more sane members of the college saw it, and perceived it was much more worthy of buffoons than of clergymen, they insisted upon a change of the title, and protested they did not approve such a production; upon which, instead of *The Clergy*, it was agreed to use the term *Inferior Clergy*, by which some understand the *baser* description. Lutheranism is prodigiously railed at; and upon the subject of marriage, the vilest and most obscene language is used, such as would almost disgrace a prostitute. The jests are culled

from the comedies of Plautus, whose writings I dare say are more charming to this Carmelite than the Psalms of David."

Bucer and Melancthon both published a reply to this *unclerical* publication; that of the latter is one of his very best writings. He first singles out the dissentient individuals, for whom he cherishes a sincere regard; and then with a cogency of argument and a pungency of satire, attacks the remaining part of the fraternity. He tells them that neither Eckius nor Pighius, madly as they wrote, ever equalled the atrocious language of these Colognians. He jokes upon the word *secundarius* in the title-page, and supposes they mean the *low* and *degenerate* part of the community. On the subject of the mass he remarks, that there is no more reason for adoring the bread in the sacrament of the supper, than the water in the ordinance of baptism. "If Ambrose and Augustine were to rise from the dead, to say nothing of the apostles, and to witness the superstitious mockeries now practised, the long processions of wooden, silver, and marble images, the superintendents and expositor of sacred mysteries carrying about the bread, and the surrounding multitude prostrating themselves in adoration of it, they would be alarmed, and ready to ask into what heathen land they had got, and what new ceremonies were invented since their day, for they could not imagine themselves in Christian churches. But when they came to be informed that this was the manner in which the Lord's Supper was observed, they would burn with grief and indignation, and begin to exhort the people to return to the genuine use of the sacrament, and to the proper services of religion. There was formerly a custom of a similar nature prevalent in Persia, in which the sacred fire was carried about to be worshipped by the populace, and three hundred and sixty-five priests, answering in number to the days of the year, led the way, carrying particular ensigns." To this statement he adds a solemn exhortation and relates a circumstance, which he declares he received from the best authority, respecting a priest who went to Tubingen, where he carried about some relics consisting of bones, promising to every one that kissed them a security from the plague during the period of a whole year. When Prince Eberhard, who was possessed both of wisdom and influence, had him taken up for his ridiculous impudence, the priest alleged that he had certainly stated what was most true, because the people did not in fact kiss *the relics*, but only *the glass case in which they were put!* "Such," says Melancthon, "are the miserable shifts to which you resort to excuse your ecclesiastical abuses, and think to escape the censures of the pious: the people in the mean time being confirmed in error and superstition." He ridicules their pretended attempts at reform, representing them as "willing to wipe the dust off the images in their temples, to new color the old worn out pictures upon the walls, and passing an oracular decree to double the size of the square altars, that they may have a more magnificent appearance. They enact laws against letting the beards grow, and concerning the vain repetition of unintelligible payers. These are the mighty things which they require to be restored, and which they complain of the Prince for hindering."*

Unhappily, in consequence of the firm resistance of the chancellor, canons and divines of Cologne, to the reforming plans of the good Archbishop, the Popish religion was still maintained in that Electorate. They did not hesitate to avow "that they would rather live under a Turkish government than under a magistrate who approved and defended such a reformation." But the city of Hildesheim abolished the Catholic superstitions, and embraced the Protestant faith.

The University of Wittemberg received their illustrious Professor with the most marked respect, after he had finished the transactions at Cologne. Sensible of the lustre his still increasing celebrity shed upon their whole body, impressed with a deep sense of his public efforts in the cause of the Reformation, his academical labors and his numerous private virtues, he was welcomed home by a sort of public entrance. The students and most of the professors in the different branches of literature, went out to meet him on the road, and to hail his return.

But the cup of human life is never replenished with unmingled good; the sweet and the bitter are mixed in their due proportions by an all-wise providence. It seems upon a close inspection as if human happiness were more equally distributed by the unsparing hand of divine liberality than the envious and the petulant too frequently imagine. Great talents, or external splendors are sometimes connected with inward heart-burnings and domestic anxieties; while poverty and rags are often the only patrimony of noble and wisely contented spirits. Sorrow, like death, visits alike the palace and the cottage. Melancthon became at this period involved in the utmost perplexity and grief by the improper behavior of one of his sons-in-law, and the removal of his daughter into Prussia, circumstances which have been mentioned in an early part of this work, in connection with a view of his domestic character. His mind always tending to despondency, was much agitated also by the loss of several of his friends, particularly Valerius Cordus, a person of elegant taste and extensive erudition. His death occurred at Rome, and was supposed to have originated in excessive fatigue, incurred by a laborious search, amongst the cold mountains and vallies of Italy, after herbs, roots, and plants for medical purposes, to which he was devoted. The sacrametal controversy was renewed with increased asperity, and so violent was Luther, and so conciliating was Melancthon, that, availing themselves of the favorable moment, their mutual enemies attempted to foment their dissension, but in vain; for though at one period a cloud seemed to be gathering over the brightness of their friendship, it soon entirely disappeared. In fact Luther seems to have kindled with unusual rage against the sacramentarians, and to have used a provoking intemperance of language, which, though his conscientious convictions and the barbarous usages of the age may be admitted as some extenuation, could not by any means be approved by his amiable friend. At the same time the Protestants in France were in a deplorable situation, and Francis and Charles V. were engaged in a furious war, which however terminated in September, 1544, by a treaty of peace at Crespy.

The Elector Palatine Frederic, successor to Louis, being animated with zeal to reform the churches under his jurisdiction, obtained in the beginning of the year 1545, a plan for this purpose, drawn up by Melancthon, and presented with his signature, in conjunction with those of Luther, Bugenhagen or Pomeranus, Cruciger and Major. It

* The Pope thinking it necessary to show the Protestants that he was not averse to every kind of Reformation, had appointed four Cardinals and five other eminent persons to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church; but it was extremely superficial and partial. It was published about the year 1539 at Antwerp, with the answer of Cochlæus to the objections of Sturmius, who, as well as Luther and Melancthon, had turned it into ridicule. In this plan the most intolerable grievances of which the Protestants complained are left totally unredressed.

is a judicious compendium, in six divisions, stated in these words:

"The true and salutary administration of the Christian church chiefly consists in these six particulars:

"I. In pure doctrinal truth, which God has revealed, transmitted, and commanded to be taught in his church.

"II. In the legitimate use of the sacraments.

"III. In the maintenance of a gospel ministry, and the due obedience to pastors, according to the will of God, who has promised to afford his presence and protection to such a ministry.

"IV. In the preservation of strict and holy discipline, by the proper exercise of ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction.

"V. In a proper regard for the establishment of schools, and the direction of necessary studies.

"VI. To these, it is proper to add, the support of officers who may be wanted for necessary services in the church."

Another very important duty in which Melancthon was engaged, was the episcopal ordination of the prince of Anhalt, which shed such a pleasing lustre on the present year. The reader will not deem it an uninteresting digression to introduce this circumstance in a connected but necessarily brief sketch of his life.

George, prince of Anhalt, and count of Ascania, was descended from the dukes of Saxony, and was born on the fourteenth of August, 1507. His father, prince Ernest, of Anhalt, gave him a liberal education at the university of Leipsic, under George Forchem, who was no less celebrated for correctness of conduct than for capacity as a preceptor. Camerarius, Cruciger, and others, studied under this eminent tutor, who had the pleasure of finding in the prince of Anhalt, an apt and diligent scholar. He devoted a considerable degree of attention to the civil law, which his rank in life seemed particularly to require. At the age of twenty-two, his proficiency in every branch of knowledge, and his reputation for eloquence were such, that Albert, Elector of Mentz, chose him to be one of his council, and he became, in consequence, very much engaged in state affairs. At the rise of the Reformation, his ardent mind soon interested itself in the pursuit of truth; he perfected himself in the Greek and Hebrew languages, searched the holy Scriptures with diligent investigation, read the best commentators amongst the fathers, and cultivated an intercourse with some of the most learned men. Often with tears, he was known to pray, "Deal with thy servant according to thy mercy, and teach, O teach me thy righteousness!"

At length he openly embraced the Reformation, planted seminaries of learning, and strenuously opposed the popish superstitions. Multitudes saw and rejoiced in the wide-spreading light, and he constantly co-operated with his brothers, in establishing the reformed religion in their respective territories. For the purpose of more extensive usefulness, he was induced, in the year 1545, to accept the bishopric of Mersburg, in Saxony, an office upon which he entered with fervent prayer, and afterwards discharged with extraordinary assiduity. His letter of episcopal ordination, written by Melancthon, is thus expressed:

"We give thanks to God the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of his infinite goodness has instituted a gospel ministry, for the recovery of the fallen race of mankind, and will maintain it through the successive ages of time till the resurrection of the dead; and who raises up learned and suitable persons, giving command to his church that such should be called to the office; and promises through their ministry to dispense the doctrine of the remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit and eternal life. We beseech him not to permit the light of his gospel to be extinguished, but that he would raise up faithful men to advocate and uphold the pure and salutary doctrines of Christ, and now in this territory, gather to himself a people to celebrate his praises to eternity. As the most reverend and illustrious George, prince of Anhalt, count of Ascania, lord of Bernburg, &c. appointed to this gospel ministry over the church at Magdeburg, has been called in a regular and pious manner to the discharge of ecclesiastical functions in the bishopric of Mersburg, certain serious and learned persons who superintend the neighboring churches, and whose names are under-written, have been sent for to be present, conformably to the custom of the ancient primitive churches, that they might here give their public testimony of ordination in addition to the general call to the office. We are, therefore, assembled for this purpose, because we well know that the illustrious prince George, understands and firmly embraces the pure doctrines of the gospel, which all the churches of God, in these parts, unite with one voice and one soul with the church universal in professing, and the glory of which is to promote holiness and virtue. We have attended to his ordination in the apostolic manner of laying on of hands; for Paul admonished Titus that Presbyters should be every where ordained to teach and govern the churches. Be it known that this ordination to an ecclesiastical function derives its authority from apostolic practice, and as priests are appointed to teach and rule churches, to watch over doctrinal sentiments, and moral conduct, let the words of the Son of God be in constant recollection, 'When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.' And as Christ sitteth at the right hand of the Father, to give efficacy to the public ministry, we pray that he would rule over this whole district and bless this ordination. 'Whoso loveth me and keepeth my words, him will my Father love; and we will come to him and make our abode with him.' Such is his promise, and we exhort the prince to be encouraged by the declaration; for though the government of a church is attended with many and great dangers, nor can human wisdom avail for such an undertaking, yet let him know that God is truly present and will constantly dwell wherever his gospel is preached; that he will defend and support it. With this conviction the labors of such a ministry may be undertaken and sustained. Mersburg, August 3, 1545."

This eminent person discharged the duties of his sacred office with exemplary diligence. His whole time was devoted to preaching, reading, writing, devotional exercises and the affairs of the church. He never intentionally injured any one, but benefited many, both publicly and privately. He was a promoter of peace amongst the princes, settling many of their disputes, and restraining turbulence and faction, being himself superior to all motives of mean ambition. He sustained many and great injuries with the utmost magnanimity, lived a life of devotion with God, and resignation to his will, often admonishing others to cultivate similar feelings. After lingering under a painful disease, during which he settled the affairs of his church, engaged in the most ardent devotions, frequently conversed on the most interesting religious topics and daily read the sacred Scriptures, particularly the prophetic and apostolic writings, "on the seventeenth of October, 1553, his spirit was called away from this mortal state to the assembly of the heavenly church."

The most celebrated German poets wrote elegies upon his death. Two epigrams of Melancthon are preserved, one of which shall be inserted.

Ascaniæ stirpis virtus est clara triumphis:
Ordine quos numerant secula longa patrum.
Cæsar in Adriaco quum gessit littore bellum,
Et fregit venetas Maximilianus opes:
Duxerat Ascania natus de stirpe Rodolphus:
Fixit et in Veneto multa trophæa solo.
Nunc ad majora decora, hæc laus magna, Georgi,
Accedit, vere principe digna viro:
Quod sic doctrinam reliquis virtutibus addis,
Ut verum celebres pectore et ore Deum:
Et Christi illustres ingentia munera scriptis;
Justifica supplex quæ capis ipse fide:
Exemploque Esdræ populum dum jure gubernas:
Doctrinæ spargis semina pura simul.
Summe Deus, solus qui das felicia regna,
Ascanios fratres, te precor, ipse regas!

For ages past behold Ascania's line,
In martial virtues and achievements shine!
When through the coasts of Italy afar,
Imperial prowess poured the tide of war;
Then Maximilian—then Rodolphus gains
Trophies of valor on Venetian plains;—
Still to sustain the glory of his race
A George is giv'n, the high descent to grace;
Though for each manly virtue far renown'd,
With brighter honor, brighter glory crown'd,
He lov'd the truth—the God of truth he serv'd,
The faith of Christ he honor'd and preserv'd;
Like Esdra ruling well, but on each hand,
Spreading the seeds of truth throughout the land.
'Tis thine, great God! 'tis thine alone to cause
Nations to triumph in their kings and laws,
To rule o'er rulers, and assign their place;
Oh, condescend to bless the Ascanian race!

CHAPTER XI.

Persecuting measures—Death of Luther—Melancthon's Funeral Oration for him—Tributary lines—Remarks on the friendship of Luther and Melancthon—Position of public affairs—The Emperor and the Protestants at open war—Perfidy of Maurice—Captivity of John Frederic, and imprisonment of the Landgrave—Diet at Augsburg—The Interim meetings of the Wittemberg and Leipsic Divines—Melancthon's publication on indifferent things—Extracts from his reply to the Interim—Curious preface to an English translation of it—The virulent opposition of Flaccus Illyricus to Melancthon—Reply of the latter. 1546 to 1550.

Persisting in his resolution, notwithstanding the objections of the Protestants, the Roman Pontiff summoned a general council, to be held at Trent, while the Emperor at the Diet of Worms, in the year 1545, used every effort to persuade all parties to acquiesce in that appointment. It was in vain; and the pen of Melancthon was again employed to prepare a publication in the name of the Reformers, containing the chief reasons which induced them to dissent from the papal decree. It is entitled, "*Causæ, quare et amplexæ sint, et retinendam ducant doctrinam, quam profitentur Ecclesiæ, quæ Confessionem, Augustæ exhibitam Imperatori sequuntur et quare iniquis judicibus collectis in Synodo Tridentina ut vocant, non sit assentiendum;*" and "on account of the excellence of the matter, the weight of the argument, and a certain original beauty of style, cannot fail of profiting every reader."

The Emperor being exasperated at the continual objections, raised against the council, departed at last from his usual course of conduct and determined to settle all religious disputes by force of arms. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, immediately adopted proper measures for their own defence. At Worms, the clergy of Cologne, had presented a petition to the Emperor, against the proceedings of their archbishop, in establishing the reformed religion, and he instantly took them into his protection, not only interdicting by his imperial letters any molestation of the Catholics in the electorate, but summoning the Elector to appear before him within thirty days. The Pope issued a similar summons for sixty days to the archbishop, dean, and five canons of Cologne, who had espoused his cause. In the succeeding January, 1546, the Protestant princes assembled at Frankfort, made common cause with the persecuted archbishop, and united to defend themselves against the violent designs of the Emperor.

If ever the presiding genius of Martin Luther were requisite to direct the intricate concerns of the Reformation, the present crisis seemed particularly to demand his talents. The gathering tempest frowned with a portentous aspect upon all Germany; the newly launched vessel in which many of their princes had embarked with a noble and adventurous spirit, and which had hitherto been driven about by so many raging winds, became at this time exposed to a storm of unusual violence, and every voice was lifted up to demand the pilotage of the first, as in many respects, the greatest of the Reformers. It is not easy, therefore, to express or imagine the consternation with which the princes and reformers in general, and his most intimate friend Melancthon in particular, received the intelligence of his death at this alarming period. In consequence of repeated attacks of the stone his constitution had been declining for many months, and early in the morning of the eighteenth of February, 1546, he died at Eisleben, his native place, whither he had gone a second time to settle some existing differences between the counts of Mansfeld. A few hours afterwards, Jonas communicated the melancholy tidings to the Elector of Saxony, and requested his highness to inform his wife, Melancthon, Pomeranus, and Cruciger. In the first journey to Eisleben, a short time before, Melancthon had accompanied him, and must have deeply regretted his absence on the last painful occasion. When he first received the intelligence of his death, he exclaimed, "My Father! my Father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!" 2 Kings ii. 12. He was interred at Wittemberg. Pomeranus preached a funeral sermon, and Melancthon pronounced the following oration.

"Although amidst this general mourning, my voice is obstructed by deep affliction and tears, yet something I would attempt to say; not to eulogize the dead as the heathen do, but to admonish the living in this vast assembly, and especially to impress just sentiments upon the junior part of the auditory, respecting the government of the church and its dangers, that they may learn what to desire and by what examples to regulate their lives. Wicked and infidel men represent every thing in the present apparent confusion of human affairs as the result of mere chance, but confiding in the numerous and explicit declarations of God himself, we distinguish the church from the promiscuous multitude of mankind, and affirm it is under divine superintendence and protection. To this we constantly look, obeying our lawful governors, and cherishing a pious reverence for those guides and instructors whom we choose.

"It will be necessary to advert to these considerations as often as the name of Martin Luther, our most beloved father and teacher is introduced, whom we love and honor, detestable as he appears in the eyes of many wicked men, and whom we know to have been raised up by heaven as a minister of the true gospel, by evidences which, notwithstanding the charges of our opponents, prove that his doctrines were neither seditious nor dispersed abroad with a blind and impetuous zeal.

"In this place, and on these occasions, many things are usually said in a panegyrical strain respecting the personal endowments of the deceased; I propose, however, to omit these, and advert

chiefly to his ecclesiastical function. Intelligent and pious persons will admit, if he were the means of promoting useful and necessary truth in the church, we ought to be grateful to the providence of God for raising up such a light, while his labors, faith, perseverance, and other virtues, ought to be duly acknowledged and his memory tenderly cherished by all worthy men.

"The apostle Paul represents Christ as 'having ascended on high to give gifts unto men,' that is, the preaching of the gospel and the Holy Spirit; for the purpose of communicating which, 'he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers;' Ephesians, iv. 8, 11., selecting them from amongst those who read, study and delight in the sacred writings. Nor are they only called into the Christian service who occupy the more ordinary stations, but others are frequently introduced under the direction of learned men into this holy warfare, and it is both pleasing and profitable to witness the care of God to his church throughout all ages, in sending a continued succession of useful men, that as some fall in the glorious field, others may instantly rush forward to take their places. The first of our race who nobly occupied the foremost ranks, were Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah and Shem. The latter being yet alive and dwelling in the neighborhood of Sodom, when the inhabitants of the earth forgetting the instructions of Noah and Shem, became addicted to idolatry; God raised up a coadjutor of Shem in the person of Abraham, to co-operate in the great work of propagating divine truth. To him succeeded Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, who kindled the light of true religion in Egypt, at that period the most flourishing empire in the world; and to them, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Elijah and Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Zacheriah. After them arose Esdras, Onias and the Maccabees; then Simeon, Zacharias, John the Baptist, CHRIST, and his apostles. I am delighted to contemplate this unbroken succession, which affords conspicuous evidence of the presence of God in his church. The apostles were succeeded by a troop, so to speak, of inferior warriors, but nevertheless distinguished of heaven, Polycarp, Irenæus, Gregory of Neocæsarea, Basil, Augustin, Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, Bernard, Taulerus, and others. And although the latter ages present a more barren prospect, God has always preserved a proportion of his servants upon the earth; and now through Martin Luther, a more splendid period of light and truth has appeared.

"To this enumeration of the most eminent amongst the sons of men who gathered and reformed the church of God, may be added others who may be regarded as the flower of mankind. Solon, Themistocles, Scipio, Augustus, and others, who either established or ruled over mighty empires, were indeed truly great men, but far, far inferior to our illustrious leaders, Isaiah, John the Baptist, Paul, Augustin and Luther, and it becomes us to study this distinction. What then are those great and important things which Luther has disclosed to our view, and which render his life so remarkable; for many are exclaiming against him as a disturber of the church, and a promoter of inexplicable controversies? I answer, that when the Holy Spirit in his regulation of the church reproves the world for sin, dissensions arise out of the pertinacity of wicked men, and they alone are culpable who refuse to listen to the proclamation of the eternal Father concerning his Son, 'This is my beloved Son, HEAR HIM.' Luther explained the true and important doctrine of penitence, which was involved in the profoundest darkness. He showed in what it consists, and where refuge and consolation could be obtained under a sense of divine displeasure. He illustrated the statements of Paul respecting justification by faith, and showed the distinction between the law and the gospel, civil and spiritual justification. He pointed out the true principle of prayer and exterminated that heathenish absurdity from the church, that God was not to be invoked if the mind entertained the least doubt upon an academic question. He admonished men to pray in the exercise of faith and a good conscience to the only Mediator, and Son of God, who is seated at the right hand of the Father making intercession for us, and not to images or deceased saints, according to the shocking practice of the ignorant multitude. He also pointed out other services acceptable to God, was singularly exemplary himself in all the duties of life, and separated the puerilities of human rites and ceremonies which prevent instead of promoting genuine worship, from those services which are essential to obedience. In order that heavenly truth might be transmitted to posterity, he translated the prophetic and apostolic writings into the German language with so much accuracy, that his version of itself places Scripture in a more perspicuous light than most commentaries. But he published also various expositions upon the sacred writings, which in the judgment of Erasmus, by far excelled all others: and as it is recorded respecting those who rebuilt Jerusalem, 'with one hand they laid the stones and with the other they held the sword,' so while he composed annotations on Scripture replete with heavenly instruction and consoled afflicted consciences by his pious counsels, he was necessitated at the same time to wage incessant war with the adversaries of evangelical truth. When it is recollected that this truth, especially the doctrine of faith and the remission of sins, is not discoverable by the merely human eye, it must be acknowledged he was taught of God, and many of us have witnessed his anxious solicitude to impress the great principle of acceptance by faith. Multitudes of the saints will therefore praise God to all eternity, for the benefits which have accrued to the church by the labors of Luther. To God their gratitude is primarily due, and then they will own themselves much indebted to his labors, although infidels who ridicule the church in general will consider these noble performances as no better than empty trifling or absolute insanity. The true church does not, as some falsely affirm, promote intricate disputations, throw out the apple of contention, and propose the enigmas of the fabled Sphinx; for to those who judge seriously and without prejudice, it is easy from a comparison of opposite opinions, to perceive what are consonant to the statements of heavenly truth and what are otherwise. Christians are no longer in a state of hesitation on the subject of existing controversies, for when God determined to reveal his will and display his character in the sacred writings, it is not to be imagined that such a communication would be ambiguous like the leaves of the ancient Sibyl.

"Some, by no means evil-minded persons, however, express a suspicion that Luther manifested too much asperity. I will not affirm, the reverse, but only quote the language of Erasmus, 'God has sent in this latter a violent physician on account of the magnitude of the existing disorders,' fulfilling by such a dispensation the divine message to Jeremiah, 'Behold I have put my words in thy mouth. See I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.' Jeremiah, i. 9, 10. Nor does God govern his church according to the counsels of men, nor choose to employ instruments like theirs to promote his pur-

poses. But it is usual for inferior minds to dislike those of a more ardent character. When Aristides observed the mighty affairs which Themistocles by the impulse of a superior genius undertook and happily accomplished, although he congratulated the state on the advantage it possessed in such a man, he studied every means to divert his zealous mind from its pursuits. I do not deny that ardent spirits are sometimes betrayed into undue impetuosity, for no one is totally exempt from the weaknesses incident to human nature, but they often merit the praise assigned by the ancient proverb to Hercules, Cimon and other illustrious characters, 'rough indeed, but distinguished by the best principles.' So in the Christian church, the apostle Paul mentions such as 'war a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience,' 1 Timothy, i. 18, 19, and who are both pleasing to God and estimable amongst pious men. Such an one was Luther, who while he constantly defended the pure doctrines of Christianity, maintained a conscientious integrity of character. No vain licentiousness was ever detected in him, no seditious counsels, but on the contrary, he often urged the most pacific measures; and never, never did he blend political artifices for the augmentation of power with ecclesiastical affairs. Such wisdom and such virtue, I am persuaded, do not result from mere human skill or diligence, but the mind must be divinely influenced, especially when it is of the more rough, elevated and ardent cast like that of Luther.

"What shall I say of his other virtues? Often have I myself gone to him unawares and found him dissolved in tears and prayers for the church of Christ. He devoted a certain portion of almost every day to the solemn reading of the Psalms of David with which he mingled his own supplications, amidst sighs and tears; and he has frequently declared how indignant he felt against those who hastened over devotional exercises through sloth or the pretence of other occupations. On this account, said he, divine wisdom has prescribed some formularies of prayer, that our minds may be inflamed with devotion by reading them; to which, in his opinion, reading aloud very much conduced. When a variety of great and important deliberations respecting public dangers have been pending, we have witnessed his prodigious vigor of mind, his fearless and unshaken courage. Faith was his sheet anchor, and by the help of God he was resolved never to be driven from it. Such was his penetration, that he perceived at once what was to be done in the most perplexing conjunctures; nor was he as some supposed, negligent of the public good or disregardful of the wishes of others, but he was well acquainted with the interests of the state, and pre-eminently sagacious in discovering the capacity and dispositions of all about him. And although he possessed such extraordinary acuteness of intellect, he read both ancient and modern ecclesiastical writings with the utmost avidity, and histories of every kind, applying the examples they furnished to existing circumstances with remarkable dexterity. The undecaying monuments of his eloquence remain, and in my opinion he equalled any of those who have been most celebrated for their resplendent oratorical powers.

"The removal of such a character from amongst us, of one who was endowed with the greatest intellectual capacity, well instructed and long experienced in the knowledge of Christian truth, adorned with numerous excellencies and with virtues of the most heroic cast, chosen by divine Providence to reform the church of God, and cherishing for all of us a truly paternal affection—the removal, I say, of such a man demands and justifies our tears. We resemble orphans bereft of an excellent and faithful father; but while it is necessary to submit to the will of heaven, let us not allow the memory of his virtues and his good offices to perish. He was an important instrument in the hands of God of public utility; let us diligently study the truth he taught, imitating in our humble situations his fear of God, his faith, the intensity of his devotions, the integrity of his ministerial character, his purity, his careful avoidance of seditious counsel, his ardent thirst of knowledge. And as we frequently meditate upon the pious examples of those illustrious guides of the church, Jeremiah, John the Baptist and Paul, whose histories are transmitted to us, so let us frequently reflect upon the doctrine and course of life which distinguished our departed friend. Let the present vast assembly now unite with me in grateful thanks and fervent supplications, saying in the spirit of ardent devotion—'We give thanks to thee, Almighty God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and founder of thy church, together with thy co-eternal Son and the Holy Spirit, wise, good, merciful, just, true, powerful and sovereign, because thou dost gather a heritage for thy Son, from amongst the human race, and dost maintain the ministry of the gospel, and hast now reformed thy church by means of Luther; we present our ardent supplications that thou wouldst henceforth preserve, fix, and impress upon our hearts the doctrines of truth, as Isaiah prayed for his disciples; and that by thy Holy Spirit thou wouldst enflame our minds with a pure devotion, and direct our feet into the paths of holy obedience!'

"As the removal of illustrious men from the church, is frequently a means of punishing their survivors, such of us as are entrusted with the office of tuition, myself personally, and all of us collectively, entreat you to reflect upon the present calamities that threaten the whole earth. Yonder, the Turks are advancing, here, civil discord threatens, and there, other adversaries released at last from the apprehension of Luther's censures, will proceed with a perverse ingenuity, and with increased boldness to corrupt the genuine truth. That God may avert these evils, let us be more diligent in the regulation of our lives and studies, always retainind a deep impression of this sentiment in our minds, that as long as we maintain, hear, obey, and love the pure doctrines of the gospel, God will always have a church and a dwelling place among us. 'If,' said Jesus Christ, 'a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' John xv. 23. Encouraged by this ample promise, let us be stimulated to inculcate the truth of heaven, knowing that the church will be the preservation of the human race, and the security of established governments; and let us constantly elevate our minds to that future and eternal state of being, to which God himself calls our attention, who has not given so many witnesses, nor sent his Son into the world in vain, but delights in the communication of these magnificent blessings. Amen."

Melancthon composed the following tributary lines to the memory of Luther:

Occidit omnigena venerandus laude Lutherus
Qui Christum docuit non dubitante fide
Ereptum deflet vero hunc ecclesia luctu
Cujus erat doctor, verius, imo pater.
Occidit Israel præstans auriga Lutherus
Quem mecum sanus lugeat omnis homo
Nunc luctumque suum lacrymoso carmine prodat
Hoc etenim orbatos flere, dolore decet.

Luther, illustrious name! is now no more;—
Let the true church with streaming eyes deplore

A TEACHER firm in faith—nay, rather say
A FATHER, from his children snatch'd away.
Luther is gone—the pilot of our course:
O let the tearful Muse his name rehearse—
Let all the pious join with me to mourn,
Orphans should thus bedew a father's urn.

The sympathizing heart will naturally linger upon the affecting consideration of Luther's decease. It was the earthly termination of an uninterrupted and unusual intimacy of nearly TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS with Philip Melancthon. To judge of the survivor's feelings requires either a mind of remarkable sensibility, or the experience of a similar loss. This deprivation of Luther's valuable counsels, and friendly reproofs, of his consoling sympathy amidst the trials of life, and of his directing wisdom amidst the peculiar difficulties incident to the circumstances of the age in which they lived, must have inflicted a deep and lasting pang. Their attachment, founded on principle, was so completely mutual, that they were become almost necessary to each other. The agony of separation, therefore, must have been exquisite:—

"O the soft commerce! O the tender ties,
Close twisted with the fibres of the heart!
Which, broken, break them, and drain off the soul
Of human joy, and make it pain to live—
And is it then to live? When *such* friends part,
'Tis the *survivor* dies———"
Young's Night Thoughts, 5.

I said it was the *earthly* termination of their intimacy, for religious friendship can never, never end. If the soul of man be immortal, and if, as seems more than probable, it will carry with it into another world those principles of action, those modes of thinking, those characteristic qualities, which constituted each one's individuality and very being upon earth, then the connections of time will be perpetuated amidst the raptures of eternity. For though distances and separations are incident to the condition of the present life, it neither comports with our ideas of the benevolence of the Deity, nor with the representations of Scripture, nor indeed with our most ennobling desires and hopes, to suppose these imperfections of our temporal destiny will attach to our future existence. And not only will the recollection of past friendship endear our future intercourse, but the superiority of our celestial character, acquired by a nearer and more constant approach to the source of light and holiness, will infinitely purify it. Friendship founded on just principles arises from the perception of moral excellence, associated with any other striking or attractive qualities, besides a consciousness of some natural similarity of taste or character; it must be allowed, therefore, that the increase of what constitutes the principle of mutual attraction, will necessarily produce a proportionate increase of attachment. If moral excellence be now esteemed in its present imperfect degree and degraded state, associated as it is with glaring defects, dwarfish in its growth, irregular in its shape and full of infirmity, unquestionably it will prove hereafter in its maturity and glory, a stronger bond of union. And because every principle and faculty is capable of continual improvement, and will hereafter, under happier circumstances, admit of more rapid increase, and more extensive augmentation, than at present, the friendship of another world may be considered as everlastingly progressive, and, from the constitution of celestial spirits, indissoluble.

The conduct of Melancthon and Luther to each other, affords an admirable illustration of the true *basis* of religious friendship. They were not perfectly *agreed*, but they were perfectly *united*. Mutual forbearance admitted the free exercise of an independent mind, and secured the rights of conscience and the purity of principle. Societies have been distracted, families divided, and even empires convulsed, from the existence of differences in religious sentiment or practice, far less considerable than those which subsisted between these eminent friends. They knew each other, and did not allow the whirlwinds of a temporary passion to dissipate feelings founded on the best principles, and cherished by an unreserved intercourse. There were many who at different times endeavored to divide them, by fomenting discord, in order to gain their respective influence and authority to some other party or interest: but they were too confident in each other, and too well persuaded of the magnitude of the cause which claimed their mutual co-operation and incessant efforts, to be cajoled into disagreement. If, therefore, our friendships were formed upon more solid principles of union than they frequently are, it is obvious they would prove more satisfactory, more beneficial and more permanent. In all our religious intercourse, it would be wise to aim at securing the essentials of Christianity, rather than to be solicitous of accomplishing what is notoriously impossible, a perfect agreement in points of inferior consideration. The pious Baxter has admirably remarked, "Were we all bound together by a confession or subscription of the true fundamentals, and those other points that are next to fundamentals only, and there took up our Christianity and unity, yielding to each other a freedom of differing in smaller or more difficult points, or in expressing ourselves in different terms, and so did live peaceably and lovingly together, notwithstanding such differences, as men that all knew the mysteriousness of divinity, and the imperfection of their own understandings, and that here we know but in part, and therefore shall most certainly err and differ in part, what a world of mischief might this course prevent? I oft think on the examples of Luther and Melancthon. It was not a few things that they differed in, nor such as would now be accounted small, besides the imperious harshness of Luther's disposition, as Carlosladt could witness, and yet how sweetly and peaceably and lovingly did they live together, without any considerable breach or disagreement. As Mel. Adamus says of them, 'Etsi tempora fuerunt ad distractiones proclivia hominumque levitas dissidiorum cupida tamen cum alter alterius vitia nosset, nunquam inter eos simultas extitit ex qua animorum alienatio subsecuta sit;'—so that their agreement arose not hence, that either was free from faults or error, but knowing each other's faults, they did more easily bear them. Certainly if every difference in judgment in matters of religion should seem intolerable or make a breach in affection, then no two men on earth must live together, or tolerate each other, but every man must resolve to live by himself, for no two on earth but differ in one thing or other, except such as take all their faith upon trust, and explicitly believe nothing at all. God hath not made our judgments all of a complexion no more than our faces, nor our knowledge all of a size any more than our bodies; and methinks they that be not resolved to be any thing in religion, should be afraid of making the articles of their faith so numerous, lest they should shortly become heretics themselves, by disagreeing from themselves; and they should be afraid of making too strict laws for those that differ in judgment in controvertible points, lest they should shortly change their judgments, and so make a rod for their own backs; for how know they, in difficult disputable cases, but within this twelve-months, themselves may be of ano-

ther mind, except they are resolved never to change for fear of incurring the reproach of novelty and mutability; and then they were best resolve to study no more, or ever to be wiser. I would we knew at what age a man must receive this principle against changing his judgment. I am afraid lest at last they should teach it their children, and lest many divines did learn it too young: and if any besides Christ and his apostles must be standard and foundation of our faith, I would we could certainly tell who they are, for I have heard yet of none but the Pope or his general council expressly lay claim to the prerogative of infallibility, and I think there is few that have appeared more fallible."

The principal points of difference between Melancthon and Luther were three: 1. Melancthon thought that the ancient form of ecclesiastical government might be retained, on condition of not annulling the authority of Scriptural truth; to which Luther could not assent. 2. Melancthon conceived that Luther carried his doctrine respecting justification by faith only to such an extent as to nullify the importance and obligation of good works, so that his statements required explanation. 3. Melancthon appears to have differed from Luther in his opinion respecting the sacrament, particularly in the latter period of his life. He did not believe that the opinions of the Zuinglians ought to occasion a disunion among the reformers; but Luther was decided upon this point to his dying day. Maclaine very unnecessarily corrects Mosheim in his statement of this subject. It is obvious that *at first*, as Mosheim represents, "Melancthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the Eucharist," but in consequence of serious examination, his mind became enlightened, so that he admitted the scriptural idea by degrees, and towards the close of his life in his letters to Calvin, intimates his persuasion of the erroneous and idolatrous nature of the doctrine of consubstantiation. The character of Melancthon has been misunderstood on this as on other occasions. It has been intimated that an unwarrantable timidity prevented his avowing explicitly his opinions respecting the sacrament. It is true it *did* arise from his apprehension lest such an avowal should inflame discord and injure the great and general cause of the reformation. But whether this apprehension were well or ill founded, or whether such a policy were justifiable or unjustifiable, and we are by no means prepared to defend it, such *was* Melancthon's *real principle* of action, and not any mean timidity or fear of personal danger or suffering. If this concealment for the sake of peace had really involved him in personal suffering instead of shielding him from it, it is due to the greatness of his character and the conscientious scrupulousness of his mind, to believe he would nevertheless have adhered to it.

It was not from personal considerations only that Melancthon felt the bitterness of his bereavement in the death of Luther; he was sensible of the public loss, and of the great and daily increasing difficulties of his own situation. Political affairs had never yet assumed so alarming an appearance, and they became almost identified with ecclesiastical ones, owing to the conspicuous part which was acted by the most distinguished of the German princes. Though during the past ten years he had been called to take the lead in most of the public transactions relative to religion, having been employed to write every thing that was to be written, and to do almost every thing that was to be done, yet he had constantly profited by his unreserved familiarity with Luther, with whom he consulted and corresponded on every occasion. Now he was required to act in a great measure alone, and in consequence of his rare merit as a divine and a scholar, which had acquired him a high reputation in every country of Europe, he became at once elevated to an undisputed pre-eminence amongst the leading reformers of the age.

The zealous efforts of Bucer to unite the Swiss and German churches by an agreement on the subject of the sacrament having been defeated by Luther's determined hostility, his death seemed to furnish a favorable opportunity for the accomplishment of this long-projected reconciliation. Melancthon and his followers were known to be extremely solicitous of this union, and were disposed to go to the utmost length which their consciences would permit to extinguish the flame of discord. The high mutual esteem subsisting between Bucer and John Calvin, the celebrated Pastor and Professor of Divinity at Geneva, appeared to facilitate this design. Anxious to promote Bucer and Melancthon's views, Calvin proposed a mode of explaining the subject, which, while it denied the corporeal presence, allowed a divine virtue and efficacy communicated by Christ with the bread and wine of the sacrament to those who partook of it with a lively faith and integrity of heart: but he has been generally censured by Protestants for making unwarrantable concessions for the sake of peace. The fair prospect, however, soon became obscured, in consequence of the occupation of Melancthon in other violent controversies to be mentioned hereafter, which left him no leisure for that co-operation with Calvin which probably might have produced the happiest results; and still more on account of the intemperate zeal of Joachim Westphal, pastor of the church at Hamburg, who both adopted the sentiments and manifested the too uncharitable spirit of Luther.

The Pope and the Emperor were now resolved to accomplish the ruin of the Protestants. The council of Trent decreed, that the apocryphal writings should be received as of equal authority with the books which the Jews and primitive Christians admitted into the sacred canon, that the traditions of the church should be equally regarded with the doctrines and precepts of the inspired apostles, that the Vulgate translation should be read in the churches, and deemed authentic and canonical: and that all who disputed these truths were anathematized in the name of the Holy Ghost. By this means they aimed a deadly blow at the very root and principle of Protestantism; and the Pope soon afterwards exhibited a striking proof of his disposition to exterminate it root and branch. Availing himself of the appeal of the canons of Cologne against their archbishop, he convicted him of heresy, and issued a bull by which he was deprived of his ecclesiastical dignity, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance to him as their prince. There was no reason to doubt the concurrence of the Emperor in this sentence, who was maturing the most deep-laid schemes for the subversion of the Protestant faith, under an impenetrable veil of dissimulation. In the month of March he contrived to have an interview with the Landgrave of Hesse, who was more suspicious of his design than any of the other confederates, and he made such professions of attachment to the interests of Germany, and of his dislike to violent measures, stoutly denying that he was engaged in any military preparations, that the Landgrave, cajoled by his plausibility, dismissed his own apprehensions, and quieted the fears of the Smalcaldian confederacy.

At length public affairs were brought to such a crisis, that the Emperor and the Protestants were at open war. No decisive superiority was acquired on either side during the autumn of 1546; but Maurice Duke of Saxony, and uncle to John Frederic, by an act of perfidy as strange and unnatural as al-

most any transaction recorded in the annals of history, for the purpose of gratifying a mean and most detestable ambition, invaded the Electoral dominions under the Imperial promises that he should possess them, in consequence of which the Elector was necessitated to retreat homewards. He was eagerly pursued by the Emperor and eventually defeated and taken prisoner, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1547, at Muhlberg on the Elbe. The Landgrave of Hesse was induced by the infamous Maurice to throw himself upon the clemency of the Emperor, under an express stipulation for his liberty, which availed nothing when self-interest and policy dictated another act of imperial treachery.

During the progress of this war the University of Wittemberg suffered a temporary dissolution. In the month of November 1546, the students were dismissed, and Melancthon with his wife and family retired to Zerbst, in the principality of Anhalt, the residence of the princes of Anhalt-Zerbst. He was afterwards invited to the offices of Theological and Philosophical professor at Jena, whither some of the princes attempted to collect again the scattered members of the University; but nothing could detach his mind from the beloved scene of his early labors and most endeared associations, and he returned to Wittemberg. His name was a sufficient attraction, and recalled the greater part of the fugitives. The lectures recommenced in October, and he successively directed the attention of his students to the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians and to the Proverbs of Solomon. The new-made Elector who had so unworthily usurped his present dignities and possessions, requested him to repair to Leipsic in 1547, to deliberate upon the constitution of an academy and the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, but on many accounts he chose to decline the honor of this invitation. Maurice, as a matter of course, fully concurred in the Emperor's proposal at a Diet held at Augsburg, soon after the captivity of John Frederic and the imprisonment of the Landgrave of Hesse, to refer the decision of all religious disputes to the long projected council of Trent. It was also easy for his Imperial Majesty, with a formidable army at hand, to overawe the majority of the assembly into a similar concurrence. Swords are very powerful arguments, and a man may legislate as he pleases when they are drawn in his defence. The purpose however was not answered. The plague was said to infest the city, the consequence of which was the removal of the council to Bologna, which proved in effect its dissolution. Anxious to devise some method to preserve a religious tranquillity, the politic Charles commanded Julius Pflug, bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius and John Agricola, of Eisleben, to draw up a temporary rule of faith and worship for the use of both parties. This was called the INTERIM, because it was professedly appointed only for the period of time which might elapse previous to the assembling of a general council. It contained all the essential doctrines of the church of Rome, though veiled under artful and ambiguous modes of expression. It was promulgated at Augsburg with the greatest solemnity, and afterwards enforced by the Imperial sword.*

The deplorable consequences resulting from this attempt of Charles to legislate for the faith of those whose consciences were proof against the attacks of imperial power, and who resolved like some of the earliest heroes in the same field to obey God rather than men, are thus represented by Melancthon: "Upwards of four hundred pastors in Suevia and the circles of the Rhine are driven from their stations. There is but a single officiating minister at this moment at Tubingen who conforms to the book published at Augsburg; it has had the effect of driving away all the preachers and pastors. It is truly astonishing therefore, that Agricola should persist in promising in consequence of this publication, another golden age, when it evidently ruins such a multitude of churches, and so many pious and learned men with their families are gone into voluntary exile."

Agricola was liberally rewarded by the Emperor and by Ferdinand; and Sidonius obtained the bishopric of Mersburg in Saxony. This furnished occasion for a common joke being passed upon them, "that they only defended the Popish Chrism and Oil as being necessary to salvation, that they might come off the better greased themselves."

The new and perfidious Elector, notwithstanding his obligations to his equally perfidious patron, hesitated in dubious neutrality respecting the adoption of the Interim until the year 1548, when he assembled the Saxon nobility and clergy at Leipsic to assist him in forming a proper determination. Melancthon attended no fewer than SEVEN conferences upon this subject, and wrote all the pieces that were presented as well as the censures which were passed upon the different divisions of that imperial creed.

This was a very critical period in his life. It will be necessary to examine it with attention and to dwell upon it with some minuteness of detail, in order to afford the reader ample materials for the due appreciation of his character. Not only was Melancthon perpetually exposed to the vilest calumny, but all his conduct and words were misrepresented to the Emperor, and plots were laid against his life. The fury of party was raging to cut him off at a stroke, but he was preserved amidst the danger, and survived the tempest. The Emperor even sent to summon him into his immediate presence, but Maurice himself became his advocate and protector.

The divines of Wittemberg and Leipsic assembled upon the subject of the Interim successively at Begy, Zell, and Juterbock, whither Agricola was sent by the Elector of Brandenburg to meet them. The result of these deliberations was the publication of a book written by Melancthon, and of a decree founded upon it respecting the observance of things of an indifferent nature. The Emperor being anxious to enforce his own creed, and Maurice, though a Protestant, not to displease him to whom he had been so highly indebted, consulted the Protestant leaders, especially Melancthon, respecting the extent to which concessions might be made with a safe conscience, in order to avoid the extremes of servility and violent opposition. In reviewing the Interim it was thought this conciliating medium might be discovered in the omission of some practices and opinions, while the essentials of Christianity were retained. The volume referred to, contained a particular statement of such articles.

As this publication and the *Adiaphoristic Controversy* resulting from it became a fruitful source of

* Among a variety of other articles, the Interim affirms "that works of supererogation are to be commanded: that the church hath the power of interpreting Scripture; that the Pope is head of the church by virtue of the prerogative granted to Peter; that by confirmation and chrism the Holy Ghost is received; that extreme unction is to be administered; that the sacrament is a sacrifice, and that in it we are to celebrate the memory of saints, that they may intercede with God the Father with us, and help us by their merits: that we must pray to God for the dead; that in every town and every church two masses a day at least be said, that in country parishes and villages one, especially on holidays; that on Easter Eve and Whitsunday Eve the water in the font be consecrated."

the most envenomed disputes, in which Melancthon was represented as having abandoned the truth through excessive timidity or servile compliance, and as ecclesiastical writers have by their representations perpetuated this unfavorable impression to the present hour, it is incumbent on a faithful biographer either candidly to avow the fatal blemish, or by an impartial examination of authentic documents, to remove these false impressions, if the aspersed character be indeed capable of vindication. The reader will admit that the first and most direct means of ascertaining the fact, is an appeal to Melancthon's own reply to the Interim: we shall therefore extract its statements on those topics in particular which occasioned the clamors of his most violent adversaries; and they will prove amply sufficient to furnish his defence.

"If we deny and persecute acknowledged truth, we blaspheme God, an unpardonable sin, from which we pray that he would graciously defend us. And although threatened with war and destruction, we must still adhere to the word of God, and not deny acknowledged truth. As to the *danger* incurred by the defence of what is preached in our churches and we know to be truth, *we will entrust the affair to God.*

"As the articles in the Interim are various, some right and some wrong, some in which all pious persons concur, and some otherwise, *we will plainly avow our convictions, not rejecting what is true out of caprice or violence, nor allowing what is obviously erroneous.*

"The first three articles respecting the creation and fall of man, original sin, and the redemption of the world through Jesus Christ we fully admit; but to the fourth on justification we object: because it states that a man is justified or made righteous by the exercise of love, as a work, a sentiment which is afterwards repeated, for a man is righteous before God and pleases him for the sake of Christ and through faith in his name. And though the Emperor's publication states in some places that a man becomes righteous through faith; the meaning evidently is, that faith is a preparation of the heart beforehand, and that afterwards a man is rendered righteous by the work of love. It asserts also the obnoxious principle that there may be true faith although a man live with an evil conscience and have no love, and that love constitutes a meritorious title to eternal life. So that according to these representations a man is justified and pleases God by his own works, a doctrine long ago taught by monks and friars. The truth is, although we must possess love and a good conscience, yet we are justified before God, or please him through our Saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ, FOR HIS SAKE ALONE and through faith in him, but by no means on account of our own merit or virtue.

"At the same time we diligently teach the necessity of deep repentance, sincere love, and a good conscience, because 'he that loveth not abideth in death.' But we must cleave to Jesus the Mediator and seek the communication of every grace through him, for 'in thy sight,' to adopt the language of the Psalmist, 'can no man living be justified;' and again, 'for thy *name's sake*, O Lord, pardon mine iniquities.' When in our necessities we supplicate the Throne of Grace, it becomes us to be humbled under a sense of our misery and our guilt, and to implore consolation through him who is our Great Peace-maker. 'Being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"To prove that this is the original and immutable principle in the church of God in all ages, St. Paul refers to the example of Abraham, declaring that 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness;' that is, although Abraham was distinguished for his great and eminent virtues, yet his righteousness *before God* whom he pleased, consisted in his faith in the promises which were graciously vouchsafed to him.

"There are many points relative to the order and power of the bishops which we cannot but oppose--but as these remarks are general, and the language is often ambiguous, we advise our most gracious prince not to animadvert much upon this article. The church is a congregation or assembly of persons who possess real faith in Christ, and no man ought to separate himself from the *true* church: but the question is who compose it?—Separation from the church is charged upon us as a crime of the greatest magnitude; but if the adversaries of truth continue obstinate, and thus occasion discord and debate, surely *they* are guilty before God, and not the poor pious souls who receive or preach it. 'If,' says Paul, 'an angel from heaven preach any other gospel let him be accursed'—but there exist at the present moment many grievous errors and abuses under the authority of the Roman Pontiff, which even the book of the Interim itself has denounced, but which the councils of Trent and Bonony have advocated. If the bishops would induce us to obey them it must be upon this condition, that they do not persecute the truth, nor re-establish the impious ceremonies. God has graciously explained his mind and will in his Scriptures: THESE WE MUST HEAR AND RECEIVE, and not as in worldly kingdoms be made to submit to the expositions of some one man who is empowered to give them at his own pleasure.

"Our churches practise those ceremonies which conduce to good order, and if any person imagine there is any thing in such indifferent things which with the good advice of those who regulate the church, appears calculated to promote uniformity or good order we will readily assist, for on this subject we will not contend. We are indifferent whether men eat flesh or fish. As to prayers and hymns addressed to departed saints, I have before said they are inadmissible; the same may be said of processions of the sacrament. It is also well known to our adversaries, that private masses, invocation of saints, and the procession, with other practices, if they might admit of some excuse or extenuation, are however both needless and dangerous, and the re-establishment of them in our churches, will strengthen the monstrous errors and abuses of our adversaries; and they know also that that offence will deeply grieve many pious men and occasion much persecution, proscription, imprisonment, and perhaps the murder of priests and others.

"Let the potentates and rulers consider, amidst the alarms of war now prevalent, what they will and what they ought to do in this affair, for the defence of the church. AS FOR MYSELF, I AM READY BY THE GRACE OF GOD TO DEPART HENCE, AND IF NEED BE, TO SUFFER.

"We have been lately written to, and admonished not to preach, teach or write against this Interim, but necessity compels us to say thus much with all humility of mind, that we will not alter in what we have hitherto taught in our churches; for *no creature possesses power or authority to change the word of God*, and it is at every one's peril to deny or forsake the known truth. As therefore this Interim is opposed in many of its articles to the truth we have advocated, we feel it necessary to publish, in a Christian spirit, an explicit answer; *the danger incurred by this measure, we cheerfully face, committing all to the eternal God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.* And as of his infinite goodness, he has gathered to himself a church in these realms, by means which surpass the wisdom and thoughts of all men, we earnestly pray that he will always

upnold, preserve, and place it under a good and righteous superintendency."

This performance was translated into English as soon as it issued from the German press, by one John Rogers, and as it is a curious piece of antiquity, we insert the translator's preface, entire. It is not only amusing, but elucidatory of the present subject.

"Because I with great griefe have nowe often heard, most dere Reader, that the highly learned and no lesse godly, jentle and loving man Phillip Melancthon is highlye belyed, in that a great sorte openlye saye that he hath denyed the trueth or, that I maye use their owne wordes, recanted; whiche thyng they saye onely to hyndre the furtherance of God's trueth, I coulde do no lesse but turne into our Englyshe speache and also put out this little treatise of his: not so muche for the defence of his moste named and knowen fames sake, which he hath yet hitherto kepte undefiled, so that even the greatest enemyes of the gospell neither coulde nor have saied otherwise of hym, as for the confortyng of many godly and Christen heartes, whiche have bene not alytell dismayed and discouraged thorow suche lyes. And verely not without a cause, for his denying would do more harme to the trueth in these last and most perelouse tymes than any tongue or penne can expresse. And God of his goodnesse, bountefull mercye and great power, graunt that that never chaunce. At this tyme also thankes be to God therefore, he hath not onely not denyed the trueth but also after his olde accustomed Christen manier, plainelye confessed and acknowledged it: whiche thyng this his answere to the Interim, ynough witnesseth.

"And although this his writing be shorte and answere not to al the poyntes of the Interim, for that would aske great labor and long tyme, yet it playnely answereth to the greetest misuses, and to the very senowes of the Rome-bushops moste tyrannouse kyngdome contayned in that boke.

"He also sheweth tokens ynoughe in the booke that he will at leasure and largelier write upon manye poyntes thereof. I received also a letter with this treatise from a nother godly and learned man, wherein is writen that other and divers learned men in Dutchlande be in hand to shewe their meaning in writing as touchyng the same, so that we may be of muche better comforte then our Papistes would gladly se, yea then manye of the good and faithfull be, that that Interim will be wstanded and not so sone and easely receaved as the Papistes hope and many Christen feare. This I saie chiefelye caused me to putte out this litle boke at this time.

"But for that there be haply many that know not what that Interim meaneth, for some have not seen and some have nott harde of it, ye and the moste understande not the worde, as they that understand no Latine, or not very well, neede dryveth me to shewe bothe what it is and also the meanyng of the worde. Interim is a booke whiche was at the Emperowres Maiesties commandement prynted and put forth about the begynnyng of June, in this yere of our Saviours birthe 1548, wherein is commanded that al the cities in Dutchlande that have receaved the worde of God, and made a chaunge of ceremonys accordyng to the word shal reforme their churches agayne, and turne to the olde Popishe ordinaunces as a dog dothe to that he hathe spued out, or a washen swyne to the myre.

"Thus have ye harde what it is. Now heare what the word signifyeth or betokeneth.

"Interim is as muche to saye, as in the meane season or in the meane while. And therfore have they christened the childe and geven him this name because they wyll that we kepe all the thynges commanded and contayned in that booke, in the meane while from this highedutche parlament holden at Augsburg till there be a generall councell holden. There they thynke (but God sitteth above in heaven and thynketh haply otherwyse) to make that matter worsse. For because it had been an hastye worcke to have chaunged all thynges at once, they of their great (I had almost sayed) grevouse and mercilesse mercy have borne with us in two thynges, that is to saye, in the Maryage of Priestes and receiving of the communion in both the kindes. But how long forsoth?—*Interim*, that is in the meane while till the generall councell come. And thynke then to beare no longer with us, no nor with Christe himselfe, for then they thynke to be so strong, that neyther Christe himselfe nor all that wyll abyde by hym shall be able to withstande them. This is the meanyng of the worde in Englyshe.

"Unto this Interim and meaning thereof hathe thabove named Phil. Melancthon answered and writfen this present treatise, and sheweth to what thinges a Christen man maye agre, and which thynges may be chaunged and whiche not; in whiche treatise the reader shal well perceave that he nether hath denied the trueth that he hath thus longe taught and acknowledged, nor yet thinketh to do; whiche vertu and high gyfte of God, the Almighti Father of our Lord Jesus Christ increase in him and all the Christen to the honour and glory of his holy name, increase of his knowledge and saving of many soules.—Amen. *At London, in Edward Whitchurch House, by John Rogers*, 1. *Augusti*, 1548."

The affair of the Interim occupied the attention of several conventions in the year 1549, and Melancthon devoted a considerable share of his time, not only in these attendances, but in writing letters of advice, respecting indifferent things to the pastors of the various churches in Hamburg, Frankfort, Mansfeld, and the various districts of Upper and Lower Saxony. These interesting documents uniformly breathe the same pious and pacific spirit, mingled with their author's characteristic prudence. To the former of these churches, he very distinctly states his sentiments respecting what are denominated indifferent things. "We do not call magical consecrations, worshipping of images, the procession of the host, and other similar services openly condemned, both in our discourses and writings, nor such absurdities, as nocturnal visits to the tombs of saints, *indifferent things;* but they are shockingly multiplied either for the purpose of provoking us, or with a crafty design to impose heavier burdens upon the pastors, and they do us an injury while they humor their own passions. There are many things appointed by the most ancient of churches, and conducive to the beauty of orderly worship and the instruction of the lower classes, as the order of festivals and of lessons, public assemblings, examination and absolution previous to the reception of the sacrament, certain rites in public penitence, examination in confirming, public ordination to the ministry of the gospel, public betrothing to the marriage, the form of prayers used in nuptial ceremonies, and funeral orations over the dead."

One of the first and most virulent of all the opponents of Melancthon at this period, was Matthias Flacius, or Flaccus Illyricus. He was a native of Albona, in Istria, and in the year 1541, he went to Wittemberg, where he became a disciple of Luther and Melancthon, and afterwards taught Greek and Hebrew for a subsistence. He was treated with the utmost kindness and liberality by Melancthon, and in 1544, through his and Luther's influence, he obtained a public employment in the university.

During the period of dispersion, which the scholars suffered in consequence of the war, he resided at Brunswick, and delivered lectures, which acquired him considerable reputation, but afterwards returned to Wittemberg in 1547. When the controversies arose respecting the Interim, he retired to Magdeburg, which was at that time put under the ban of the empire. He is represented as a man of excellent talents, great wit, and extensive learning, but turbulent, furious, and of a most contentious disposition.

Flacius at first ventured only upon the private circulation of some sarcastic misrepresentations of the meetings of the divines of Wittemburg; but afterwards he openly slandered them, although he had no certain information of the subjects of their conferences. Melancthon was blameably negligent of his private papers, and would often confess it to his friends, particularly Camerarius, who remonstrated with him upon the subject. Flacius by this means surreptitiously obtained possession of copies of several of his letters and other writings, and considering himself sufficiently armed for a more public attack, he first united himself with some of Melancthon's bitterest enemies, Gallus, Amsdorff, Wigand, Judex, Faber, and others: then published at Magdeburg, a variety of slanders against him and all his party, advising every one to avoid them as the very pests of the church. He had the audacity to proclaim himself as "the only true prophet, teacher, and defender of the religious interests of the Christian community, and admonished every one to observe the evil consequences resulting from their secret assemblies and conferences—that now there was an end to all pure religion—that gospel liberty was betrayed—that they were returned to the once rejected yoke of Papal domination—and that the poor flock of Christ was recommended again to the mitred bishops." To prove these charges, he published a copy of the decree of Leipsic, and other minor writings which had been proposed to the states, and compared these with the book of the Interim. He distorted every sentence, and by artful misrepresentations, endeavored to persuade every one that the different articles of the decree contained the most deadly poison. In addition to this he declared, "that the forms of the church ought to be constantly maintained inviolate, without allowing the smallest alteration according to the appointments of the Interim, and that if the Emperor or the Papists should molest any one, it would be proper to resort to arms for defence."

After some time, Melancthon having patiently borne every reproach, wrote a reply to these statements, which merits insertion, not only on account of the excellent spirit which pervades it, but because it effectually refutes the misrepresentations of Mosheim and his learned commentator. It is dignified, pious and solid.

"As it ought to be every one's principal concern to know and worship God aright, and as he has revealed himself in his church, inviting all to hear his voice and to fly to the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is represented by Isaiah as "set up for a standard to the people," (Chap. xlix. 22,) it is of the utmost importance amidst this general confusion of mankind, wisely to consider and to inquire what constitutes the true church, and where it is to be found; that wherever we are, we may form a part of it by adopting the principles of the true faith, and connecting ourselves with the people of God. This church is dispersed throughout the world, but is distinguishable from the impious part of mankind by infallible signs; for such as maintain the truth of the gospel, and the proper use of the sacraments, to the rejection of idolatrous services, constitute, *wherever situated*, the true church of God, and may be satisfactorily distinguished from others, by their reception of the Scriptures.

"Amidst the wreck of empires and the dispersion of their subjects, good men possess this consolation, that wherever they hear the incorruptible word of truth, and witness the legitimate use of sacraments, the rejection of idolatry, and of those errors which oppose the commands of Jesus Christ, there they feel confident of having discovered the true church, there is the family of God, there he is present by the ministry of the gospel, there the supplications of faith are heard, there the genuine worship of God is conducted, and there the Son of God gathers an eternal inheritance. 'Where two or three,' said he, 'are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' Mat. xviii. 20.

"In periods of public dissension, we have need of these consoling sentiments, and I have introduced them here, because our churches, which know the importance of these considerations, are at this moment exceedingly disturbed by numerous clamors. The same doctrine is taught in them as is proclaimed in our writings: the sacraments continue unaltered: errors in faith and images in worship, as our books sufficiently testify, are discarded.

"But Flacius Illyricus exclaims that our doctrine is changed, and that we have restored certain ceremonies which had been abolished. Let us examine these charges; and *first*, concerning *doctrine*. The instructions of all the public teachers in our churches and seminaries, at once refute this calumny, and to avoid any prolix statement, let me refer to what I have written in the volume entitled, 'Loci Communes Theologici,' which is in many hands, and in which I did not aim to establish a new faith, but accurately to represent that which was common to all our churches, as exhibited in the confession of Augsburg, presented in 1530, to the Emperor, which I consider the invariable sentiments of the true universal church of Christ; a statement I wish to be understood as having written without sophism, and without any calumnious intention. I am conscious of having compiled that epitome of doctrine, not for the purpose of seeking to differ from others, not for the mere love of novelty, not from a desire of controversy, nor from any other base or unworthy motive: but circumstances required it. When in the first inspection of the churches we had to encounter a variety of reproaches from ignorant persons, I published in a compressed form, a summary of doctrine which Luther had delivered in volumes of discourses and expositions, and studied a mode of expression which might conduce to accuracy of views in those who were taught, and to general unanimity; always submitting what was written to the judgment of our churches, and of Luther himself, whose opinions on many points I particularly inquired, and copies of whose writings are in the possession of many. I now call God to witness my profession of this doctrine, which, as I have already stated, I am satisfied perfectly coincides with that of the universal church of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his assistance I resolve to bring this confession into general use in the church. This I mention lest any one should reproach me for hindering the faith of others by my own doubts.

"In the next place, it is requisite to offer a few words of reply to the charge respecting *ceremonies*. I certainly could have wished, especially in the present afflictive circumstances, that the churches should not have been disturbed by any change, but if such be the case, it does not originate with me. But I confess that I have persuaded the people of Franconia and others not to abandon their churches on account of any service with which they could comply without impiety. For although Flacius cries out vehemently that the churches had better

be deserted, and the princes alarmed by the fear of sedition, I should not choose to be the author of such wretched advice. It is plain that we must endure much greater burdens in the cause of literature and religion than mere dress—as the hatred of the great, the insolent contempt of the populace, the malevolence of hypocritical friends, the dissensions of the priesthood, poverty, persecution, and other evils which accompany even a quiet government; but these turbulent times produce many greater miseries.

"But as we must not desert our posts on this account, we may sustain lighter servitude if it can be done with a good conscience. The distressing situation of the present times, in which there are such divisions in sentiment and affection, seem to me to require that these oppressed churches should be comforted and strengthened by all the aids that piety can afford, and that we should take care that the most important doctrines should be faithfully explained and transmitted to posterity, and that the universities be supported as the depositories of general literature.

"The representation of Flacius, respecting somebody, who I know not, having reported, that I have declared we ought not to withdraw from the churches, although the ancient abuses should be reinstated, is absolutely false.

"Now mark this crafty man; in order to excite suspicion and inflame hatred, he produces many sentences dropped in familiar discourse, which he calumniously misinterprets, and also attributes sayings to others of his own invention, that he might appear not only to have witnesses, but agents at his command. Nor have I ever thought or said what he falsely imputes to me, that we ought to remain in those churches in which old errors are restored, mass invocation of saints, and other impious services which we have condemned in our publications. I do openly declare that such idolatrous rites should neither be practised nor endured: and that students may be the better instructed in every particular, I have explained the occasions and origin of controversy with great care and labor.

"Here if I were inclined to indulge my grief, I might justly complain of Flacius, who circulates such falsehoods to my detriment, and might detail the origin of those distresses which overwhelm the whole church, explaining those circumstances which tend to strengthen the boldness and confirm the power of our adversaries against the truth. But I am unwilling to open these wounds, and I beseech these advocates of liberty to allow me and others, at least to endure our afflictions in peace, and not excite more cruel dissensions.

"He boasts that he will be the advocate of the pristine state of things. If by this expression he refers to particular empires and governments, and confines the church only to its own walls, his idea is very incorrect; for the church is scattered abroad in various kingdoms, publishing the incorruptible word of the gospel, and serving God by the tears and groans of genuine worship. But as he states, he was once so familiarly acquainted with me, he could testify my pains and sorrows and zealous care. We lament the disturbed state of public affairs and of kingdoms, nor do we ask for garrisons and ramparts of defence, but in our churches we publish the gospel of truth, serving God in the knowledge and faith of his Son, and aiming to the best of our feeble efforts to promote the literary pursuits of our youth, and the preservation of discipline. If this advocate of the primitive state of things can restore this golden age to our churches, let him triumph as much as he will.

"Why he should particularly attack me, who have never offended him, as Marius did Antonius, I know not, for he is aware that I have been always opposed to the corruptions of religion, and have censured the prevailing errors. Now he says I have encouraged them, because it has been my advice not to quit the churches on account of a surplice or any thing of that kind. If dissension arises on these subjects, the commandments respecting charity, should not be forgotten, especially as he knows our great afflictions, and that we neither seek dominion nor wealth. We should not imitate the example of worldly disputants whose impetuosity is often such as to exemplify the proverb, 'One serpent eats another lest it should become a dragon.' He now not only threatens to write against me, but to do something worse. I could wish that we rather cooperated to illustrate essential truth, for there are sources enough of contention; so that we should renounce our hostility and labor, a mode of proceeding more conducive to our personal advantage and that of the whole church, lest it should happen as Paul says, 'take heed that ye do not devour one another.' I shall frame my answers with a view to utility, and hope, that both by my writings and by the opinion of the pious, I am sufficiently defended against calumny. Many good and learned men in different places, are greatly grieved that the churches are so unjustly censured. But I recommend Flacius and others to consider, what will be the consequence if mutual animosities revive the quarrels of thirty years. How deplorable would this be!

"Whenever he reports his idle stories and things professedly spoken in familiar conversations, he shows what kind of regard he has for the confidence of friendship and the rights of social intercourse. We naturally unbosom ourselves with more freedom amongst our friends, and often I have myself in maintaining a discussion strongly opposed an opinion which I really embraced, not in joke, but for the purpose of obtaining information from the views of others.

"Many are acquainted with my natural turn of mind, and that I am prone rather to indulge in jocoseness, even in the midst of afflictions, than to any thing like sternness. To catch and circulate my words on these occasions, as he has done, is mean and unkind, to say no worse. But if, as in some parts of his letter he threatens me with the sword, any evil should occur, and destruction should befall this poor head, I will commend myself to Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord, who was crucified for us and raised again, who is the Searcher of hearts, and knows that I have inquired after truth with a careful simplicity of mind, not wishing either to gain factions and influence, or to indulge an unbridled curiosity. Nor has it been without great and diligent attention to the whole of Christian antiquity, that I have endeavored to unravel a variety of intricate questions, and to direct the studies of youth to important learning.

"But I will not speak of myself. In all civil dissensions I am aware that calamities are to be expected, the minds of men become inflamed, and I perceive Flacius prepared with his firebrands; but to God I commit my life, and his own true church here and in other places, respecting which I feel far more solicitous than of my own life. This, however, is my consolation, that God has promised his perpetual presence in the church, and his Son declares, 'Lo! I am with you always even to the end of the world.' He will preserve the people that maintain the doctrines of the gospel and that truly call upon his name; and I pray with the utmost fervor and importunity of soul that he would preserve his church in these regions.

"This brief reply to the clamors of Flacius, I have written, not so much on my own account as for the

sake of our churches in general, among whom many pious minds are deeply wounded by his writings. Let them be consoled by this assurance, that fundamental principles are faithfully retained in our churches; namely, the incorruptible ministry of the gospel, all the articles of faith and the use of the Christian sacraments without alteration. The Son of God it is most certain is present with such a ministry, and, as I have already said, hears the supplications of such an assembly. Adieu, candid reader. *October*, 1549."

It will be proper to subjoin to this defence the emphatic language he uses in an epistle to his friend Matthesius—"I trust you will not be influenced by the sycophantic writings of Flacius Illyricus, who invents absolute falsehoods. I have never *said*, I have never *written*, I have never *thought* what he declares I *have* said, respecting the phrase '*we are justified by faith only*;' namely, that it is absurd, and a kind of subtle trifling about words. I have indeed spoken and written many things respecting the manner in which the exclusive term is to be understood, as well as many others; and have been at great pains to correct the misinterpretations of many put upon the word *only*; but I propose replying to these virulent criminations."

If, in corresponding with his friends, Melancthon spoke of Flacius in very decided terms as a calumniator, we cannot feel much surprised; but that the flagrant misrepresentations of his adversary should have so deeply tinctured, as they have done, the accounts of distinguished historians, is truly deplorable. Even Mosheim and his commentator have obviously leaned to the unfavorable side of the subject; and rather perpetuated dishonorable impressions than carefully guarded his fame. The language of this great Reformer, which has been copiously quoted in the present work, is in itself sufficient to evince the nature of those principles by which he was actuated, and the extreme absurdity of charging him with tergiversation.

The Adiaphoristic controversy occasioned many other disputes, but we shall neither perplex our readers nor misspend our time by wandering into the briery wilderness of polemical divinity. To some of these debates, however, it will be proper briefly to allude, in relating the events of the time in which they were particularly agitated.

CHAPTER XII.

Articles prepared for the Council of Trent—Melancthon commences his journey thither—but returns, in consequence of Maurice changing his conduct, and declaring war against the Emperor—Peace of Passau—Plague—Withdrawment of the University of Wittemberg to Torgau—Osiander—Stancarus—Private afflictions—Meeting at Naumburg respecting the renewal of the ancient friendship subsisting between the houses of Saxony, Brandenburg and Hesse—Transactions relative to Servetus—John Frederic's release and death—Death of Maurice—Controversies—Persecutions of Flacius and his adherents—Melancthon's letters on the subject—Death of Jonas. 1550 to 1557.

In the year 1550, in consequence of the importunate entreaties of the Emperor, Pope Julius III. who had succeeded the departed Paul III. appointed a council to be held at Trent; and in the Diet of Augsburg all the German princes, overawed by the military attitude and resolute spirit of his Imperial Majesty, consented to this convention. The Elector Maurice was the least servile of any in this compliance, insisting upon these conditions, which, however, the archbishop of Mentz refused to enter in the registers, that doctrinal points should be re-examined and discussed—that this examination should be conducted in the presence of the Protestant divines—that they should have the liberty of *voting* as well as *deliberating*—and that the Pope should not preside in the proposed council, either in person or by his legates. Deeming it requisite to be fully prepared for the great occasion, Maurice commanded Melancthon to draw up an explicit statement of the principal articles of the Protestant faith, to be presented, if required, to the proposed council. A similar paper was written by Brentius in the name of the Wurtemburghers, and is called the *Confession of Wurtemburg*. When the former document was ready, the prince convened all the theologians at Leipsic, on the eighth of July, 1551, to hear it read and to deliberate upon its contents. It was unanimously approved, and published in Latin and German, in 1552, under the title of "Repetitio Augustanæ Confessionis, sive ut dicitur Confessio doctrinæ Saxonicarum ecclesiarum, Synodo tridentino oblata, anno 1551, in qua, christiane lector, videbis, quinam et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ gremio resilierint, et per quos stet, quominus ecclesiæ pia concordia sanciatur, 1552." This, which is called the *Saxonic Confession*, was received by the churches of Pomerania and Strasburg.

In the month of January, of the succeeding year, Melancthon began his journey to Trent. "Yesterday," says he, writing to George, prince of Anhalt, "I received letters from the court, containing the commands of our illustrious Elector, to George Major and myself to proceed to Nuremburg, where we are to wait further orders respecting our journey to the general council, the duke of Wurtemberg and the city of Strasburg having already sent their deputies. But as no particular instructions are given, I propose proceeding direct to Dresden, whence I will write to your highness. I sincerely wish the court would not disregard the advice which is approved by so many, that a general commission be sent, by common consent, to the council from the principal churches in the neighboring cities and districts. But I commend our cause to God." They were, however, directed to proceed only as far as Augsburg, till they received further instructions from prince Maurice for their future guidance. With this design they travelled to Nuremberg, where, in consequence of the high esteem in which Melancthon was held, they were received with the most marked distinction. They were lodged in a public building of the city, and every attention paid them which the most affectionate and solicitous benevolence could dictate. "'The day after our arrival at Nuremberg," says Melancthon, "which was on the twenty-second of January, I received a packet of letters, sent by Doctor Padornus, from the city of Trent, in which it was intimated that the answer to the application, for a (Papal) safe conduct was still delayed. I wrote immediately that we were come to Nuremberg, and requested to be informed whether and when we were to proceed to Trent. I have also notified our journey to our own court. At present I have received no reply from either. We have been already delayed ten days at Nuremberg, in total uncertainty respecting our future progress, whether or when we are to go forward. In the mean time many in this place distinguish us by the most officious kindness and attention. Sarcerius preaches publicly to great concourses of people, and I have delivered several lectures."

During this delay public affairs assumed such a posture as not only to stop the progress of Melancthon and his associates, but to place Germany in a new and interesting situation. The time was at length arrived when the secret motives which influenced the newly-created Elector of Saxony to a mysteriousness of conduct which often perplexed and astonished the Protestants, were at length fully developed. From the intimacy to which the Emperor had admitted him, he soon perceived his design of becoming the absolute dictator of Germany, and every act convinced Maurice that he was secretly rivetting on the chains of servitude, which his ambition had forged for his degraded country. He

had frequently petitioned for the release of the Landgrave of Hesse from imprisonment; to petitions he added remonstrances; but nothing could induce Charles to fulfil his engagements. Maurice was aware at the same time, that he was elevated to a commanding ascendancy among the Protestant princes, and the fairest prospects presented themselves for the gratification of his own eagerness for power and distinction. With the most consummate address he succeeded in retaining the fatal confidence of the Emperor while he deceived him, and in not losing entirely that of the Protestants, while he was necessitated in public to pursue a course which they must have often considered dangerous to their religion, if not subversive of their liberties. At length he prepared to strike the blow, by soliciting the protection of Henry II. king of France, who agreed to declare war against the Emperor, professedly for the sole purpose of emancipating the Landgrave of Hesse, as a Catholic prince could not unite with a Protestant association upon a religious account. Application was also made to the king of England, but the cabals incident to a court during a minority (it was the reign of Edward VI.) prevented that attention to foreign, and especially to religious affairs, which might otherwise have been expected. A last application for the liberty of the captive Landgrave was made in vain; Maurice still cajoled the Emperor, affected to be more than ever anxious to remove the difficulties which had arisen respecting a safe conduct to the Protestant divines, and, as we have seen, even commanded Melancthon to proceed on his journey to the council of Trent. He further intimated his intention of meeting his Imperial Majesty in person at Inspruck. Many rumors were beginning to circulate, but the Emperor and his confidential adviser, Granvelle, bishop of Arras, totally disregarded them; the sagacious minister and his imperial master being both lulled into a fatal security.

At length Maurice took up arms, and published a manifesto, in which he represented that the defence of the Protestant religion, the liberties of Germany, and the release of the Landgrave of Hesse from unjust imprisonment, were the principal motives of his conduct. The council of Trent was instantly prorogued for two years, but circumstances prevented its actually re-assembling for the space of ten. It is impossible not to perceive, in the infatuation of Charles V. and his advisers, and the political manœuvres resulting from the ambitious views and private resentments of the Elector Maurice, that superintending Providence, which, though it permitted a sea of troubles to flow in upon the Protestant cause, and almost to inundate the territories of religious Reformation for a time, appointed the happy moment when the tide should ebb, and Germany be free.

Melancthon in this extraordinary crisis willingly returned to Wittemberg, to resume his various duties both of a private and public nature. The city which had so welcomed his arrival, rendered him every honor upon his departure. "It would have been a very proper procedure," says he, writing to the Prince of Anhalt, "to have sent a general deputation from various churches to the council, as your Highness thought from the very first, but our advice on this subject, as your Highness knows, was afterwards disregarded. When therefore none of the princes or cities sent deputies, and no commands were given us except by the Elector of Saxony, I felt, I confess, the strongest disinclination to the journey; and when we could not proceed any further, I returned most willingly under the guidance of Providence to Wittemberg, although I was very much persuaded to remain in the country. Aware, indeed, that there were many unwise and evil-minded persons at Trent, I would nevertheless have gone had Germany continued in a state of tranquillity. Now distress forces me to return, or rather I judge it a very unseasonable period to be disputing concerning Pontifical authority, in a council, amidst the alarms of civil war."

The unprepared state of Charles and the vigorous activity of Maurice, combined with a variety of more private reasons which influenced the different powers of Germany, to produce the peace concluded in the month of August at Passau; in which, among other articles, it was stipulated that a Diet should be held within six months, to deliberate concerning the most effectual method of preventing in future all disputes in religion; that in the mean time neither the Emperor nor any other prince should upon any pretext whatever, offer injury or violence to such as adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, but allow them the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; that the formulary of faith called the Interim, should be considered null and void; and that if the proposed Diet should not be able to terminate religious disputes, the present stipulations in behalf of the Protestants shall continue in full force and vigor.

Amidst the desolations of war, Germany was destined also to suffer the ravages of the plague, in consequence of which the universities of Wittemberg and Leipsic were dispersed; but the former re-assembled under the auspices of Melancthon at Torgau, about twenty-two miles distant. He there engaged in delivering lectures on Justin Martyr, prepared a treatise "de unione personali," which does not appear to have been ever committed to the press, and published a refutation of Osiander, in the German language. He used to say that "he was not afraid of the plague which had driven them to Torgau, but he was really apprehensive on account of plagues of another kind, which infested the country and seemed to threaten its utter ruin."

Osiander was another of those virulent adversaries of Melancthon, which the conferences and publications on the subject of the Interim had produced. He was pastor of the church at Nuremberg, but retired on that occasion to a divinity professorship at Konigsberg. His character and his opinions were marked by eccentricity. He zealously propagated sentiments respecting repentance and justification, which differed essentially from the Lutheran doctrines, and consisted in subtle distinctions which it is needless to detail. Suffice it to remark, that Stancarus, professor of Hebrew at Konigsberg, undertook to refute his statements, but was hurried by his impetuosity into opposite extremes of doctrine. Osiander maintained that the *man* Christ, as a moral agent, was obliged to obey for *himself* the divine law, and therefore could not by the imputation of his obedience obtain *righteousness* or justification for *others*. Hence he inferred that the Saviour of the world was empowered by his nature *as God*, to make expiation for our sins, and reconcile us to the offended Deity. But Stancarus totally excluded Christ's *divine* nature from all concern in the *satisfaction* he made and in the *redemption* he procured, affirming that the office of Mediator between God and man belonged to Jesus in his human nature alone. Osiander was patronized by persons of considerable rank and influence, but his opinions did not long survive him.

These discussions engaged the attention of the most eminent of the Lutheran divines, and moved the powerful pen of Melancthon. In the year 1553, he says in a letter to his friend Camerarius, "I have written on the controversy of Stancarus in a manner by far inferior and more concise than the magnitude of the subject requires, but I was not willing to irritate an angry and choleric man." To Mat-

thesius he writes, "About eight days ago the Elector of Brandenburg sent for Pomeranus and myself to examine into the controversy of Stancarus, who contends that Christ is Mediator only in his human nature. But immediately afterwards, information arrived that the Elector's son was dead and his father ill; and thus at present our journey and the examination are postponed. Nevertheless I have written my solemn declaration, that Jesus Christ is to be viewed as Mediator, as he is our High-Priest in his united natures, divine and human. St. Ambrose maintains the same sentiment. The principal arguments for this truth I purpose sending at a future time. I beg you to notice for me any evidences on this subject which you may discover in reading the ancient fathers."

His reply to Stancarus exhibits a mind in search of truth, and maintaining that dignified and unruffled tranquillity which a consciousness of possessing it ought ever to inspire. He begins in a pious and conciliatory manner, deprecating all animosity in religious parties, and stating that as great contentions frequently originate in small beginnings, it was his anxious desire to remove rather than to enflame contention. He appeals most convincingly to every part of the New Testament, in proof of the impossibility of separating the two natures of Christ in the mediatorial transactions, because the Son of God in his entire nature became Mediator, Redeemer, Saviour, King and Priest of the church. He appeals also to the concurrent opinions of Chrysostom, Irenæus, Ambrose, Jerome, and the fathers generally, upon the same subjects.

Melancthon was at this period occupied with the care of the churches and academical establishments in Misnia. To him as the most competent director in every concern of this description, applications were usually made; and the very counsellors of princes were the first to seek his valuable advice. His plans were in this, as in most other cases, adopted.

His affectionate spirit was deeply grieved by the loss of several friends during the course of the year, and by trials in his family. "Domestic afflictions," says he, "are superadded to others. My servant John, remarkable for his fidelity and virtue, is called from the present life to the heavenly church; and now my wife is so extremely ill that nature seems overpowered by disease. But I pray the Son of God to grant us his presence and preserve us with his whole church, as I have often expressed it in the following verse:—

"Te maneat semper servante Ecclesia Christe
Insertosque ipsi nos tua dextra tegat;
Tres velut in flamma testes Babylonide servas
Rex ubi præsentem te videt esse Deum.

O Saviour, may thy church unhurt remain,
And all within thy kind protection share!
Like Israel's sons amidst Chaldean flame—
The king confessing that a God was there!—

A conference being appointed in the month of March, 1554, at Naumburg, in Thuringia, for the purpose of consolidating a union and renewing the ancient friendship that subsisted between the houses of Saxony, Brandenburg and Hesse; the different theologians, with Melancthon at the head of them, were summoned to attend. John Foster, a skilful Hebraist, accompanied him from Wittemberg;—Alexander Aless, to whom he was peculiarly attached on account of his excellent spirit, polemical knowledge, and accurate discernment, was deputed to join them from the university of Leipsic; Adam Craft, from Hesse, and John Sleidan, celebrated for his history of ecclesiastical affairs, from Strasburg. From this convention he writes to Camerarius, "Like the ancient Argonauts who stuck fast upon a quicksand, so I seem to be fixed amongst the numerous perplexities of this troublesome affair. When we arrived at the Court we were directed to give our opinion upon three things, the inspection of the churches, and the preparation of a formulary, as they call it, of instruction—the constitution of councils—and concerning the affairs of the academy in Misnia. Afterwards when no one had prepared a copy of such instructions as were required, I received orders to compose it, which though done upon the spur of the occasion, was read in the assembly the next day and approved. The pastor commented upon some things respecting your council; about the new academy I have given no advice. The pastor made some observations in a very free, ingenuous manner. The third day was consumed in contention with the dean of Friburg, who attacked in the severest terms, the good old pastor respecting the Adiaphoristic controversy. I have written a reply, which is incorporated in the letters of the prince to the Duke of Prussia, who is aiming to prevent the circulation of every book, that contains any thing upon the subject of the *Baltic* controversy."

The purpose of this meeting was at length accomplished, in the renewal of that ancient treaty which subsisted between the two Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse; and the insertion of another article which the peculiar circumstances of the times suggested, by which the respective parties agreed to adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, and to maintain it in their dominions.

Impartiality here demands a statement of the opinion of Melancthon upon those transactions at Geneva, respecting the unhappy Servetus, which have occasioned so many violent controversies. Were we to enter into a deliberate and dispassionate investigation of this affair, it would probably appear that an eagerness to criminate on the one hand, and to defend on the other, has hurried each party into extremes; the one, whose opinions have coincided with those of Servetus, have not been sufficiently disposed to make allowances for the peculiar circumstances in which the Reformers were placed, and for the strength of those conscientious, however erroneous—*deplorably* erroneous principles, which they blended with many valuable discoveries;—the other party cherishing opposite religious sentiments, have been too anxious to extenuate a crime committed against the rights of conscience, which no considerations can excuse; absurdly imagining that Calvin and truth were identical, and that to defend the reputation of the former, was essential to the vindication and glory of the latter.

The case was this. Michael Servetus, a Spaniard, and a native of Villaneuva, in Arragon, embraced the reformed religion at an early period of his life, in consequence of searching the Scriptures; but departed from the general sentiments of the Reformers on the subject of the Trinity. His zeal was considerable, and going into Germany to propagate his opinions, he published a book in 1531, entitled "de Trinitatis Erroribus," which in the ensuing year was followed by two other treatises. These writings occasioning great dissatisfaction, he removed from place to place till he settled in Paris, where he devoted himself to the study of medicine, but at the same time became involved in disputes of a theological nature with the physicians, till at length chagrined at the suppression, by act of parliament, of a book he had published, he withdrew to Lyons, and was introduced to the Archbishop of Vienna, in whose house he long resided. During several years he corresponded with Calvin the Reformer of

Geneva, but the contemptuous manner in which he treated his theological antagonist, produced at length an open rupture and a mortal antipathy. When Servetus was arrested and committed to prison at Vienna, for his publications, together with his printer, Calvin, at the desire however of the magistrates of that city, sent his letters and writings—but he was condemned for his published errors, and not as it appears in consequence of any interference of the Geneva reformer. Having escaped from prison, he fled to Geneva with the design of retiring to Naples. Here he was arrested; and, as it cannot with probability be denied, at the instigation of Calvin, who had long before intimated "if that heretic came to Geneva, he would take care that he should be capitally punished."

When tried for heresy the principal accusations against Servetus were, his having asserted that the land of Canaan was fertile, though it was unfruitful and barren—his having corrupted the Latin Bible which he was employed to correct at Lyons, by introducing trifling and impious notes of his own—and having, in the person of Calvin, defamed the doctrine that is preached, uttering all imaginable, injurious, and blasphemous words against it. Before sentence was passed, the ministers of Basle, Zurich, Bern, and Schaffhausen were consulted, who unanimously determined that he ought to be condemned to death for blasphemy and heresy. The following verdict was accordingly pronounced —"You, Michael Servetus, are condemned to be bound and led to Champel, and there fastened to a stake and burned alive, with your book, written with your hand and printed, until your body shall be reduced to ashes, and your days thus finished as an example to others who might commit the same things; and we command you, our lieutenant, to put this our sentence into execution." Thus he perished, in great agonies, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1553.

The reader must naturally feel curious to know the opinion of the amiable Melancthon on this odious transaction, and it is with the utmost pain we produce it, as expressed in a letter to Bullinger. "I have read your statement respecting the blasphemy of Servetus, and praise your piety and judgment; and am persuaded that the Council of Geneva has done right in putting to death this obstinate man, who would never have ceased his blasphemies. I am astonished that any one can be found to disapprove of this proceeding; but I have transmitted you a few papers which will sufficiently explain our sentiments." On more than one occasion he had refuted his statements by an appeal to scriptural evidence, and had he confined his hostility to the *principle*, and not by his concurrence have punished the *man*, we should have enjoyed the delightful opportunity of presenting to the reader a noble exception to the general spirit of the times. But at that period, Christians of every class and party believed that *gross religious errors were punishable by the civil magistrate*, a Popish doctrine which they had not yet renounced, and which, it is to be feared, is not even to this day, and in the most enlightened part of the world, totally exterminated from the breasts of all Protestants. Be it remembered, however, that by cherishing such a principle, in any degree, they betray the best of causes—furnish occasion for the most injurious representations of Christianity; and, instead of learning of their Master, who was "meek and lowly of heart," imitate the misguided disciples who were for calling down fire from heaven. Can any thing be more obvious than this, that it is the birthright of every human being to think for himself, that he is amenable alone to conscience and to God for his religious sentiments, and that whatever person or system attempts to legislate for the free-born soul, and coerce the faith of another, is perpetrating one of the most detestable of crimes, robbing man of his liberty and God of his authority? In such a case *submission to* MAN is *treason against* HEAVEN. Is it not truly astonishing that while the Reformers, in their separation from the church of Rome, asserted this noble principle, and were daily contending and even bleeding for it, they should so far forget themselves, even the very best of them, as to act in diametrical opposition to their own claims—to impose and to dissent from the same principle at the same time—to discard human authority in matters of religion in contending against the Romish hierarchy, and to vindicate it in establishing their own church? So inconsistent is human nature! But let Protestants aim to purify themselves from this deep stain upon their characters, which can only be removed by eternally disclaiming, not only in words but in practice, all dominion over another's faith and conscience!

JOHN FREDERIC survived to the present year the release from imprisonment which the peace of Passau had given him. He had however only been permitted to take possession of a part of his territories, and although he had laid claim to his electoral dominions upon the death of Maurice, who was shot in battle the preceding year, that usurper's brother, Augustus, a prince of considerable talents and great urbanity of manners, was chosen by the ungrateful states of Saxony to that elevated station. The death of John Frederic excited the tears of Melancthon, who ceased not to admire the virtues which not only flourished in the beams of prosperity, but which did not appear in the least degree to wither in the most adverse season of his life. He possessed an inflexible integrity of character that no changes could possibly alter, and a far distant posterity will venerate his name.

The contentions excited by the zeal of Osiander and Flacius now raged in every direction, and with such excessive violence at Nuremberg in particular, that the whole city was in a state of commotion. A most urgent application therefore was made to the Elector Augustus, to permit Melancthon, whose advice had been often sought, to repair immediately with his principal associates, Aless, Camerarius, and Pomeranus to afford every requisite assistance on the spot. The most disgraceful scenes were transacted, but the presence and judgment of these eminent commissioners after some time restored tranquillity. Melancthon drew up a short but comprehensive statement of truth, in which he displayed the most exquisite skill, combined with the most Christian spirit. He maintained truth and refuted error without indulging in the least asperity of language against his adversaries.

This affair, however, was not adjusted till the commencement of another year; but upon his return home he was infested with crowds of persons inoculated with the wildfire of Flacius, who absolutely persecuted him for several months and years. Unhappily several persons of distinction espoused his cause, and encouraged the ignorant hostility of the vulgar. They cherished a disputative pertinacity of spirit, made a man an offender for a word, perpetually stood in the attitude of defiance, filled all the shops with the most abusive publications, and denounced with unmerciful scurrility the amiable and insulted Melancthon. Flacius himself was the prime mover of these proceedings, and exerted a never-ceasing activity in the circulation of calumnious misrepresentations. In a letter to Matthesius, Melancthon very justly characterizes him as "a viper whose venom every wise man would avoid;" but the calumniator himself he addressed in the mildest terms. "Homer, in describing the contest between Ajax and Hector, represents the former as being satisfied

when the latter yields and confesses that he is vanquished; but there is no end to your criminations. Who ever acts in this manner? Who strikes a foe when he gives up the contest and throws away his weapons? Claim the victory, I yield, I contend no longer about these rites; I am chiefly solicitous that the churches live in concord and peace. I confess, indeed, that I have committed sin in this affair, and implore forgiveness of God that I did not wholly fly from these subtle disputations: but I feel myself obliged to refute the misstatements of yourself and Gallus."

On another occasion he expresses himself in the following manner: "I am not in despair on account of the cruel clamor of my enemies, who threaten not to leave me a foot of ground to stand upon in Germany; but I commit myself to the Son of God. If I am driven away alone, *I have determined to go into Palestine*, and in those lurking places where Jerome retired, by maintaining intercourse with the Son of God, to write clear statements of divine truth, and in death to recommend my soul to God." Again he says, "I am eagerly and with tranquillity of mind expecting to be banished, as I have told the princes. My adversaries declare they are resolved to accomplish their purpose, and that I shall not have a footing in Germany. I sincerely wish they would *do it quickly*, as the Son of God said to Judas. If I die, there will be a footing for me in heaven; or if I continue in the body, I shall still be associated with pious and learned men either in Germany or elsewhere. I am astonished at the folly of my enemies, who imagine they possess a ruling influence in Germany, and can terrify me with their threats."

On Melancthon in a great measure devolved "the care of all the churches;" but will any one credit the representations of his open enemies, or more injurious friends, who have carelessly propagated the notion of his abandoning the truth, after perusing the following pious and affectionate portion of a letter addressed to the pastors of the churches in the provinces of Bohemia and Lusatia?—or, indeed, will it be believed that if he had been guilty of tergiversation they would have continued to seek his advice, to value his sympathies, to confide in his wisdom, and to allow him to maintain the eminence to which public esteem and personal merit had exalted him? "Whether," he observes, "divine wisdom has appointed still greater troubles than ever existed before in this feeble and superannuated age of the world, may be doubtful; but amidst the desolation of empires, the Son of God will continue to gather an eternal church, solely by the preaching of his gospel, till the period when he will recall the dead to life. These predictions are given to encourage us to endure the sufferings allotted us, and to persevere in the labor of extending the truth in the world, which will not be in vain. It is with much grief we have heard that pure doctrine is so despised, that the pastors have been driven from their churches, and that at this moment many pious and upright men, with their wives and dear little children, are in a state of exile. We sympathize most deeply with them, with you, and with your bereaved churches, and implore the Son of God, who has said, 'I will not leave you comfortless,' to alleviate these sufferings, and to afford you all necessary assistance. You so well know the true sources of religious consolation, that we will not enlarge, but only admonish you, under present circumstances, to set your churches an example of steadfastness in tribulation, lest they should be tempted to unbelief. Nothing will be more efficacious for this purpose than a thorough knowledge of the truth, and an opposition to mere human opinions. The Papists support the most flagrant idolatry, the invocation of departed saints, and numerous absurdities originating from that monstrous sentiment: they turn the Lord's Supper into a gainful traffic, and, contrary to the design of this institution, carry about the bread in public procession to be adored. Disparaging the true doctrine of repentance, they invent a multiplicity of foolish rites, to the absolute torment of pious persons, taking away the consolation to be derived from a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and zealously contending for numerous observances of their own invention. The people then will not surely suppose our determined opposition to these practices unnecessary. Let the principal points of doctrine be frequently inculcated, with these solemn admonitions: 'Keep yourselves from idols.'—'Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.'—'Whosoever blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.'" This letter is dated *February*, 1555.

The death of Justus Jonas proved an additional source of affliction at this period. He had been particularly intimate both with Luther and Melancthon, and had co-operated with the latter in several important public transactions. Jonas was a native of Northausen in Thuringia. He was profoundly skilled both in law and theology. For some years he held a pastoral charge at Wittemberg, and was a professor and rector of the university. Afterwards removing to Halle, he became extensively useful in promoting the Reformation. For a considerable time after the death of Luther he continued in the Duke of Saxony's court, and was a sympathizing companion to the sons of John Frederic in their afflictions. At last he was placed over the church in Eisfield, where he expired in peace, on the ninth of October, 1555, at the age of sixty-two.

Maximilian, king of Bohemia, levied a new tax upon the celebrity of Melancthon, by proposing to him a number of questions respecting the principal subjects that occasioned the controversies of the age; to all of which he felt himself obliged to return a circumstantial reply. This was in the year 1556, and the whole memorial was published at Leipsic, by Nicholas Selneccer, about ten years after the author's decease.

It is impossible for those who are not similarly situated fully to realize the perplexity and toil which Melancthon and his coadjutors sustained at this period. As the head of all the principal literary and ecclesiastical transactions of the age, consulted by princes, despatched upon every urgent occasion on different journeys, summoned to private conferences and public councils, necessitated to maintain an extensive correspondence, opposed, and even insulted by a violent faction, and watched as a heretic by the partizans of the Roman hierarchy, it is not surprising that he should represent himself as tormented upon the rack of incessant engagement, and absolutely distracted with writing disputations, rules and regulations, prefaces and letters.

CHAPTER XIII.

Last conference of Melancthon with the Papists at Worms—Visit to Heidelberg—Receives intelligence of his wife's death—Her epitaph—The Chronicon and other writings—Loss of friends—Melancthon's infirmities—Interesting paper assigning reasons why it is desirable to leave the world—A variety of particulars respecting his last illness and death—Epitaph by Theodore Beza—Ode—Conclusion. 1557 to 1560.

The time was now approaching when this distinguished combatant was to pass from the field of holy and honorable warfare in which he had so long "fought the good fight," to share the honors of an eternal triumph. In the year 1557, he met his Popish adversaries for the last time in a conference at Worms. The chief subject of dispute was a most

important one, meriting all the zeal and firmness with which the Reformers maintained their principles. It respected *the rule of judgment in religious concerns.* This the Papists strenuously affirmed to be *the universal consent* or *custom of the church;* and with no less ardor Melancthon and his coadjutors insisted that the only legitimate and authoritative rule was THE SACRED SCRIPTURE. Let it never be forgotten, by a grateful posterity, that however they might differ on some other points, *among themselves,* and however widely present or future generations may differ from *them* in topics, either maintained by some of them individually, or perhaps all of them collectively, they are to be applauded and venerated for holding with the most tenacious grasp of mind, and asserting with the utmost resolution of spirit, in defiance of a persecuting world, this noble principle—this *anchora sacra* of the Reformation, that THE ONLY AUTHORITY TO WHICH HUMAN REASON OUGHT IMPLICITLY TO SUBMIT, IN RELIGIOUS CONCERNS, IS THE INFALLIBLE WORD OF THE LIVING GOD!

From the conference at Worms, during a temporary suspension of the business, the Elector Palatine sent for Melancthon to Heidelberg, for the purpose of adjusting some literary arrangements—the Augustinian convent, having been converted into an academy. In this affair he was assisted by Micyllus, and other eminent scholars. The pleasure he felt in meeting his brother George at Heidelberg, and in the affectionate attentions of his celebrated son-in-law, Caspar Peucer, was painfully interrupted by the intelligence of his wife's death. His friend Joachim Camerarius, was charged to convey the melancholy tidings. Knowing the strength of his affections, he chose to defer the performance of this sad duty till the day after his arrival, when they walked together in the prince's garden; but instead of manifesting any extraordinary emotion, Melancthon, on receiving the intelligence, spoke like a man who was weaned in a great degree from the world, uttering a kind of tender farewell to his beloved Catharine, and adding "that he expected very soon to follow her." He pursued a solemn and pious strain of conversation, expressing his prophetic anticipations of the future troubles that awaited Saxony. So firmly convinced was he of the reality of his apprehensions, and so deeply affected at the dark prospect of future calamitous years, that his domestic misfortune seemed utterly absorbed in the greater importance of public affairs.

The last act of conjugal tenderness, which closed the long union of thirty-seven years, was the composition of the few following lines, to adorn the tombstone of his deceased wife:—

Proximus hic tumulus Catharinæ contegit ossa
Quæ Crappo quondam consule nata fuit
Conjugio casto fuerat quæ nupta Philippo
Ex scriptis cujus nomina nota manent.
Virtutes habuit donatas numine Christi
Matronæ Paulus quas docet esse decus.
Hic absente viro sepelivit filia corpus
Vivit, conspectu mens fruiturque Dei.

Deposited beneath this hallow'd earth
Lies CATHARINE's dust, of CRAPPIN's house by *birth;*
To PHILIP join'd by *wedlock's* sacred name—
Philip—whose writings will prolong their fame.
Virtues which Christ bestow'd adorn'd her life,
And such as Paul affirms become a wife.
Her Philip absent, mourn'd the chast'ning rod—
By filial tenderness beneath this clod
Her BODY's plac'd;—her SOUL is fled to God!

Melancthon survived his beloved partner only about two years and six months, a period which he occupied in unremitting attention, to the duties of his academical station, and in the composition of useful works. His opponents would not allow him to retire from controversial writing, and in 1558, he replied to the accusations of Staphylus and Avius, two of the zealots of Rome.

In the same year he issued the first part of his CHRONICON, which is published complete in the fifth volume of his works by Peucer. It consists of more than seventy pages in folio, containing the great events of general history from the creation of the world, to the period of the Reformation. Like all his other compositions, it displays a great extent of reading, a remarkable capacity for judicious selection, and a disposition to use up the rich materials with which his mind was stored, in the erection of a structure, adapted both to gratify and to benefit posterity. The Chronicon was written principally as its author states for the youth in the universities; "I wish," says he, modestly, "I possessed more time and capacity, to finish up these historical narratives, but I hope that others will be stimulated by this example, to execute other more copious and better compositions."

Many writers have erroneously attributed to Melancthon, a Greek version of the Augsburg confession, transmitted in the course of the following year, under the name of Paul Dolscius, to the patriarch of Constantinople. His own words in a letter to Bordingus, sufficiently evince the mistake of this statement, while they authenticate and approve the version. "I send you a Greek version of the Augsburg Confession, which was published without my advice. However I approve the style, and have sent it to Constantinople by a man of learning, a dean of that city, who has been our guest during the whole summer. He relates that there were heretofore many churches in Asia, in Thrace and the neighboring countries, but they have been gradually diminished by oppression and bondage." During the same year, he composed his reply to a decree of the Abbot of Wurtemberg, and to some papistical scurrilities of which he grievously complains; he wrote also his judgment upon the controversy respecting the Lord's Supper, to Frederic III. Elector Palatine, which was afterwards published; and finished some other minor compositions.

During these transactions his earthly ties were gradually dissolving. Year after year robbed him of his dearest friends, thus rendering the world less desirable, and heaven more attractive. On these occasions he usually expressed himself in a pious and elevated strain. For instance, "Let us congratulate Vitus, now removed to the delightful society of the heavenly church; and be stimulated by his example to prepare for the same journey." In addition to his domestic and other bereavements he lost Micyllus, Justus Menius, and John Bugenhagen Pomeranus. The latter, was one of the most remarkable men of the age, and may be justly ranked with Luther and Melancthon, with whom he cherished a long and close friendship, and to whom he was in many respects little inferior. Originally he was a schoolmaster at Treptow, in Pomerania, and when he first saw the "Babylonish Captivity" by Luther, exclaimed, "the author of this book is the most pestilent heretic that ever infested the church of Christ;" but after examining it more seriously, and with an inquisitive mind, it wrought so entire a change of sentiment, that he said "the whole world is blind and this man alone sees the truth." When he was chosen to be minister of the great church at Wittemberg, he not only did not aim at this elevation, but was almost dragged by force out of his obscurity to possess it, and assiduously devoted himself to the duties of this eminent station, during thirty-six years. He expired in peace on

the twentieth of April, 1558, at the advanced age of seventy-three.

It is some satisfaction to find that such a man as Philip Melancthon, was not destined to spend the latter years of his life, in a state of inanimate decrepitude and half-conscious being. The flame of his genius and piety burnt with a bright and steady lustre to the last; the noon of fame seemed to shed its undeparted glories upon the evening of his earthly existence! How many have lived only to be pitied or despised, the wreck of their former selves, alike incapable of receiving or imparting either pleasure or benefit! Decays of body and infirmities of mind, have worm-eaten a fabric built of the finest materials, and once presenting to the gratified observer, a happy combination of elegance and utility. But in the present instance every thing excites surprise and veneration. A perfect maturity of the faculties and a singular capability of exertion, are apparent to the very end of his days. *Pulchrorum etiam autumnus pulcher est.* It is impossible to read some of his last letters without emotion. They breathe an exalted piety, a spirit of sympathy with the sorrows of others, and a state of preparation for that mighty change he was soon to experience. Such is his letter to Everard Roggius.

Dearest Brother—"I am a father, and not insensible or destitute of natural affection, but deeply sympathize in the calamities which befall sons and daughters. I cannot, therefore, but believe that you are painfully affected with yours; for the strongest mutual affection is implanted in the human breast between parents and children. I pray that our Lord Jesus Christ may assuage your griefs, alleviate your adversities, and preserve both you and your family. Resort to those divine sources of knowledge which are bestowed upon us, to administer consolation in trouble. God designs indeed that his church should suffer the cross, but he would not have us be overwhelmed with grief, but rather stimulated by afflictions, to call upon his name, to acquiesce, to rejoice in his dispensations. You remember the language of the prophet Isaiah, whose words are expressively rendered in the Septuagint *En thlipsei mikra e paideia son emin.* It is said to be a *little* or *short* affliction, because all the joys and sorrows of the present life are hastening to a termination. Let us then contemplate, and be constantly preparing for the everlasting society of the blessed God!.....Farewell, the sixteenth of October, the day on which, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one years ago Demosthenes died, whom one cannot but lament for having consumed such a vigor of genius in such a useless manner, and as being *skeuos orges*, a vessel of wrath. Let us be grateful to God who has called us to nobler pursuits, and implore his Son so to rule and guide us that we may be *skeue elous*, vessels of mercy.

"From your brother, now an old man, and not far from his climacteric year 63,

"Philip Melancthon."

His last letter, chiefly because it is the last he wrote, we have thought proper to translate. It is addressed to John Aurifaber.

"Reverend sir and dearest brother—Although I heard that you were in the principality of Breslau, where I indulge the hope of enjoying some intercourse with those learned and pious men Crato, Adam, Peter Vincentius and Moreburgius, yet I write these few lines, though I am in excruciating pain from an intermitting fever, originating in a catarrh, which has troubled me for upwards of three years. You will pardon, therefore, the brevity of my letter. Feeling myself dying, I have commended your doctrine to the illustrious prince, and have written concerning the genuine and holy union of the principal churches. I commend also this doctrine to you, and implore you to receive David Voyt with kindness. I trust he will not disagree with you in opinion. Let me entreat you, if I live, to write me soon. Farewell, I return you my thanks for every kind office, and in particular for your assistance in the case of Sickius and Daucis.

"Philip Melancthon will soon be no more!"

About the same time he wrote down in two columns on a piece of paper, the reasons why it is desirable to leave the world. One of these columns contained the blessings which death would procure; namely, *first*, that you will come to the light—*secondly*, that you will see God—*thirdly*, that you will contemplate the Son of God—*fourthly*, that you will understand those admirable mysteries which you could not comprehend in the present life—*fifthly*, that you will know why we are created such as we are—*sixthly*, that you will comprehend the union of the two natures in Jesus Christ. The second column assigned two reasons for not regretting a departure from the world—*first*, because you will sin no more—*secondly*, because you will no longer be exposed to the vexations of controversy, and the rage of theologians. The following is an exact copy.

A Sinistris.	*A Dextris.*
Discedes a peccatis	Venies in lucem
Liberaberis ab ærumnis et	Videbis Deum
rabie Theologorum.	Intueberis filium Dei
	Disces illa mira arcana quæ in hac vita intelligere non potuisti:
	Cur sic simus conditi
	Qualis sit copulatio duarum naturarum in Christo.

It appears from the testimony of the professors at Wittemberg, in their narrative of his death, that Melancthon frequently intimated his conviction that he should not survive his sixty-third year.* A few months previous to his decease, he wrote the following distich in anticipation of the approaching event:

Sic ego quotidie de lecto surgo precando
Ut mens ad mortem sit duce læta Deo.

The last journey he performed was to Leipsic, on the *sixth of April*, for the purpose of attending the annual examination of the students of divinity, who were supported by the munificence of the Elector; from which service he returned on the *ninth*. Although the season was inclement, he appeared to feel no inconvenience on his way thither, but while there he was suddenly seized during dinner with the windy cholic and diarrhœa, but the symptoms quickly disappeared. Upon his return he complained of the severity of the north wind, and the cold humidity of the atmosphere, which, he said, he had not felt so much during the whole winter: and the motion of the carriage had made him painfully sensible of the calculus which had been forming in his kidneys during several years. The night of the *seventh* of April was the first in which his last fatal disorder manifested itself. He was restless

* The interesting little volume referred to was published in the name of all the professors, and is entitled "Brevis Narratio exponens quo fine vitam in terris suam clauserit Rev. Vir D. Philippus Melancthon, una cum præcedentium proxime dierum et totius morbi quo confectus est brevi descriptione, conscripta a Professoribus Academiæ Wittebergensis, qui omnibus quæ exponuntur interfuerunt.

from want of sleep, and became afflicted by a considerable and general debility. His cough was extremely troublesome, and the fever which eventually terminated his days, began to attack him.

About six o'clock in the morning, his son-in-law, Dr. Peucer, came to see him, and immediately intimated the great alarm he felt at the situation of his father. It was determined instantly to send the melancholy information of his danger to the friend of his heart, Joachim Camerarius, with whom he had lived in the closest friendship for upwards of forty years.

After this he wrote several letters, and used the medical remedies which his son-in-law prescribed. Having been some time silent, he at length exclaimed, "If such be the will of God, I can willingly die, and I beseech him to grant me a joyful dismission;" alluding to the song of Simeon, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." He dwelt upon the word *peace*, and prayed for such a removal.

At *nine*, the usual hour for the commencement of his public duties in the academy, he rose from his seat, and began to prepare for going down to deliver a lecture on logic, which exercise he thought he could endure for half an hour, if he afterwards used the bath; and he felt unwilling to desist from his public labors. When he was about to set his foot upon a little stool, which he was accustomed to make use of when he washed his hands, his weakness was such that he almost fell upon his knees by the effort, which occasioning some bustle—"Ah," said he, "my lamp is almost out." Some of his friends thought it would be expedient to prevent the attendance of the students, by issuing private orders to them not to fill up their places, in order that when Melancthon went to lecture, he might be induced to return, and relinquish the idea of persevering; but he appeared so anxious that it was believed this proceeding would be likely to produce a worse effect, by agitating his mind, than the exertion itself; he was therefore allowed on this and some following days to attend in his place.

The lecture which he delivered, was upon a sentence of Gregory Nazianzen, and upon a passage of Isaiah; but his weakness rendered it impossible for him to occupy more than a quarter of an hour. Upon his return home he went into the warm bath, and after taking his dinner slept very soundly for three hours, and was so revived that a hope was entertained of his recovery. He employed himself before supper in writing, but his debility afterwards returning, the pleasing hopes that had been cherished were annihilated.

He did not yet desist from any of his usual employments, and after this period continued to dictate in the second part of his Chronicon.

On the *tenth* of April, he appeared to be totally free from his former disease, but was attacked by a semitertian fever or ague. A quantity of bile being soon expelled from his stomach by the use of medicine, he seemed relieved. Though it was of considerable importance that he should be kept quiet, yet such was his ardor, that having discovered that the Senate of the University was convened at the hour of twelve, he could not be dissuaded from attending what he believed to be his public duty. As several disputes arose, he spoke with great zeal on each subject, for the purpose of promoting peace and reconciliation.

Although extremely debilitated, yet on the morning of the *eleventh* of the month he rose early, and at six, as usual on festival days, delivered a lecture on the last prayer of the Saviour, recorded in the seventeenth chapter of the gospel of John. He divided the prayer of Christ into three parts, as embracing so many distinct objects: namely, I. That a Church might exist in the world. II. That it might be distinguished by its unity and concord. III. That his people might be heirs of that salvation and eternal life which belongs to the heavenly church. A few days previous to this, he had entreated his hearers to remember after his decease some passage or passages to which he particularly directed their attention in this last prayer; and after repeating the above division, he said impressively, "I am a dying man, and these are the three subjects for intercession with God which I leave to my children and their little ones—that they may form a part of his church, and worship him aright—that they may be one in him, and live in harmony with each other—and that they may be fellow-heirs of eternal life!"

On the *twelfth* of April, 1560, he delivered his final lecture on the words of the prophet Isaiah, "Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" Isaiah liii. 1. On the same day he wrote the following lines, which are obviously but the commencement of a hymn which his weakness rendered him incapable of finishing.

Æterno genitore nate Christe
Orator patris ex sinu verendi
Vocem Evangelii ferens suavem
Qua credentibus exhibes potenter
Vitam justiciamque sempiternam
Et qui sanguine nos tuo redemptos
Exaudis, reputas facisque justos
Ostendisque piis tuum parentem
Nostras Christe semper doceto mentes
Ac in pectora gratiæ arrabonem
Nostra effundito Spiritum moventem
Casta incendia et invocationem:
Fac pars agminis ut tui per omne
Ævum simus, alacriterque semper
Æterni Patris et tuas sonemus
Laudes———

The worthy professors of Wittemberg relate with great seriousness, that between nine and ten the same night several persons of credibility affirmed, that they saw in the air some remarkable appearances of rods and scourges; upon which Melancthon, who is known to have been addicted to superstitious apprehensions, and to have been deeply impressed with the expectation of approaching calamities to his country, remarked, "That they were evidently ominous of impending punishments; but as it was *rods*, such as those with which parents correct their children, and not *swords* they saw, they might expect paternal chastisements, and not those destructive ones which were inflicted upon enemies."

During the night he enjoyed a comfortable repose, and was heard to chaunt in his sleep, in the manner in which the same words were usually repeated in public, "With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." Luke xxii. 15. He rose at three in the morning, and applied himself to complete his Chronicon. But from this period he rapidly declined: still anxious however to persevere to the last in the assiduous discharge of his academical duties, two days afterwards, on the fourteenth of the same month, he would have attempted to deliver another public lecture, had he not been prevented by the urgent persuasions of his friend Camerarius, who come from Leipsic to pay him all the attention which affectionate friendship could dictate.

He even put on his Professor's gown, and would have crept to the lecture-room to have delivered a discourse which he meditated on some portion of the evangelical history, but being informed by his

son-in-law that the students were not assembled, he desisted from his purpose. The fact was, after having crowded to hear him, they were dispersed by a proclamation which his friends, unknown to himself, had affixed to the door, stating his incapacity to attend.

His mind was in a very cheerful state, and he often betrayed his characteristic humor. He spoke of death with composure, and of his friend Pomeranus, who had died about two years before. He said that he dreaded nothing so much as becoming a useless cumberer of the ground, and prayed that if his life were protracted, he might be serviceable to the youth under his care, and to the church of Jesus Christ.

On the *fifteenth* he conversed much with Camerarius on the language of Paul, which he appropriated; "I have a desire to depart, and to be with Christ." He criticised upon the Greek terms, which, he said, ought to be rendered, "Having a desire to remove, pass on, or set about proceeding in the journey:" that is, to go from this life of toil and wretchedness to the blessed rest of heaven.

When Camerarius thought of taking a final leave of him on the *sixteenth*, he said, "My dear Doctor Joachim, we have been joined in the bond of friendship forty years, a friendship mutually sincere and affectionate. We have been helpers of each other with disinterested kindness in our respective stations and employments as teachers of youth, and I trust our labors have been useful; and though it be the will of God that I die, our friendship shall be perpetuated and cultivated in another world."

Camerarius, however, determined to remain a little longer with his departing friend, and accordingly disregarded, during this interesting interval, the claims both of his public and private affairs. Melancthon continued to manifest great cheerfulness, but if it were at any time disturbed, his distress appeared to arise rather from the sympathy he felt with the suffering church, whenever its trials were reported to him, than from even the acute paroxysms of his disease. His friends had conversed with him on this subject during the evening repast, but he afterwards enjoyed a calm night. In his sleep, he said, he had dreamt the words of Paul, which were forcibly impressed upon his mind, and afforded him much consolation, "If God be for us, who can be against us."

Early in the morning of the *seventeenth*, Camerarius took his final leave. Melancthon had finished some letters to the Duke of Prussia, and to several friends, which he had been preparing during the whole of his illness, and expressed his intention of writing more but for the interdiction of his physician. When Camerarius bid him farewell—with a last and affectionate benediction, he replied, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and giveth gifts to men, preserve you and yours and all of us!"

Soon afterwards, having received information that the Roman Pontiff was meditating a general Council, he said he would rather die than attend it, for it was easy to foresee both the dissensions it would occasion, and the inutility of its meeting. Feeling the pressure of increasing pain, and infirmity, he said, "O Lord, make an end."

On the *eighteenth* his bed was removed, by his own desire, into the library, which he had continually frequented during his illness, upon which occasion, he said with great cheerfulness, as he was placed upon it, "This may be called, I think, my *travelling couch*—if, (alluding to the criticism before mentioned,) I should *remove* in it." While several friends were standing about his bed, he said, "By the blessing of God I have now no particular domestic anxieties, for with respect to my grandchildren, whom I tenderly love, and who are now before my eyes, I am comforted to think they are in the hands of pious and beloved parents, who will be solicitous for their welfare, as much as I could ever be: but I feel for the state of public affairs, especially for the church of Christ in this cavilling and wicked age. Through the goodness of God, however, our doctrine is made public." A little afterwards he addressed some present, "God bestows talents on our youth; do you see that they use them aright." In the course of the same day, seeing one of his grandchildren near him, "Dear child," said he, "I have loved you most affectionately: see that you reverence your parents, and always endeavor to please *them*, and fear *God*, who will never forsake you. I pray you may share his constant regard and benediction." He spoke in similar terms of tenderness and piety to all the younger branches of his family, who were deeply sensible of his approaching departure.

On the same day, after discoursing with his son-in-law upon all his private affairs, and having in vain searched for the will he had formerly written, containing an explanation of some of the principal articles of his faith, which he was desirous of transmitting to posterity, he attempted to compose another, which increasing weakness would not allow him to finish. It began thus: "In the year 1560, on the eighteenth day of April, I write this will briefly, according to the best of those remaining abilities which God vouchsafes me in my present illness. I have twice before written the confession of my faith, and gratitude to God and our Lord Jesus Christ, but these papers are missing; nevertheless, I wish my confession to be considered an answer to whatever relates to the Bavarian articles, in opposition to the errors of the Papists, the Anabaptists, the followers of Flacius, and others."

After this he conferred with his son-in-law upon a diversity of subjects relative to the interests of the university, and expressed his wish that Peucer might be his successor in that institution.

Letters having been transmitted to him from Frankfort relative to the persecutions which at this period raged in France, he declared "that his bodily disease was not comparable to the grief of his mind, on account of the miseries which the church of Christ suffered."

The *nineteenth of April* was the last day of his mortal existence. After the usual medical inquiries of the morning, he adverted again to the calamitous state of the church of Christ, but intimated his hope that the genuine doctrine of the gospel would ultimately prevail, exclaiming, "If God be for us, who can be against us." After this he presented fervent supplications to heaven, mingled with groanings, for the welfare of the church. In the intervals of sleep he conversed principally upon this subject with several of his visiting friends, amongst whom were the pastor and other officers of the church, and the professors of the university.

Soon after eight in the morning, awaking from a tranquil sleep, he distinctly, though with a feeble voice repeated a form of prayer which he had written for his own daily use, and which was as follows:

"Almighty, omnipotent, ever-living and true God, Creator of heaven and earth and men, together with thy co-eternal Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us and rose again, and thy Holy, true, living, and pure Spirit; who art wise, good, faithful, merciful, just, the dispenser of life and of truth, independent, holy—and our Redeemer; who hast said thou willest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return unto thee and live—and hast promised, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee.' I confess myself before thy footstool, a most miserable sinner and offender against thee in a great variety of respects,

on which account I mourn with my very heart and implore thy mercy for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified and rose again, seeking the remission of all my sins, and justification before thee, by and through thy son Jesus Christ, thy eternal word, and image, wonderful and inexpressible in counsel, infinite in wisdom and goodness; and that thou wouldst sanctify me by thy true, living, pure, and Holy Spirit. May I truly acknowledge and firmly believe in thee, obey thee, give thanks to thee, fear thee, invoke thee, serve thee, and through grace be admitted to thy presence in eternity, the almighty and only true God, Creator of heaven and earth and men, the everlasting Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the presence of Jesus Christ thy Son, thy eternal word and image, and the holy, true, living and pure Spirit, the comforter. In thee have I hoped, O Lord: let me never be confounded: in thy righteousness deliver me. Make me righteous, and bring me unto life eternal: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. Keep and overrule our churches, our government, and this academy, and bestow upon us a salutary peace and government. Rule and protect our princes. Cherish thy church, gather and preserve it in these provinces, sanctify and unite thy people by thy holy Spirit, that we may be one in thee, in the true knowledge and worship of thy Son Jesus Christ, by and through him thy eternal Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us and raised again. Amen.

"Almighty and eternal Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, who art the eternal word and image of the eternal Father, our Mediator and Intercessor, crucified for us and raised again, I give thee most hearty thanks that thou didst assume humanity, and art become my Redeemer, and having suffered and risen again in human nature, dost intercede on my behalf. I beseech thee regard and have mercy on me, for I am poor and defenceless. By thy Holy Spirit increase the light of faith in me, and, weak as I am, sustain, rule, protect, and save me. In thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me never be confounded.

"Almighty and Holy Spirit, the comforter, pure, living, true—illuminate, govern, sanctify me, and confirm my heart and mind, in the faith, and in all genuine consolation; preserve and rule over me, that, dwelling in the house of the Lord, all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, I may be and remain for ever in the temple of God, and praise him with a joyful spirit, and in union with all the heavenly church. Amen."

An interval of repose having elapsed after repeating this prayer, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and turning to his son-in-law said, "I have been in the power of death, but the Lord has graciously delivered me." This was supposed to refer to some deep conflicts of mind, as he repeated the expression to others. When some of the bystanders said, "There is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus," he soon added, "Christ is made to us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." "Let him that glorieth glory in the Lord;" and often repeated, "Lord have mercy upon me." After this he took a little refreshment for the last time, and though he attempted to proceed with the testamentary paper he had begun the preceding day, he soon found it impossible to support such an effort, but signified his acquiescence in the divine disposal.

The coldness of death was now creeping over him, but his mental faculties continued unimpaired to the very last breath of mortal existence. Having expressed a wish to hear some passages from the Old and New Testaments, his ministerial attendants read the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth Psalms, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, the seventh chapter of John, the fifth of the Romans, and many other passages. The declaration of John respecting the Son of God, he said was perpetually in his mind, "the world knew him not..... but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name."

In addition to the passages of Scripture already mentioned, he frequently solaced himself with the following, "God so loved the world that he sent his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life;" "Whoso seeth the Son and believeth on him hath eternal life;" "Being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ;" and expressed the great consolation they afforded his mind. He earnestly exhorted his son-in-law to the study of peace, and whenever the prevailing religious contentions were mentioned, he would continually reply in the language of the son of Jesse, "Let them curse, but bless thou," and "my soul hath dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace, but when I speak they are for war."

In the afternoon, another paper was written to the students by the professors, excusing their non-attendance to the usual duties of the day on account of Melancthon's dangerous situation, with which they deeply sympathized, and entreating their united prayers during the usual hours of study on his behalf; for they considered it impossible he should be able long to struggle with his disease, unless nature were divinely assisted and supported. It may easily be believed that this intimation made a powerful impression throughout the university, and that all the passages leading to the house of this beloved tutor, became crowded with anxious inquirers.

Upon being asked by his son-in-law if he would have any thing else, he replied in these emphatic words, "ALIUD NIHIL—NISI CŒLUM." NOTHING ELSE —BUT HEAVEN! and desired that he might not be any further interrupted. Soon afterwards, he made a similar request, entreating those around him who were endeavoring with officious kindness to adjust his clothes, "not to disturb his delightful repose." After some time, his friends united with the minister present in solemn prayer, and several passages in Scripture, in which he was known always to have expressed peculiar pleasure, were read, such as "Let not your heart be troubled, ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my father's house, are many mansions." "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me;" particularly the fifth of the Romans, and the triumphant close of the eighth chapter, commencing "If God be for us, who can be against us." Many other parts of Scripture were recited, and the last word he uttered was the German particle of affirmation *Ia*, in reply to Vitus Winshemius, who had inquired if he understood him while reading. The last motion which his friends who surrounded him to the number of at least twenty, could discern, was a slight motion of the countenance which was peculiar to him when deeply affected with religious joy!—"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace!"

At length, "in the midst of solemn vows and supplications," at a quarter of an hour before seven o'clock in the evening, of the nineteenth of April, one thousand five hundred and sixty, at the age of sixty-three years, two months and three days, he gently breathed his last. No distractions of mind, no foreboding terrors of conscience agitated this attractive scene. His chamber was "privileged beyond the common walks of virtuous life—quite in the verge of heaven"—and he expired like a

wave scarcely curling to the evening zephyr of an unclouded summer sky, and gently rippling to the shore. It was a "DEPARTURE"—a "SLEEP"—"the earthly house of this tabernacle was DISSOLVED!" 2 Cor. v. 1.

Surely then, "such a pious and tranquil removal from a toilsome and afflictive life, ought to be a subject of joy, rather than of lamentation, and each of us should entreat God, that in the possession of a similar peace of conscience, firm faith, acknowledgment of the truth and ardent devotion of mind, he would conduct us from our present imprisonment to his eternal presence."

Information of this event was immediately transmitted to the Elector, and means were adopted to bury him with suitable circumstances of respect. To gratify the anxious crowds who were desirous of seeing the body of this venerable person, the public were permitted for a day and a half after his decease to inspect his mortal remains; and of the hundreds who availed themselves of the opportunity, none could resist bestowing an abundant tribute of tears upon his beloved memory. Strangers who had never seen him while living, pressed to take a view of the yet undeparted symmetry of his amiable countenance, and all who came, were desirous of obtaining a pen, a piece of paper, however small, on which he had written, or in short any thing he had used, however insignificant in itself, which was scattered on the floor of the library.

His remains were placed in a leaden coffin, and deposited close to the body of Martin Luther—"lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death, they were not divided." A long Latin inscription was written on the coffin, containing a chronological notice of the principal circumstances of his life. Some of the professors in the university attended in funeral robes to convey the body to the parochial church, where it was placed before the altar, and after the usual ceremonies and psalms, Paul Eberus, pastor of the church at Wittemberg, delivered a funeral discourse; after which, the body being removed into the centre of the church, Doctor Vitus Winshemius pronounced an oration in Latin. The crowd of students, citizens, strangers, and persons of every class, attracted together to witness these solemnities, was never exceeded on any occasion within the memory of the spectators. Among the rest, were several of the professors from the university of Leipsic, and many of the nobility, pastors of churches, and others, from a large vicinity.

Here our labors are closed. The reader will accept of this volume as a faithful portrait of Melancthon's character; but before it is parted with, it is due to the distinguished individual whose likeness we have endeavored to impress upon these pages, to relate two circumstances as a finish to the picture: the one is illustrative of his fame, the other of his piety.

When Sabinus, his son-in-law, visited Italy, he carried a letter of introduction from Melancthon to the celebrated Cardinal Bembo; the consequence of which was an invitation to dinner. Among a variety of questions, the three following are particularly mentioned. The cardinal inquired "what was Melancthon's salary—what the number of his hearers—and what his opinion respecting the resurrection and a future state?"—To the first question, Sabinus replied, that "his salary was about three hundred florins," upon which, the cardinal exclaimed, "Ungrateful Germany! to estimate at no higher a price so many and such labors of so great a man!" His reply to the second question was, "that he had usually fifteen hundred hearers." To this the cardinal answered, "I cannot believe it, because I do not know a university in Europe, excepting that of Paris, in which one professor has so many scholars." To the third question, Sabinus replied, "that Melancthon's works were a sufficient proof of his belief in both those articles." The cardinal said, "I should think him a wiser man if he did not believe them."

When in consequence of the tyranny of queen Mary, thousands of Puritans fled from England into Germany, Switzerland, and France, the Lutherans reproached them as *the Devil's Martyrs*. Melancthon contended strenuously against these calumniators, and expressed his abhorrence at such language being applied to a class of men like Latimer and others with whom he was well acquainted.

It is painful to reflect that an event which usually checks the hostile feelings of the most determined enemies, did not, however, suodue the animosity of those of Melancthon. A persecuting demon seemed to have taken an entire possession of them, for even after his decease, they shot the envenomed arrows of malignity at his character, and borrowed the vociferous tongue of calumny to blast his fame: but in vain to *him*—he had reached that peaceful asylum so long anticipated, where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest!"

From a considerable collection of Greek and Latin eulogies and epitaphs, with which he used to predict that the poets would honor his memory, the following, by Theodore Beza, is selected as a sufficient and very beautiful specimen:—

Et tu igitur tandem tumuli sub mole repostus
Die a Philippe, nunc jaces.
Et quam invidisti vivus tibi tute quietem,
Cunctis qietem dum paras,
Ipsa tibi cura et sancti peperere labores,
Carum o bonis cunctis caput!
At tu funde rosas, funde isti lilia tellus,
Ut lilia inter et rosas,
Quo nil candidius fuit et nil suavius unquam,
Recubet Melancthon molliter.
Et gravic huic ut sis, caveas juvenisve senexve,
Qui nemini vixit gravis.

Here then, MELANCTHON, lies thy honor'd head
Low in the grave amongst the mould'ring dead!
In life, 'twas thine to make all others blest,
But to thyself denying peace and rest;
Thine was the holy toil, the anxious tear,
Dear Philip—to the good for ever dear!—
O earth! let lilies here profusely spring,
And roses all around their odours fling!
For rose and lily each their glories bend,
The sweet, the fair, in our departed friend!
Soft let him sleep and none disturb his rest,
None *he* disturb'd while living—none opprest!

ODE TO PHILIP MELANCTHON

Oh! who would envy those who die
Victims on ambition's shrine!
Though idiot man may rank them high,
And to the slain in victory,
Pay honors half divine;
To feel this heaving fluttering breath,
Still'd by the lightest touch of death,
'The happier lot be mine!
I would not, that the murdering brand,
Were the last weapon in my hand.
He, of whom these pages tell,
He, a soldier too—of truth,
He, a hero from his youth;
How delightfully he fell!
Not in the crash, and din, and flood,
Of execrations, groans, and blood,
Rivetting fetters on the good!—
But happily and well.

No song of triumph sounds his fall,
No march of death salutes his bier,
But tribute sweeter far than all,
The sainted sigh, the orphan tear!
Yet mourn not, ye who stand around,
Bid not time less swiftly roll,
What though shade the prospect bound;
He a brighter world has found,
Death is the birth-day of the soul.

Witness! (for ye saw him die)
Heard you complaint, or groan, or sigh?—
Or if one sigh breath'd o'er his breast,—
As gentle airs when days of summer close,
Breathe, over wearied nature still repose,
And lull a lovely evening to rest:
It whisper'd,—"All within is peace,
The storm is o'er, and troubles cease."

His sun went down in cloudless skies,
Assur'd upon the morn to rise,
In lovelier array,
But not like earth's declining light
To vanish back again to-night:
The zenith where he now shall glow
No bound, no setting beam can know.
Without, or cloud or shade of wo,
Is that eternal day.

History will not write his name,
Upon the *crimson* roll of fame;
But religion, meeker maid,
Mark him in her tablet fair;
And, when million names shall fade,
He will stand recorded there!

THE END.

MEMOIRS

OF THE LATE

REV. SAMUEL PEARCE, A.M.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM SOME OF HIS

—

MOST INTERESTING LETTERS.

BY ANDREW FULLER. D. D.

Oh Jonathan, thou wast slain upon thy high places. I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan !.....DAVID.

NEW-YORK:
THOMAS GEORGE, JR. 162 NASSAU STREET.
.....
1835.

INTRODUCTION.

It was observed by this excellent man, during his last affliction, that he never till then gained any personal instruction from our Lord's telling Peter by *what death* he should glorify God. To die by a consumption, had used to be an object of dread to him. But, "Oh my Lord, (said he,) if by *this death* I can most GLORIFY THEE, I prefer it to all others." The lingering death of the cross, by which our Saviour himself expired, afforded him an opportunity of uttering some of the most affecting sentences which are left on sacred record. And to the lingering death of this his honored servant, we are indebted for a considerable part of the materials which appear in these Memoirs. Had he been taken away suddenly, there had been no opportunity for him to have expressed his sentiments and feelings in the manner he has now done in letters to his friends. While in health, his hands were full of labor, and consequently his letters were written mostly upon the spur of occasion; and related principally to business, or to things which would be less interesting to Christians in general. It is true, even in them it was his manner to drop a few sentiments, towards the close, of an experimental kind; and many of these hints will be interspersed in this brief account of him. But it was during his affliction, when, being laid aside nearly a year, and obliged to desist from all public concerns, that he gave scope to the feelings of his heart. Here, standing as on an eminence, he reviewed his life, re-examined the ground of his hope, and anticipated the crown which awaited him, with a joy truly *unspeakable and full of glory*.

Like Elijah, he has left the *chariot of Israel*, and ascended as in ■ *chariot of fire;* but not without having first communicated of his eminently Christian spirit. Oh that ■ double portion of it may rest upon us!

MEMOIRS OF REV. SAMUEL PEARCE.

CHAPTER I.

His Parentage, Conversion, Call to the Ministry, and Settlement at Birmingham.

Mr. Samuel Pearce was born at Plymouth, on July 20th, 1766. His father, who survives him, is a respectable silversmith, and has been many years a deacon of the Baptist church in that place.

When a child, he lived with his grandfather, who was very fond of him, and endeavored to impress his mind with the principles of religion. At about eight or nine years of age, he came home to his father with a view of learning his business. As he advanced in life, his evil propensities, as he has said, began to ripen; and forming connections with several vicious school-fellows, he became more and more corrupted. So greatly was his heart, at this time, set in him to do evil, that had it not been for the restraining goodness of God, which somehow, he knew not how, preserved him in most instances from carrying his wicked inclinations into practice, he supposed he should have been utterly ruined.

At times he was under strong convictions, which rendered him miserable; but at other times they subsided; and then he would return with eagerness to his sinful pursuits. When about fifteen years old, he was sent by his father to inquire after the welfare of a person in the neighborhood, in dying circumstances, who (though before his departure he was in a happy state of mind, yet) at that time, was sinking into deep despair. While in the room of the dying man, he heard him cry out with inexpressible agony of spirit, "I am damned for ever!" These awful words pierced his soul; and he felt a resolution at the time to serve the Lord; but the impression soon wore off, and he again returned to folly.

When about sixteen years of age, it pleased God effectually to turn him to himself. A sermon delivered by Mr. Birt, who was then co-pastor with Mr. Gibbs, of the Baptist church at Plymouth, was the first mean of impressing his heart with a sense of his lost condition, and of directing him to the gospel remedy. The change in him appears to have been sudden, but effectual; and the recollection of his former vicious propensities, though a source of bitterness, yet furnished a strong evidence of its being the work of God. "I believe," he says, "few conversions were more joyful. The change produced in my views, feelings, and conduct, was so evident to myself, that I could no more doubt of its being from God, than of my existence. I had the witness in myself, and was filled with peace and joy unspeakable."

His feelings being naturally strong, and receiving a new direction, he entered into religion with all his heart; but not having known the devices of Satan, his soul was entangled by its own ardor, and he was thrown into great perplexity. Having read Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, he determined formally to dedicate himself to the Lord, in a manner recommended in the seventeenth chapter of that work. The form of a covenant, as there drawn up, he also adopted as his own; and that he might bind himself in the most solemn and affecting manner, *signed it with his blood*. But afterwards failing in his engagements, he was plunged into dreadful perplexity, and almost into despair. On a review of his covenant, he seems to have accused himself of a pharisaical reliance upon the strength of his own resolutions; and therefore, taking the paper to the top of his father's house, he tore it into small pieces, and threw it from him to be scattered by the wind. He did not, however, consider his obligation to be the Lord's, as hereby nullified; but feeling more suspicion of himself, he depended upon *the blood of the cross*.

After this, he was baptized, and became a member of the Baptist church at Plymouth, the ministers and members of which, in a few years, perceived in him talents for public work. Being solicited by both his pastors, he exercised as a probationer; and receiving a unanimous call from the church, entered on the work of the ministry in November, 1786. Soon after this, he went to the academy at Bristol, then under the superintendence of Dr. Caleb Evans.

Mr. Birt, now pastor of the Baptist church in the square, Plymouth Dock, in a letter to the compiler of these memoirs, thus speaks of him:—"Though he was, so far as I know, the very first fruits of my ministry, on my coming hither, and though our friendship and affection for each other were great and constant, yet previous to his going to Bristol, I had but few opportunities of conversing with him, or of making particular observations on him. All who best knew him, however, will remember, and must tenderly speak of his loving deportment; and those who attended the conferences with him, soon received the most impressive intimations of his future eminence as a minister of our Lord Jesus Christ."

"Very few," adds Mr. Birt, "have entered upon, and gone through their religious profession with more exalted piety, or warmer zeal, than Samuel Pearce; and as few have exceeded him in the possession and display of that *charity* which 'suffereth long, and is kind, that envieth not, that vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up, that doth not behave itself unseemly, that seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, that beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things.' But why should I say this to you? You knew him yourself."

While at the academy, he was much distinguished by the amiableness of his spirit and behavior. It is sometimes observable that where the talents of a young man are admired by his friends, and his early efforts flattered by crowded auditories, effects have been produced which have proved fatal to his future respectability and usefulness. But this was not the case with Mr. Pearce. Amidst the tide of popularity, which even at that early period attended his ministerial exercises, his tutors have more than once remarked that he never appeared to them to be in the least elated, or to have neglected his proper studies; but was uniformly the serious, industrious, docile, modest, and unassuming young man.

Towards the latter end of 1789, he came to the church in Cannon street, Birmingham, to whom he was recommended by Mr. Hall, now of Cambridge, at that time one of his tutors. After preaching to them awhile on approbation, he was chosen to be their pastor. His ordination was in August, 1790. Dr. Evans gave the charge, and the late Mr. Robert Hall, of Arnsby, delivered an address to the church on the occasion. In the year 1791, he married Miss Sarah Hopkins, daughter of Mr. Joshua Hopkins, of Alcester: a connection which appears to have been all along a source of great enjoyment to him. The following lines addressed to Mrs. Pearce, when he was on a journey, a little more than a year after their marriage, seem to be no more than a common letter; yet they show, not only the tenderness of his

affection, but his heavenly mindedness, his gentle manner of persuading, and how every argument was fetched from religion, and every incident improved for introducing it:—

Chipping Norton, August 15, 1792.

"I believe, on retrospection, that I have hitherto anticipated the proposed time of my return, rather than delayed the interview with my dear Sarah for an hour. But what shall I say my love now, to reconcile you to my procrastinating my return for several days more? Why, I will say, it appears I am called of God; and I trust the piety of both of us will submit and say, *Thy will be done.*

"You have no doubt perused Mr. Ryland's letter to me, wherein I find he solicits an exchange. The reason he assigns is so obviously important, that a much greater sacrifice than we are called to make, should not be withheld to accomplish it. I therefore propose, God willing, to spend the next Lord's day at Northampton. I thought of taking tea with you this evening:—*that* would have been highly gratifying to us both; but it must be our meat and drink to do and submit to the will of our heavenly Father. All is good that comes from him, and all is done right which is done in obedience to him. Oh to be perfectly resigned to his disposal—how good is it! May you, my dearest Sarah, and myself, daily prove the sweetness of this pious frame of soul: then all our duties will be sweet, all our trials will be light, all our pleasures will be pure, and all our hopes sanctified.

"This evening I hope to be at Northampton. Let your prayers assist my efforts on the ensuing Sabbath. You will, I trust, find in Mr. R. a ship richly laden with spiritual treasures. Oh for more supplies from the exhaustless mines of grace!

"S. P."

The soul of Mr. Pearce was formed for friendship: it was natural, therefore, to suppose, that while engaging in the pursuit of his studies at the academy, he would contract religious intimacies with some of his brethren; and it is worthy of notice, that the grand cement of his friendship was *kindred piety.* In the two following letters, addressed to his friend, Mr. Steadman, the reader will perceive the justness of this remark, as well as the encouraging prospects which soon attended his labors at Birmingham:—

May 9, 1792.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER—"You live so remote that I can hear nothing of your prosperity at Broughton. I hope you are settled with a comfortable people, and that you enjoy much of your Master's presence, both in the study and the pulpit. For my part, I have nothing to lament but an insensible, ungrateful heart, and that is sufficient cause for lamentation. This, only this, bows me down; and under this pressure I am ready to adopt the words I preached from last evening:—*Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest!*

"As a people, we are generally united; I believe more so than most churches of the same dimensions. Our number of members is about two hundred and ninety-five, between forty and fifty of whom have joined us since I saw you, and most of them I have the happiness of considering as my children in the faith. There is still a crying out amongst us after salvation; and still, through much grace, it is my happiness to point them to the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world.

"In preaching, I have often peculiar liberty; at other times barren. I suppose my experience is like that of most of my brethren: but I am not weary of my work. I hope still that I am willing to spend and be spent, so that I may win souls to Christ, and finish my course with joy; but I want more heart religion: I want a more habitual sense of the divine presence; I want to walk with God as Enoch walked. There is nothing that grieves me so much, or brings so much darkness on my soul, as my little spirituality, and frequent wanderings in secret prayer. I cannot neglect the duty; but it is seldom that I enjoy it.

'Ye that love the Lord indeed
Tell me, is it so with you?'

When I come to the house of God, I pray and preach with freedom. Then I think the presence of the people seems to weigh more with me than the presence of God, and deem myself a hypocrite, almost ready to leave my pulpit, for some more pious preacher. But the Lord does own the word; and again I say, if I go to hell myself, I will do what I can to keep others from going thither; and so in the strength of the Lord I will.

"An observation once made to me, helps to support me above water:—'If you did not plough in your closet, you would not reap in the pulpit.' And again I think the Lord *dwelleth in Zion*, and loveth it *more* than the dwellings of Jacob. S. P."

Feb. 1, 1793.

"The pleasure which your friendly epistle gave me, rises beyond expression; and it is one of the first wishes of my heart ever to live in your valued friendship. Accept this, and my former letters, my dear brother, as sufficient evidences of my ardent wishes to preserve by correspondence, that mutual remembrance of each other, which on my part will ever be pleasurable, and on yours, I hope, never painful.

"But ah, how soon may we be rendered incapable of such an intercourse! When I left Bristol, I left it with regret. I was sorry to leave my studies to embark (inexperienced as I am) on the tempestuous ocean of public life, where the high blowing winds, and rude and noisy billows, must more or less inevitably annoy the trembling voyager. Nor did it make a small addition to my pain, that I was to part with so many of my dear companions, with whom I had spent so many happy hours, either in furnishing or unburthening the mind. I need not say, among the first of these I considered Josiah Evans. But ah, my friend, we shall see his face no more! Through divine grace I hope we shall go to him, but he will not return to us. 'He wasted away, he gave up the ghost, and where is he?' I was prepared for the news, because I expected it. The last time I heard directly from him, was by a very serious and affectionate letter, which I received, I think, last September. To it I replied; but received no answer. I conjectured, I feared; and now my conjectures and fears are all realized. Dear departed youth! thy memory will ever be grateful to this affectionate breast. May thy amiable qualities live again in thy surviving friend, that to the latest period of his life he may thank God for the friendship of Josiah Evans.

"I assure you, my dear Steadman, I feel, keenly feel the force of the sentiment, which Blair thus elegantly expresses—

'Of joys departed ne'er to be recall'd,
How painful the remembrance!'

"But I sorrow not as one without hope. I have a two-fold hope: I hope he is now among the spirits of the just made perfect, and that he will be of the blessed and holy number who have part in the first resurrection: and I hope also, through the same rich, free, sovereign, almighty, matchless grace, to join the number too. Pleasing thought! Unite to divide no more!

"I preached last night from Rev. xxi. 6: 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the

water of life freely.' I took occasion to expound the former part of the chapter, and found therein a pleasure inexpressible; especially when speaking from the first verse—'And there was no more sea.' The first idea which presented itself to me was this —*there shall be no bar to intercourse.* Whether the thought be just or not, I leave with you and my hearers to determine: But I found happy liberty in illustrating it. What is it that separates one nation, and one part of the globe from another? Is it not the sea? Are not Christians, though all of one family, the common father of which is God, separated by this sea, or that river, or the other stream below? Yes; but they are one family still. *There* shall be none of these obstructions to communion, of these bars to intercourse; nothing to divide their affections or disunite their praise for ever. Forgive my freedoms, I am writing to a friend, to a brother.

"S. P."

There are few, if any, thinking men, but who at some seasons, have had their minds perplexed with regard to religious principles, even those which are of the greatest importance. In the end, however, where the heart is right, they commonly issue in a more decided attachment to the truth. Thus it was with Mr. Pearce. In another part of the above letter, he thus writes to his friend Steadman:—"I have since I saw you, been much perplexed about some doctrinal points, both Arminian and Socinian, I believe through reading very attentively, but without sufficient dependence on the Spirit of truth, several controversies on those subjects; particularly the writings of Whitby, Priestly, and others. Indeed, had the state of mind I was in about ten weeks since continued, I should have been incapable of preaching with comfort at all. But in the mount of the Lord will he be seen. Just as I thought of giving up, he who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and turneth them as the rivers of water are turned, was pleased, by a merciful though afflicting providence, to set me at a happy liberty.

"I was violently seized with a disorder very rife here, and which carried off many, supposed to be an inflammation in the bowels. One Sabbath evening I felt such alarming symptoms, that I did not expect to see the Monday morning. In these circumstances I realized the feelings of a dying man. My mind had been so accustomed to reflect on virtue and moral goodness, that the first thing I attempted, was a survey of my own conduct; my diligence and faithfulness in the ministry, my unspotted life, &c. &c. But ah! vain props these for dying men to rest on! Such heart sins, such corruptions and evil propensities recurred to my mind, that if ever I knew the moment when I felt my own righteousness to be like loathsome and filthy rags, it was then. And where should I, where could I, where did I flee, but to Him whose glory and grace I had been of late degrading, at least in my thoughts?—Yes, there I saw peace for guilty consciences, was to be *alone* obtained through an almighty Saviour. And O! wonderful to tell, I again came to him; nor was I sent away without the blessing. I found him full of all compassion, ready to receive the most ungrateful of men.

'O! to grace how great a debtor
Daily I'm constrained to be.'

Thus, my dear brother, was the snare broken, and thus I escaped.

'A debtor to mercy alone,
Of covenant mercy I sing.'

Join with me in praising Him, who remembered me in my low estate, because his mercy endureth for ever. Yet this is among the *all things.* I have found it has made me more spiritual in preaching. I have prized the gospel more than ever, and hope it will be the means of guarding me against future temptations. Your brother, with ardent affection, in the dear Lord Jesus. S. P."

From his first coming to Birmingham, his meekness and patience were put to the trial by an Antinomian spirit, which infected many individuals, both in and out of his congregation. It is well known, with what affection it was his practice to beseech sinners to be reconciled to God, and to exhort Christians to the exercise of practical godliness: but these were things which they could not endure. Soothing doctrine was all they desired.—Therefore it was, that his ministry was traduced by them as Arminian, and treated with neglect and contempt. But, like his divine Master, he bore the contradiction of sinners against himself, and this while he had the strongest satisfaction, that in those very things to which they objected, he was pleasing God. And though he plainly perceived the pernicious influence of their principles upon their own minds, as well as the minds of others, yet he treated them with great gentleness and long forbearance; and when it became necessary to exclude such of this description, as were in communion with him, it was with the greatest reluctance that he came into that measure, and not without having first tried all other means in vain. He was not apt to deal in harsh language; yet in one of his letters about that time, he speaks of the principles and spirit of these people, as a "cursed leaven."

Among his numerous religious friendships, he seems to have formed one, for the special purpose of *spiritual improvement.* This was with Mr. Summers, of London, who often accompanied him in his journeys; to whom, therefore, it might be expected he would open his heart without reserve.—Here, it is true, we sometimes see him, like his brethren, groaning under darkness, want of spirituality, and the remains of indwelling sin; but frequently rising above all, as into his native element, and pouring forth his ardent soul in expressions of joy and praise. On Aug. 19, 1793, he writes thus:

"My dear brother—When I take my pen to pursue my correspondence with *you,* I have no concern but to communicate something which may answer the same end we propose in our annual journeys: viz. lending some assistance in the important object of *getting, and keeping nearer to God.* This I am persuaded is the mark at which we should be continually aiming, nor rest satisfied until we attain that to which we aspire. I am really ashamed of myself, when on the one hand, I review the time that has elapsed since I first assumed the Christian name, with the opportunities of improvement in godliness which have crowded on my moments since that period; and when on the other, I *feel* the little advance I have made! More *light,* to be sure, I have; but light without *heat* leaves the Christian half dissatisfied. Yesterday I preached on the duty of engagedness in God's service, from Jer. xxx. 21, 'Who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me? saith the Lord.' (A text for which I am indebted to our last journey.) While urging the necessity of *heart* religion, including sincerity and ardor, I found myself much assisted by reflecting on the ardor which our dear Redeemer discovered in the cause of sinners. 'Ah,' I could not help saying, 'if our Saviour had measured his intenseness in his engagements for us, by our fervency in fulfilling our engagements to him, we should have been now farther from hope than we are from perfection.'

'Dear Lord, the ardor of *thy* love
Reproves my cold returns.'

"Two things are causes of daily astonishment to

me—the readiness of Christ to come from heaven to earth for me; and my backwardness to rise from earth to heaven with him. But oh how animating the prospect! A time approaches when we shall rise to sink no more: to 'be for ever with the Lord.' To be *with the Lord* for a week, for a day, for an hour; how sweetly must the moments pass! But to be *for ever* with the Lord—*that* instamps salvation with perfection; that gives an energy to our hopes, and a dignity to our joy, so as to render it 'unspeakable and full of glory!' I have had a few realizing moments since we parted, and the effect has been, I trust, a broken heart. O, my brother, it is desirable to have a broken heart, were it only for the sake of the pleasure it feels in being helped and healed by Jesus! Heart affecting views of the cursed effects of sin, are highly salutary to a Christian's growth in humility, confidence, and gratitude. At once how abasing and exalting the comparison of our loathsome hearts with that of the lovely Saviour! In him we see all that can charm an angel's heart; in *ourselves*, all that can gratify a devil's. And yet we may rest perfectly assured that these nests of iniquity shall ere long be transformed into the temples of God; and these sighs of sorrow be exchanged for songs of praise.

"Last Lord's day I spent the most profitable Sabbath to myself, that I ever remember since I have been in the ministry; and to this hour I feel the sweet solemnities of that day delightfully protracted. Ah, my brother, were it not for past experience, I should say,

> 'My heart presumes I cannot lose
> The relish all my days.'

But now I rejoice with trembling; desiring to 'hold fast what I have, that no man take my crown.' Yet fearing that I shall find how

> —'Ere one fleeting hour is past,
> The flattering world employs
> Some sensual bait to seize my taste,
> And to pollute my joys.'

"Yours, in our dear Saviour, S. P."

In April, 1794, dropping a few lines to the compiler of these Memoirs, on Lord's day evening, he thus concludes:—"We have had a good day. I find, as a dear friend once said, *It is pleasant speaking for God when we walk with him.* Oh for much of Enoch's spirit! The head of the church grant it to my dear brother, and his affectionate friend, S. P."

In another letter to Mr. Summers, dated June 24, 1794, he thus writes:—"We, my friend, have entered on a correspondence of heart with heart, and must not lose sight of that avowed object. I thank you sincerely for continuing the remembrance of so unworthy a creature, in your intercourse with heaven: and I thank that sacred Spirit, whose quickening influences you say you enjoy in the exercise. Yes, my brother, I have reaped the fruits of your supplications. I have been indulged with some seasons of unusual joy, tranquil as solitude, and solid as the rock on which our hopes are built. In public exercises, peculiar assistance has been afforded; especially in these three things—the exaltation of the Redeemer's glory; the detection of the crooked ways, false refuges, and self-delusions of the human heart; and the stirring up of the saints to press onward, making God's cause their own, and considering themselves as living not for themselves, but for *him* alone.

"Nor hath the word been without its effect; above fifty have been added to our church this year, most of whom I rejoice in, as the seals of my ministry in the Lord. Indeed I am surrounded with goodness; and scarce a day passes over my head, but I say, were it not for an *ungrateful heart* I should be the happiest man alive; and *that* excepted, I neither expect nor wish to be happier in this world. My wife, my children, and myself are uninterruptedly healthy; my friends kind; my soul at rest; my labors successful, &c. Who should be content and thankful, if I should not? Oh, my brother, help me to praise! S. P."

In a letter to Mrs. Pearce, from Plymouth, dated Sept. 2, 1794, the dark side of the cloud seems towards him: "I have felt much barrenness, says he, as to spiritual things, since I have been here, compared with my usual frame at home: and it is a poor exchange to enjoy the creature at the expense of the Creator's presence: a few seasons of spirituality I have enjoyed; but my heart, my inconstant heart, is too prone to rove from its proper centre. Pray for me, my dear, my dearest friend! I do for you daily. Oh wrestle for me, that I may have more of Enoch's spirit! I am fully persuaded that a Christian is no longer really happy, and inwardly satisfied, than whilst he walks with God; and I would this moment rejoice to abandon every pleasure here for a closer walk with him. I cannot, amidst all the round of social pleasure, amidst the most inviting scenes of nature, *feel* that peace with God which passeth understanding. My thirst for preaching Christ, I fear, abates, and a detestable vanity for the reputation of a "good preacher" (as the world terms it) has already cost me many conflicts. Daily I feel convinced of the propriety of a remark which my friend Summers made on his journey to Wales, that 'It is easier for a Christian to walk habitually near to God, than to be irregular in our walk with him.' But I want resolution; I want a contempt for the world; I want more heavenly-mindedness; I want more humility; I want much, very much of that, which God alone can bestow. Lord, help the weakest lamb in all thy flock!

"I preached this evening from Cant. ii. 3: 'I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste.' But how little love for my Saviour did I feel! with what little affection and zeal did I speak! I am, by some, praised; I am followed by many; I am respected by most of my acquaintances; but all this is nothing; yea, less than nothing, compared with possessing 'this testimony, *that I please* GOD.' Oh thou friend of sinners, humble me by repentance, and melt me down with love!

"To-morrow morning I set off for Launceston. I write to-night, lest my stay in Cornwall might make my delay appear tedious to the dear and deserving object of my most undissembled love. Oh, my Sarah, had I as much proof that I loved *Jesus Christ*, as I have of my love to *you*, I should prize it more than rubies! As often as you can find an hour for correspondence, think of your more than ever affectionate S. P."

In another to Mr. Summers, dated Nov. 10, 1794, he says:—"I suppose I shall visit London in the spring. Prepare my way by communion both with God and man. I hope your soul prospers. I have enjoyed more of God within this month than ever since the day of my espousals with him. Oh, my brother, help me to praise! I cannot say that I am quite so exalted in my frame to-day; yet still I acknowledge what I have lived upon for weeks.—That were there no being or thing in the universe, beside God and me, I should be at no loss for happiness. Oh,

> 'Tis heaven to rest in his embrace,
> And no where else but there.'

"S. P."

CHAPTER II.

His laborious exertions in promoting Missions to the heathen, and offering himself to become a Missionary.

Mr. Pearce has been uniformly the spiritual and the active servant of Christ; but neither his spirituality nor his activity would have appeared in the manner they have, but for his engagements in the *introduction of the gospel among the heathen.*

It was not long after his settlement at Birmingham, that he became acquainted with Mr. Carey, in whom he found a soul nearly akin to his own. When the brethren in the counties of Northampton and Leicester formed themselves into a Missionary Society at Kettering, in Oct. 1792, he was there, and entered into the business with all his heart. On his return to Birmingham, he communicated the subject to his congregation with so much effect, that to the small sum of £13 2*s.* 6*d*, with which the subscription was begun, was added £70, which was collected and transmitted to the treasurer; and the leading members of the church formed themselves into an assistant society. Early in the following spring, when it was resolved that our brethren, Thomas and Carey, should go on a mission to the Hindoos, and a considerable sum of money was wanted for the purpose, he labored with increasing ardor in various parts of the kingdom; and when the object was accomplished, he rejoiced in all his labor, smiling in every company, and blessing God.

During his labors and journeys, on this important object, he wrote several letters to his friends, an extract or two from which, will discover the state of his mind at this period, as well as the encouragements that he met with in his work at home:—

TO MR. STEADMAN.

Birmingham, February 8, 1793.

"My very dear brother—Union of sentiment often creates friendship among carnal men, and similarity of feeling never fails to produce affection among pious men, as far as that similarity is known. I have loved you ever since I knew you. We saw, we felt alike in the interesting concerns of personal religion. We formed a reciprocal attachment. We expressed it by words. We agreed to do so by correspondence; and we have not altogether been wanting to our engagements. But our correspondence has been interrupted, not, I believe, through any diminution of regard on either side: I am persuaded not on mine. I rather condemn myself as the first aggressor; but I excuse while I condemn, and so would you, did you know half the concerns which devolve upon me in my present situation. Birmingham is a central place; the inhabitants are numerous; our members are between three and four hundred. The word preached has lately been remarkably blessed. In less than five months I baptized nearly forty persons, almost all newly awakened. Next Lord's day week I expect to add to their number. These persons came to my house to propose the most important of all inquiries: 'What must we do to be saved?' I have been thus engaged some weeks during the greatest part of most days. This with four sermons a week, will account for my neglect. But your letter, received this evening, calls forth every latent affection of my heart for you. We are, my dear brother, not only united in the common object of pursuit—*salvation;* not only rest our hopes on the same foundation—*Jesus Christ;* but we feel alike respecting the poor heathens! Oh, how Christianity expands the mind! What tenderness for our poor fellow sinners! What sympathy for their moral misery! What desires to do them everlasting good doth it provoke! How satisfying to our judgments is this evidence of grace! How gratifying to our present taste are these benevolent breathings! Oh, how I love that man whose soul is deeply affected with the importance of the precious gospel to idolatrous heathens! Excellently, my dear brother, you observe, that, great as its blessings are in the estimation of a sinner called in a Christian country, inexpressibly greater must they shine on the newly illuminated mind of a converted pagan.

"We shall be glad of all your assistance in a pecuniary way, as the expense will be heavy. Dear brother Carey has paid us a visit of love this week. He preached excellently to-night. I expect brother Thomas next week or the week after. I wish you would meet him here. I have a house at your command, and a heart greatly attached to you.

"S. P."

TO MR. FULLER.

February 23, 1793.

"I am willing to go any where, and do any thing in my power; but I hope no plan will be suffered to interfere with the affecting—hoped for—dreaded day, March 13, (the day of our brethren, Carey and Thomas's solemn designation at Leicester.) Oh, how the anticipation of it at once rejoices and afflicts me. Our hearts need steeling to part with our much-loved brethren, who are about to venture their all for the name of the Lord Jesus. I feel my soul melting within me when I read the twentieth chapter of the Acts, and especially verses 36—38. But why grieve? We shall see them again: Oh, yes; them, and the children whom the Lord will give them; we, and the children whom the Lord hath given us. We shall meet again: not to weep and pray, but to smile and praise. S. P."

From the day of the departure of the missionaries, no one was more importunate in prayer than Mr. Pearce; and on the news of their safe arrival, no one was more filled with joy and thankfulness.

Hitherto we had witnessed his zeal in promoting this important undertaking *at home;* but this did not satisfy him. In October, 1794, we were given to understand that he had for some time had it in serious contemplation to go himself, and to cast in his lot with his brethren in India. When his designs were first discovered, his friends and connections were much concerned about it, and endeavored to persuade him that he was already in a sphere of usefulness too important to be relinquished. But his answer was, that they were too interested in the affair to be competent judges, and nothing would satisfy him short of his making a formal offer of his services to the committee: nor could he be happy for *them* to decide upon it, without their appointing a day of solemn prayer for the purpose, and, when assembled, hearing an account of the principal exercises of his mind upon the subject, with the reasons which induced him to make the proposal, as well as the reasons alleged by his connections against it.

On Oct. 4, 1794, he wrote to an intimate friend, of whom he entertained a hope that he might accompany him, as follows:

"Last Wednesday I rode to Northampton, where a ministers' meeting was held on the following day. We talked much about the mission. We read some fresh and very encouraging accounts. We lamented that we could obtain no suitable persons to send out to the assistance of our brethren. Now what do you think was said at this meeting? My dear brother, do not be surprised that *all* present united in opinion, that in all our connection there was no man known to us so suitable as *you*, provided you were disposed for it, and things could be brought to bear. I thought it right to mention this circumstance; and one thing more I cannot refrain from saying, that were it manifestly the will of God, I should call that the happiest hour of my life

which witnessed our *both* embarking with our families on board one ship, as helpers of the servants of Jesus Christ already in Hindostan. Yes, I could unreluctantly leave Europe and all its contents for the pleasures and perils of this glorious service. Often my heart in the sincerest ardors thus breathes forth its desires unto God: 'Here am I, send me!' But I am ignorant whether you from experience can realize my feelings. Perhaps you have friendship enough for me to lay open your meditations on this subject in your next. If you have had half the exercises that I have, it will be a relief to your laboring hand: or, if you think I have made too free with you, reprove me, and I will love you still. O if I could find a heart that had been tortured and ravished like my own in this respect, I should form a new kind of alliance, and feel a friendship of a novel species. With eagerness should I communicate all the vicissitudes of my sensations, and with eagerness listen to a recital of kindred feelings. With impatience I should seek, and with gratitude receive direction and support, and, I hope, feel a new occasion of thankfulness, when I bow my knee to the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort. Whence is it that I thus write to *you*, as I have never written to any one before? Is there a fellowship of the Spirit; or is it the confidence that I have in your friendship that thus directs my pen? Tell me, dear ———, tell me how you have felt, and how you still feel on this interesting subject, and do not long delay the gratification to your very affectionatefriend and brother, S. P."

About a month preceding the decision of this affair, he drew up a *narrative* of his experience respecting it; resolving at the same time to set apart one day in every week for secret fasting and prayer to God for direction; and to keep a *diary* of the exercises of his mind during the month.

When the committee were met at Northampton, according to his desire, he presented to them the narrative; and which was as follows:—

"October 8, 1794. Having had some peculiar exercises of mind relative to my personally attempting to labor for the dear Redeemer amongst the *heathen;* and being at a loss to know what is the will of the Lord in this matter respecting me, I have thought that I might gain some satisfaction by adopting these two resolutions: First, That I will, as in the presence of God, faithfully endeavor to recollect the various workings of my mind on this subject, from the first period of my feeling any desire of this nature until now, and commit them to writing; together with what considerations do now, on the one hand, impel me to the work, and on the other, what prevent me from immediately resolving to enter upon it. Secondly, That I will from this day keep a regular journal, with special relation to this matter.

"This account and journal will, I hope, furnish me with much assistance, in forming a future opinion of the path of duty; as well as help any friends whom I may hereafter think proper to consult, to give me suitable advice in the business. Lord, help me!

"It is very common for young converts to feel strong desires for the conversion of others. These desires immediately followed the evidences of my own religion: and I remember well they were particularly fixed upon the poor heathens. I believe the first week that I knew the grace of God in truth, I put up many fervent cries to heaven in their behalf; and at the same time felt a strong desire to be employed in promoting their salvation. It was not long after, that the first settlers sailed for Botany bay. I longed to go with them, although in company with the convicts, in hopes of making known the blessings of the great salvation in New Zealand. I actually had thought of making an effort to go out unknown to my friends; but, ignorant how to proceed, I abandoned my purpose. Nevertheless, I could not help talking about it; and at one time a report was circulated that I was really going; and a neighboring minister very seriously conversed with me upon the subject.

"While I was at the Bristol academy, the desire remained; but not with that energy as at first, except on one or two occasions. Being sent by my tutor to preach two Sabbaths at Coldford, I felt particular sweetness in devoting the evenings of the week, to going from house to house among the colliers, who dwell in the *Forest of Deane*, adjoining the town, conversing and praying with them, and preaching to them. In these exercises I found the most solid satisfaction, that I have ever known in discharging the duties of my calling. In a poor hut, with a stone to stand upon, and a three-legged stool for my desk, surrounded with thirty or forty of the smutty neighbors, I have felt such an unction from above, that my whole auditory have been melted into tears, whilst directed to 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world;' and I, weeping among them, could scarcely speak, or they hear, for interrupting sighs and sobs. Many a time did I then think, Thus it was with the apostles of our Lord, when they went from house to house among the poor heathen. In work like this, I could live and die. Indeed, had I at that time been at liberty to settle, I should have preferred that situation to any in the kingdom, with which I was then acquainted.

"But the Lord placed me in a situation very different. He brought me to Birmingham; and here, among the novelties, cares, and duties of my station, I do not remember any wish for foreign service, till after a residence of some months, I heard Dr. Coke preach at one of Mr. Wesley's chapels, from Psalm lxviii. 31. 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.' Then it was, that in Mr. Horne's phrase, 'I felt a passion for missions.' Then I felt an interest in the state of the heathen world, far more deep and permanent than before, and seriously thought how I could best promote their obtaining the knowledge of a crucified Jesus.

"As no way at that time was open, I cannot say, that I thought of taking a part of the good work among the heathen abroad; but resolved that I would render them all the assistance I could at home. My mind was employed during the residue of that week, in meditating on Psalm lxvii. 3. 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God;'—and the next Sabbath morning I spoke from those words, On the promised increase of the church of God. I had observed that our monthly meetings for prayer, had been better attended than the other prayer meetings, from the time that I first knew the people in Cannon street: but I thought a more general attention to them was desirable. I therefore preached on the Sabbath-day evening preceding the next monthly prayer-meeting, from Matt. vi. 10.—'Thy kingdom come;' and urged with ardor and affection, a universal union of the serious part of the congregation in this exercise. It rejoiced me to see three times as many the next night as usual; and for some time after that, I had nearly equal cause for joy.

"As to my own part, I continued to preach much upon the promises of God, respecting the conversion of the heathen nations; and by so doing, and always communicating to my people, every piece of information I could obtain respecting the present state of missions, they soon imbibed the same spirit: and from that time to this, they have discovered so much concern for the more extensive spread of the gospel, that at our monthly prayer-meetings, both

stated and occasional, I should be as much surprised at the case of the heathen being omitted in any prayer, as at an omission of the name and merits of Jesus.

"Indeed it has been a frequent means of enkindling my languid devotion, in my private, domestic, and public engagements in prayer. When I have been barren in petitioning for myself, and other things, often have I been sweetly enlarged, when I came to notice the situation of those who were perishing for lack of knowledge.

"Thus I went on praying, and preaching, and conversing on the subject, till the time of brother Carey's ordination at Leicester, May 24, 1791. On the evening of that day, he read to the ministers a great part of his manuscript, since published; entitled, *An Inquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the heathens.* This added fresh fuel to my zeal. But to pray and preach on the subject, was all I could then think of doing. But when I heard of a proposed meeting at Kettering, Oct. 2, 1792, for the express purpose of considering our duty in regard to the heathens, I could not resist my inclination for going; although at that time I was not much acquainted with the ministers of the Northamptonshire association. There I got my judgment informed, and my heart increasingly interested. I returned home resolved to lay myself out in the cause. The public steps I have taken are too well known to need repeating; but my mind became now inclined to go among the heathen myself. Yet a consideration of my connections with the dear people of God in Birmingham, restrained my desires, and kept me from naming my wishes to any body, (as I remember) except to brother Carey. With him I was pretty free. We had an interesting conversation about it just before he left Europe. I shall never forget the *manner* of his saying, 'Well, you will come after us.' My heart said, Amen! and my eagerness for the work increased; though I never talked freely about it, except to my wife, and we both then thought that my relation to the church in Cannon street, and usefulness there, forbade any such an attempt. However, I have made it a constant matter of prayer, often begging of God, as I did when first I was disposed for the work of the ministry, either that he would take away the desire, or open a door for its fulfilment. And the result has uniformly been, that the more spiritual I have been in the frame of my mind, the more love I have felt for God; and the more communion I have enjoyed with him, so much the more disposed have I been, to engage as a missionary among the heathen.

"Until the accounts came of our brethren's entrance on the work in India, my connections in Europe pretty nearly balanced my desire for going abroad; and though I felt quite devoted to the Lord's will and work, yet I thought the scale rather preponderated on the side of my abiding in my present situation.

"But since our brethren's letters have informed us, that there is such prospects of usefulness in Hindostan—that priests and people are ready to hear the word—and that preachers are a thousand times more wanted, than people to preach to, my heart has been more deeply affected than ever with their condition; and my desires for a participation of the toils and pleasures, crosses and comforts, of which they are the subjects, are advanced to an anxiety which nothing can remove, and time seems to increase.

"It has pleased God also lately to teach me more than ever, that HIMSELF is the *fountain* of happiness; that likeness to him, friendship for him, and communion with him, form the basis of all true enjoyment; and that this can be attained as well in an eastern jungle, among Hindoos and Moors, as in the most polished parts of Europe. The very *disposition*, which, blessed be my dear Redeemer! he has given me, to be any thing, to do any thing, or endure any thing, so that his name might be glorified—I say, the *disposition* itself is heaven begun below. I do feel a daily panting after more devotedness to his service, and I can never think of my suffering Lord, without dissolving into love; love which constrains me to glorify him with my body and spirit, which are his.

"I do often represent to myself all the possible hardships of a mission, arising from my own heart, the nature of the country, domestic connections, disappointment in my hopes, &c. &c. And then I set over against them all, these two thoughts—*I am God's servant, and God is my friend.* In this, I anticipate happiness in the midst of suffering, light in darkness, and life in death. Yea, I do not count my life dear unto myself, so that I may win some poor heathens unto Christ; and I am willing to be offered as a sacrifice, on the service of the faith of the gospel.

"Mr. Horne justly observes, 'that, in order to justify a man's undertaking the work of a missionary, he should be qualified for it, disposed heartily to enter upon it, and free from such ties as exclude an engagement.' As to the first, others must judge for me; but they must not be men who have an interest in keeping me at home. I shall rejoice in opportunities of attaining to an acquaintance with the ideas of judicious and *impartial* men in this matter, and with them I must leave it. A willingness to embark in this cause I do possess: and I can hardly persuade myself that God has for ten years inclined my heart to this work, without having any thing for me to do in it. But the third thing requires more consideration; and here alone I hesitate." Here he goes on to state all the objections from this quarter, with his answers to them, leaving it with his brethren to decide when they had heard the whole.

The committee, after the most serious and mature deliberation, though they were fully satisfied as to brother Pearce's qualifications, and greatly approved of his spirit, yet were unanimously of opinion *that he ought not to go;* and that not merely on account of his connections at home, which might have been pleaded in the case of brother Carey, but on account of the mission itself, which required his assistance in the station which he already occupied.

In this opinion, brother Carey himself, with singular disinterestedness of mind, afterwards concurred; and wrote to brother Pearce to the same effect.

On receiving the opinion of the committee, he immediately wrote to Mrs. P. as follows:—

Northampton, Nov. 13, 1793.

"MY DEAR SARAH—I am disappointed, but not dismayed. I ever wish to make my Saviour's will my own. I am more satisfied than ever I expected I should be with a negative upon my earnest desires, because the business has been so conducted, that I think, (if by any means such an issue could be insured) the mind of Christ has been obtained. My dear brethren here have treated the affair with as much seriousness and affection as I could possibly desire, and, I think, more than so insignificant a worm could expect. After we had spent the former part of this day in fasting and prayer, with conversation on the subject, till near two o'clock, brother Potts, King, and I retired. We prayed while the committee consulted. The case seemed difficult, and I suppose they were nearly two hours in deciding. At last, *time* forced them to a point; and their answer I inclose for your satisfaction.

Pray take care of it; it will serve for me to refer to when my mind may labor beneath a burden of guilt another day.

"I am my dear Sarah's own S. P."

The decision of the committee, though it rendered him much more reconciled to abide in his native country, than he could have been without it; yet did not in the least abate his zeal for the object. As he could not promote it abroad, he seemed resolved to lay himself out more for it at home. In March, 1795, after a dangerous illness, he says, in a letter to Mr. Fuller—"Through mercy I am almost in a state of convalescence. May my spared life be wholly devoted to the service of my dear Redeemer. I do not care where I am, whether in England or in India, so I am employed as he would have me; but surely we need pray hard that God would send some more help to Hindostan."

In January, 1796, when he was first informed by the secretary, of a young man, (Mr. Fountain) being desirous of going, of the character that was given of him by our friend Mr. Savage, of London, and of a committee meeting being in contemplation, he wrote thus in answer—"Your letter, just arrived, put—I was going to say, another soul into my little body; at least it has added new life to the soul I have. I cannot be contented with the thought of being absent from your proposed meeting. No, no; I must be there, (for my own sake I mean) and try to sing with you, 'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness.'"*

In August, the same year, having received a letter from India, he wrote to Mr. Fuller as follows—"Brother Carey speaks in such a manner of the effects of the gospel in his neighborhood, as in my view promises a fair illustration of our Lord's parable, when he compared the kingdom of heaven to a little leaven, hid in three measures of meal, which insinuated itself so effectually as to leaven the lump at last. Blessed be God, the leaven is already in the meal. The fermentation is begun; and my hopes were never half so strong as they are now, that the whole shall be effectually leavened. O THAT I WERE THERE TO WITNESS THE DELIGHTFUL PROGRESS! But whither am I running? . . . I LONG TO WRITE TO YOU FROM HINDOSTAN!"

On receiving other letters from India, in January, 1797, he thus writes:—"Perhaps you are now rejoicing in spirit with me over fresh intelligence from Bengal. This moment have I concluded reading two letters from brother Thomas: one to the Society, and the other to myself. He speaks of others from brother Carey. I hope they are already in your possession. If his correspondence has produced the same effects on your heart as brother Thomas's has on mine, you are filled with gladness and hope. I am grieved that I cannot convey them to you immediately. I long to witness the pleasure their contents will impart to all whose hearts are with us. O that I were accounted worthy of the Lord to preach the gospel to the Booteas!"

Being detained from one of our mission meetings by preparing the Periodical Accounts for the press, he soon after wrote as follows:—"We shall now get out No. IV. very soon. I hope it will go to the press in a very few days. Did you notice, that the very day on which we invited all our friends to a day of prayer on behalf of the mission, (Dec. 28, 1796) was the same in which brother Carey sent his best and most interesting accounts to the Society? I hope you had solemn and sweet seasons at Northampton. On many accounts I should have rejoiced to have been with you: yet I am satisfied that on the whole I was doing best at home."

It has been already observed, that for a month preceding the decision of the committee, he resolved to devote one day in every week to secret prayer and fasting, and to keep a *diary* of the exercises of his mind during the whole of that period. This diary was not shown to the committee at that time, but merely the preceding *narrative*. Since his death a few of them have perused it; and have been almost ready to think, that if they had seen it before, they dared not oppose his going. But the Lord hath taken him to himself. It no longer remains a question now, whether he shall labor in England or in India. A few passages, however, from this transcript of his heart, while contemplating a great and disinterested undertaking, will furnish a better idea of his character than could be given by any other hand.

"Oct. 8, 1794. Had some remarkable freedom and affection this morning, both in family and secret prayer. With many tears I dedicated myself, body and soul, to the service of Jesus; and earnestly implored full satisfaction respecting the path of duty. I feel a growing deadness for all earthly comforts; and derive my happiness immediately from GOD himself. May I still endure, as Moses did, by seeing him who is invisible!

"Oct. 10. Enjoyed much freedom to-day in the family. Whilst noticing in prayer the state of the millions of heathen who know not God, I felt the aggregate value of their immortal souls with peculiar energy.

"Afterwards was much struck whilst (on my knees before God in secret) I read the fourth chapter of Micah. The ninth verse I fancied very applicable to the church in Cannon street; but what reason is there for such a cry about so insignificant a worm as I am? The third chapter of Habbakuk too well expresses that mixture of *solemnity* and *confidence* with which I contemplate the work of the mission.

"Whilst at prayer meeting to-night, I learned more of the meaning of some passages of Scripture than ever before. Suitable frames of soul are like good lights in which a painting appears to its full advantage. I had often meditated on Phil. iii. 7, 8, and Gal. vi. 14; but never *felt* crucifixion to the world, and disesteem for all that it contains, as at that time. All prospects of pecuniary independence, and growing reputation, with which in unworthier moments I had amused myself, were now chased from my mind; and the desire of living *wholly* to Christ swallowed up every other thought. Frowns and smiles, fulness or want, honor and reproach, were now equally indifferent; and when I concluded the meeting, my whole soul felt, as it were, going after the lost sheep of Christ among the heathen.

"I do feel a growing satisfaction in the proposal of spending my whole life in something nobler than the locality of this island will admit. I long to raise my Master's banner in climes where the sound of his fame hath but scarcely reached. He hath said, for my encouragement, that *all* nations shall flow unto it.

"The conduct and success of Stach, Boonish, and other Moravian missionaries in Greenland, both confound and stimulate me. O Lord, forgive my past indolence in thy service, and help me to redeem the residue of my days for exertions more worthy a friend of mankind, and a servant of God.

"Oct. 13. Being taken up with visitors the former part of the day, I spent the after part in application to the Bengal language, and found the difficulties I apprehended vanish as fast as I encountered them. I read and prayed, prayed and read, and made no small advances. Blessed be God!

* The 428th Hymn of Dr. Rippon's Selection, frequently sung at our committee meetings.

"Oct. 15. There are in Birmingham 50,000 inhabitants; and exclusive of the vicinity, ten ministers who preach the fundamental truths of the gospel. In Hindostan there are twice as many millions of inhabitants; and not so many gospel preachers. Now Jesus Christ hath commanded his ministers to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. Why should we be so disproportionate in our labors? Peculiar circumstances must not be urged against positive commands: I am therefore bound, if others do not go, to make the means more proportionate to the multitude.

"To-night, reading some letters from brother Carey, in which he speaks of his wife's illness when she first came into the country, I endeavored to realize myself not only with a sick, but a *dead* wife. The thought was like a cold dagger to my heart at first; but on recollection I considered that the same God ruled in India as in Europe; and that he could either preserve her, or support me, as well there as here. My business is only to be where he would have me. Other things I leave to him. O Lord, though with timidity, yet I hope not without satisfaction, I look every possible evil in the face, and say, 'Thy will be done.'

"Oct. 17. This is the first day I have set apart for extraordinary devotion in relation to my present exercise of mind. Rose earlier than usual, and began the day in prayer that God would be with me in every part of it, and grant that the end I have in view, may be clearly ascertained—the knowledge of his will.

"Considering the importance of the work before me, I began at the foundation of all religion, and reviewed the grounds on which I stood; the being of a God, the relation of mankind to him, with the divine inspiration of the Scriptures; and the review afforded me great satisfaction.* I also compared the different religions which claimed divine origin, and found little difficulty in determining which had most internal evidence of its divinity. I attentively read, and seriously considered Doddridge's three excellent sermons on the evidences of the Christian religion, which was followed by such conviction, that I had hardly patience to conclude the book before I fell on my knees before God to bless him for such a religion, established on such a basis; and I have received more *solid* satisfaction this day upon the subject than ever I did before.

"I also considered, since the gospel is true, since Christ is the head of the church, and his will is the law of all his followers, what are the obligations of his servants in respect of the enlargement of his kingdom. I here referred to our Lord's commission, which I could not but consider as universal in its object, and permanent in its obligations. I read brother Carey's remarks upon it—and as the command has never been repealed; as there are millions of beings in the world on whom the command may be exercised; as I can produce no counter revelation; and as I lie under no natural impossibilities of performing it, I concluded that I, as a servant of Christ, was bound by this law.

"I took the narrative of my experience, and statement of my views on the subject in my hand, and bowing down before God, I earnestly besought an impartial and an enlightened spirit. I then perused that paper; and can now say, that I have (allowing for my own fallibility) not one doubt upon the subject. I therefore resolved to close this solemn season with reading a portion of both Testaments, and earnest prayer to God for my family, my people, the heathen world, the society, and particularly for the success of our dear brethren Thomas and Carey, and his blessing, presence, and grace to be ever my guide and glory. Accordingly, I read the 49th chapter of Isaiah; and with what sweetness! I never read a chapter in private with such feelings, since I have been in the ministry. The 8, 9, 10, 20 and 21 verses I thought remarkably suitable.

"Read also part of the epistle to the Ephesians, and the first chapter to the Philippians. O that for *me* to live may be *Christ* alone! Blessed be my dear Saviour, in prayer I have had such fellowship with him, as would warm me in Greenland, comfort me in New Zealand, and rejoice me in the valley of the shadow of death!

"Oct. 18. I dreamed that I saw one of the Christian Hindoos. O how I loved him! I long to realize my dream. How pleasant will it be to sit down at the Lord's table with our black brethren, and hear Jesus preached in their language. Surely then will come to pass the saying that is written, 'In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, all are ONE in him.'

"Have been happy to-day in completing the manuscript of Periodical Accounts, No. I. Any thing relative to the salvation of the heathen, brings a certain pleasure with it. I find I cannot pray, nor converse, nor read, nor study, nor preach with satisfaction, without reference to this subject.

"Oct. 20. Was a little discouraged on reading Mr. Zeigenbald's conferences with the Malabarians, till I recollected, what ought to be ever present to my mind, in brother Carey's words—*The work is God's.*

"In the evening I found some little difficulty with the language; but considering how merchants and captains overcome this difficulty for the sake of wealth, I sat confounded before the Lord that I should ever have indulged such a thought; and looking up to him, I set about it with cheerfulness, and found that I was making a sensible advance, although I can never apply till 11 o'clock at night, on account of my other duties.*

"Preached from 2 Kings, iv. 26. 'It is well.' Was much enlarged both in thought and expression. Whilst speaking of the satisfaction enjoyed by a truly pious mind, when it feels itself in all circumstances and times in the hand of a *good God*, I felt, that were the universe destroyed, and I the only being in it, beside God, HE is fully adequate to my complete happiness; and had I been in an African wood, surrounded with venomous serpents, devouring beasts, and savage men, in such a frame, I should be the subject of perfect peace and exalted joy. Yes, O my God, thou hast taught me that THOU *alone* art worthy of my confidence; and with this sentiment fixed in my heart, I am free from all solicitude about any temporal prospects or concerns. If *thy* presence be enjoyed, poverty shall be riches, darkness light, affliction prosperity, reproach

* There is a wide difference between admitting these principles in theory, and *making use of them.* David might have worn Saul's accoutrements at a parade: but in meeting Goliath he must go forth in an armor that had been *tried.* A mariner may sit in his cabin at his ease while the ship is in harbor; but ere he undertakes a voyage he must examine its soundness, and whether it will endure the storms which may overtake him.

* Night studies, often continued till two or three o'clock in the morning, it is to be feared, were the first occasion of impairing Mr. Pearce's health, and brought on that train of nervous sensations with which he was afterwards afflicted. Though not much accustomed to converse on this subject, he once acknowledged to a brother in the ministry, that owing to his enervated state, he sometimes dreaded the approach of public services to such a degree, that he would rather have submitted to stripes than engage in them; and that while in the pulpit, he was frequently distressed with the apprehension of falling over it.

my honor, and fatigue my rest: and thou hast said, 'My presence shall go with thee.' Enough, Lord, I ask for nothing more.

"But how sad the proofs of our depravity; and how insecure the best frames we enjoy! Returning home, a wicked expression from a person who passed me caught my ear, and occurred so often to my thoughts for some minutes, as to bring guilt upon my mind, and overwhelm me with shame before God. But I appealed to God for my hatred of all such things, secretly confessed the sin of my heart, and again ventured to the mercy-seat. On such occasions, how precious a Mediator is to the soul.

"Oct. 22. I did not for the former part of the day feel my wonted ardor for the work of a missionary; but rather an inclination to consult flesh and blood, and look at the worst side of things. I did so; but when on my knees before God in prayer about it, I first considered that my judgment was still equally satisfied, and my conscience so convinced, that I durst not relinquish the work for a thousand worlds. And then I thought that this dull frame had not been without its use: as I was now fully convinced, that my desires to go did not arise from any fluctuation of inconstant passions, but the settled convictions of my judgment. I therefore renewed my vows unto the Lord, that let what difficulties soever be in the way, I would (provided the society approved) surmount them all. I felt a kind of unutterable satisfaction of mind, in my resolution of leaving the decision in the hands of my brethren. May God rightly dispose their hearts! I have no doubt but he will.

"Oct. 23. Have found a little time to apply to the Bengalee language. How pleasant it is to work for God! Love transforms thorns to roses, and makes pain itself a pleasure. I never sat down to any study with such peculiar and continued satisfaction. The thought of exalting the Redeemer in this language, is a spur to my application paramount to every discouragement for want of a living tutor. I have passed this day with an abiding satisfaction respecting my present views.

"Oct. 24. O for the enlightening, enlivening, and sanctifying presence of God to-day! It is the *second* of those days of extraordinary devotion which I have set apart for seeking God, in relation to the mission. How shall I spend it? I will devote the morning to prayer, reading, and meditation; and the afternoon to visiting the wretched, and relieving the needy. May God accept my services, guide me by his counsel, and employ me for his praise!

"Having besought the Lord that he would not suffer me to deceive myself in so important a matter as that which I had now retired to consider, and exercised some confidence that he would be the rewarder of those who diligently seek him, I read the 119th Psalm at the conclusion of my prayer, and felt and wondered at the congruity of so many of the verses to the breathings of my own heart. Often, with holy admiration, I paused, and read, and thought, and prayed over the verse again, especially verses 20, 31, 59, 60, 112, 145, 146. 'My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath unto thy judgments at all times. I have stuck unto thy testimonies, O Lord, put me not to shame.'

"Most of the morning I spent in seriously reading Mr. Horne's *Letters on Missions*, having first begged of the Lord to make the perusal profitable to my instruction in the path of duty. To the interrogation, 'Which of you will forsake all, deny himself, take up his cross, and, if God pleases, die for his religion?' I replied spontaneously, Blessed be God, I am willing! Lord, help me to accomplish it!

"Closed this season with reading the 61st and 62nd chapters of Isaiah, and prayer for the church of God at large, my own congregation, the heathens, the society, brethren Thomas and Carey, all missionaries whom God hath sent of every denomination, my own case, my wife and family, and for assistance in my work.

"The after part of this day has been gloomy indeed. All the painful circumstances which can attend my going have met upon my heart, and formed a load almost insupportable. A number of things, which have been some time accumulating, have united their pressure, and made me groan, being burdened. Whilst at a prayer meeting I looked round on my Christian friends, and said to myself, A few months more, and probably I shall leave you all! But in the deepest of my gloom, I resolved though faint yet to pursue, not doubting but my Lord would give me strength equal to the day.

"I had scarcely formed this resolution before it occurred, My Lord and Master was a man of sorrows. Oppressed, and covered with blood, he cried, 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' Yet in the depth of his agonies, he added, 'Thy will be done.' This thought was to me what the sight of the cross was to Bunyan's pilgrim; I lost my burden. Spent the remainder of the meeting in sweet communion with God.

"But on coming home, the sight of Mrs. P. replaced my load. She had for some time been much discouraged at the thoughts of going. I therefore felt reluctant to say any thing on this subject, thinking it would be unpleasant to her: but though I strove to conceal it, an involuntary sigh betrayed my uneasiness. She kindly inquired the cause. I avoided at first an explanation, till she, guessing the reason, said to this effect—'I hope you will be no more uneasy on *my* account. For the last two or three days, I have been more comfortable than ever in the thought of going. I have considered the steps you are pursuing to know the mind of God, and I think you cannot take more proper ones. When you consult the ministers, you should represent your obstacles as strongly as your inducements; and then, if they advise your going, though the parting from my friends will be almost insupportable, yet I will make myself as happy as I can, and God can make me happy any where.'

"Should this little diary fall into the hands of a man having the soul of a missionary, circumstanced as I am, he will be the only man capable of sharing my peace, my joy, my gratitude, my rapture of soul. Thus at evening tide it is light; thus God brings his people through fire and through water into a wealthy place; thus those who ask do receive, and their joy is full. 'O love the Lord, ye his saints: there is no want to them that fear him!'

"Oct. 26. Had much enlargement this morning, whilst speaking on the nature, extent and influence of divine love; what designs it formed—with what energy it acted—with what perseverance it pursued its object—what obstacles it surmounted—what difficulties it conquered—and what sweetness it imparted under the heaviest loads, and severest trials! Almost through the day I enjoyed a very desirable frame, and on coming home, my wife and I had some conversation on the subject of my going. She said, though in general the thought was painful, yet there were some seasons when she had no preference, but felt herself disposed to go or stay, as the Lord should direct.

"This day wrote to brother Fuller, briefly stating my desires, requesting his advice, and proposing a meeting of the committee on the business. I feel great satisfaction arising from my leaving the matter to the determination of my honored brethren, and *to God* through them.

"Oct. 27. To-day I send a packet to our brethren

in India. I could not forbear telling brother Carey all my feelings, views, and expectations: but without saying I should be entirely governed by the opinion of the society.

"Oct. 28. Still panting to preach Jesus among my fellow sinners to whom he is yet unknown. Wrote to Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia, to-day, upon the subject, with freedom and warmth; and inquired whether, whilst the people of the United States were forming societies to encourage arts, liberty and emigration, there could not a few be found among them who would form a society for the transmission of the word of life to the benighted heathens; or in case that could not be, whether they might not strengthen our hands in Europe, by some benevolent proofs of concurring with us in a design, which they speak of with such approbation? With this I sent Horne's Letters. I will follow both with my prayers, and who can tell?

"Oct. 29. Looked over the code of Hindoo Laws to-day. How much is there to admire in it, founded on the principles of justice. The most salutary regulations are adopted in many circumstances. But what a pity that so much excellence should be abased by laws to establish or countenance idolatry, magic, prostitution, prayers for the dead, false witnessing, theft and suicide. How perfect is the morality of the gospel of Jesus; and how desirable that they should embrace it! Ought not means to be used? Can we assist them too soon? There is reason to think that their Shasters were penned about the beginning of the Kollee Jogue, which must be soon after the deluge: and are not 4000 years long enough for 100 millions of men to be under the empire of the devil?

"Oct. 31. I am encouraged to enter upon this day (which I set apart for supplicating God) by a recollection of the promises to those who seek him. If the sacred word be true, the servants of God can never seek his face in vain; and as I am conscious of my sincerity and earnest desire only to know his pleasure that I may perform it, I find a degree of confidence that I shall realize the fulfilment of the word on which he causeth me to hope.

"Began the day with solemn prayer for the assistance of the Holy Spirit in my present exercise, that so I might enjoy the spirit and power of prayer, and have my personal religion improved, as well as my public steps directed. In this duty I found a little quickening.

"I then read over the narrative of my experience, and my journal. I find my views are still the same; but my heart is much more established than when I began to write.

"Was much struck in reading Paul's words in 2 Cor. i. 17, when after speaking of his purpose to travel for the preaching of the gospel, he saith, 'Did I then use lightness when I was thus minded? Or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea—nay, nay?' The *piety* of the apostle in not purposing after the flesh, the *seriousness* of spirit with which he formed his designs, and his steadfast adherence to them, were in my view worthy of the highest admiration and strictest imitation.

"Thinking that I might get some assistance from David Brainerd's experience, I read his life to the time of his being appointed a missionary among the Indians. The exalted devotion of that dear man almost made me question mine. Yet at some seasons he speaks of sinking as well as rising. His singular piety excepted, his feelings, prayers, desires, comforts, hopes, and sorrows, are my own; and if I could follow him in nothing else, I knew I had been enabled to say this with him, 'I feel exceedingly calm, and quite resigned to God respecting my future improvement (or station) *when* and *where* he pleased. My faith lifted me above the world, and removed all those mountains which I could not look over of late. I thought I wanted not the favor of man to lean upon; for I knew God's favor was infinitely better, and that it was no matter *where* or *when* or *how* Christ should send me, nor with what trials he should still exercise me, if I might be prepared for his work and will.'

"Read the ii. iii. iv. v. and vi. chapters of the second epistle to the Corinthians. Felt a kind of placidity, but not much joy. On beginning the concluding prayer, I had no strength to wrestle, nor power with God at all. I seemed as one desolate and forsaken. I prayed for myself, the society, the missionaries, the converted Hindoos, the church in Cannon street, my family, and ministry; but yet all was dulness, and I feared I had offended the Lord. I felt but little zeal for the mission, and was about to conclude with a lamentation over the hardness of my heart; when of a sudden it pleased God to smite the rock with the rod of his Spirit, and immediately the waters began to flow. O what a heavenly, glorious, melting power was it! My eyes, almost closed with weeping, hardly suffer me to write. I feel it over again. O what a view of the love of a crucified Redeemer did I enjoy! the attractions of his cross, how powerful! I was as a giant refreshed with new wine, as to my animation; like Mary at the Master's feet, weeping for tenderness of soul; like a little child, for submission to my heavenly Father's will; and like Paul, for a victory over all self-love, and creature love, and fear of man, when these things stand in the way of my duty. The interest that Christ took in the redemption of the heathen, the situation of our brethren in Bengal, the worth of the soul, and the plain command of Jesus Christ, together with an irresistible drawing of soul, which by far exceeded any thing I ever felt before, and is impossible to be described to, or conceived of by those who have never experienced it; all compelled me to *vow* that I would, by his leave, serve him among the heathen. The Bible lying open before me, (upon my knees) many passages caught my eye and confirmed the purposes of my heart. If ever in my life I knew any thing of the influences of the Holy Spirit, I did at this time. I was swallowed up in God. Hunger, fulness, cold, heat, friends, and enemies, all seemed nothing before God. I was in a new world. All was delightful; for Christ was all, and in all. Many times I concluded prayer, but when rising from my knees, communion with God was so desirable, that I was sweetly drawn to it again and again, till my animal strength was almost exhausted. Then I thought it would be pleasure to *burn* for God.

"And now while I write, such a heavenly sweetness fills my soul, that no exterior circumstances can remove it; and I do uniformly feel, that the more I am thus, the more I pant for the service of my blessed Jesus among the heathen. Yes, my dear, my dying Lord, I am thine, thy servant; and if I neglect the service of so good a master, I may well expect a guilty conscience in life, and a death awful as that of Judas or of Spira!

"This evening I had a meeting with my friends. Returned much dejected. Reviewed a letter from brother Fuller, which, though he says he has many objections to my going, yet is so affectionately expressed as to yield me a gratification.

"Nov. 3. This evening, received a letter from brother Ryland, containing many objections: but contradiction itself is pleasant when it is the voice of judgment mingled with affection. I wish to remember that *I may be mistaken*, though I cannot say I am at present convinced that it is so. I am happy to find that brother Ryland approves of my referring it to the committee. I have much confidence

in the judgment of my brethren, and hope I shall be perfectly satisfied with their advice. I do think, however, if they knew how earnestly I pant for the work, it would be impossible for them to withhold their ready acquiescence. O Lord, thou knowest my sincerity, and that if I go not to the work it will not be owing to any reluctance on my part! If I stay in England, I fear I shall be a poor useless drone; or if a sense of duty prompt me to activity, I doubt whether I shall ever know inward peace and joy again. O Lord, I am, thou knowest I am, *oppressed;* undertake for me!

"Nov. 5. At times, to-day, I have been reconciled to the thought of staying if any brethren should so advise; but at other times, I seem to think I could not. I look at brother Carey's portrait as it hangs in my study, I love him in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and long to join his labors; every look calls up a hundred thoughts, all of which inflame my desire to be a fellow-laborer with him in the work of the Lord. One thing, however, I am resolved upon, that, the Lord keeping me, if I cannot go abroad, I will do all I can to serve the mission at home.

"Nov. 7. This is the last day of peculiar devotion before the deciding meeting. May I have strength to wrestle with God to-day for his wisdom to preside in the committee, and by faith to leave the issue to their determination.

"I did not enjoy much enlargement in prayer to-day. My mind seems at present incapable of those sensations of joy with which I have lately been much indulged, through its strugglings in relation to my going or staying: yet I have been enabled to commit the issue into the hands of God, as he may direct my brethren, hoping that their advice will be agreeable to his will."

The result of the committee meeting has already been related; together with the state of his mind, as far as could be collected from his letters, for some time after it. The termination of these tender and interesting exercises, and of all his other labors, in so speedy a removal from the present scene of action, may teach us not to draw any certain conclusion as to the designs of God concerning our future labors, from the ardor or sincerity of our feelings. He may take it well that "it was in our hearts to build him an house," though he should for wise reasons have determined not to gratify us. Suffice it, that in matters of *everlasting moment* he has engaged to "perfect that which concerns us." In this he hath condescended to bind himself, as by an oath, for our consolation; here, therefore, we may safely consider our spiritual desires as indicative of his designs: but it is otherwise in various instances with regard to present duty.

CHAPTER III.

His exercises and labors, from the time of his giving up the idea of going abroad, to the commencement of his last affliction.

Had the multiplied labors of this excellent man permitted his keeping a regular diary, we may see by the foregoing specimen of a single month, what a rich store of truly Christian experience would have pervaded these memoirs. We should then have been better able to trace the gradual openings of his holy mind, and the springs of that extraordinary unction of spirit, and energy of action, by which his life was distinguished. As it is, we can only collect a few gleanings, partly from memory, and partly from letters communicated by his friends.

This chapter will include a period of about four years, during which he went twice to London, to collect for the *Baptist mission*, and once he visited Dublin, at the invitation of the *Evangelical Society* in that city.

There appears throughout the general tenor of his life, a singular submissiveness to the will of God; and what is worthy of notice, this disposition was generally most conspicuous when his own will was most counteracted. The justness of this remark is sufficiently apparent from his letter to Mrs. Pearce, of Nov. 13, 1794,* after the decision of the committee; and the same spirit was carried into the common concerns of life. Thus, about a month afterwards, when his dear Louisa was ill of a fever, he thus writes from Northampton to Mrs. Pearce:—

December 13, 1794.

My dear Sarah—"I am just brought on the wings of celestial mercy safe to my Sabbath's station. I am well; and my dear friends here seem healthy and happy: but I feel for *you*. I long to know how our dear Louisa's pulse beats: I fear still feverish. We must not, however, suffer ourselves to be infected with a mental fever on this account. Is she ill? It is right. Is she very ill?——dying? It still is right. Is she gone to join the heavenly choristers? It is all right, notwithstanding our repinings——Repinings! no; we will not repine. It is best she should go. It is best for *her*. This we must allow. It is best for *us*. Do we expect it? O what poor, ungrateful, short-sighted worms are we! Let us submit, my Sarah, till we come to heaven: if we do not *then* see that it is best, let us then complain. But why do I attempt to console? Perhaps an indulgent Providence has ere now dissipated your fears: or if that same *kind Providence* has removed our babe, you have consolation enough in him who suffered more than we; and more than enough to quiet all our passions, in that astonishing consideration—'*God* so loved the world, that he *spared not* his own Son.' Did God cheerfully give the holy child Jesus for us? and shall we refuse our child to him! He gave his Son to *suffer;* he takes our children to *enjoy:* Yes, to enjoy *himself*.

"Yours, with the tenderest regard, S. P."

In June, 1795, he attended the Association at Kettering, partly on account of some missionary business there to be transacted. That was a season of great joy to many, especially the last forenoon previous to parting. From thence he wrote to Mrs. Pearce as follows:—

"From a pew in the house of God, at Kettering, with my cup of joy running over, I address you by the hand of brother Simmons. Had it pleased Divine Providence to have permitted your accompanying me, my pleasures would have received no small addition; because I should have hoped that you would have been filled with similar consolation, and have received equal edification by the precious means of grace on which I have attended. Indeed, I never remember to have enjoyed a public meeting to such a high degree since I have been in the habit of attending upon them. Oh that I may return to you, and the dear church of God, in the *fulness* of the blessing of the gospel of Christ! I hope, my beloved, that you are not without the enjoyment of the sweetness and supports of the blessed gospel. Oh that you may get and keep near to God, and in *him* find infinitely more than you can possibly lose by your husband's absence!

"Mr. Hall preached, last evening, from 1 Pet. i. 8. A most evangelical and experimental season! I was charmed and warmed. Oh that Jesus may go on to reveal himself to him as altogether lovely! I am unable to write more now. To-day, I set off for Northampton, and preach there to-night. The Lord bless you!"

In July, 1795, he received a pressing invitation from *The General Evangelical Society* in Dublin, to pay them a visit, and to assist in diffusing the gos-

* See page 379.

pel of the grace of God in that kingdom. To this invitation he replied in the following letter, addressed to Dr. McDowal:—

Birmingham, August 3, 1795.

"Rev. and dear sir—I received your favor of the 22d ult. and for the interesting reason you assign, transmit a 'speedy answer.' The society, on whose behalf you wrote, I have ever considered with the respect due to the real friends of the best of causes—the cause of God and of his Christ: a cause which embraces the most important and durable interests of our fellow-men; and your name, dear sir, I have been taught to hold in more than common esteem by my dear brother and father, Messrs. Birt and Francis. The benevolent institution which you are engaged in supporting, I am persuaded, deserves more than the good wishes or prayers of your brethren in the kingdom and patience of Jesus, on this side the channel; and it will yield me substantial pleasure to afford personal assistance in your pious labors. But, for the present, I am sorry to say, I must decline your proposal: being engaged to spend a month in London this autumn, on the business of our *Mission Society*, of which you have probably heard.

"When I formed my present connections with the church in Birmingham, I proposed an annual freedom for six weeks from my pastoral duties; and should the 'Evangelical Society' express a wish for my services the ensuing year, I am perfectly inclined, God willing, to spend that time beneath their direction, and at what part of the year they conceive a visit would be most serviceable to the good design. I only request, that should this be their desire, I may receive the information as soon as they can conveniently decide, that I may withhold myself from other engagements, which may interfere with the time they may appoint. I entreat you to make my Christian respects acceptable to the gentlemen who compose the society, and assure yourself that I am, dear sir, respectfully and affectionately, Your brother in our Lord Jesus,

"S. P."

The invitation was repeated, and he complied with their request, engaging to go over in the month of June, 1796.

A little before this journey, it occurred to Dr. Ryland, that an itinerating mission into Cornwall might be of use to the cause of true religion, and that two acceptable ministers might be induced to undertake it; and that if executed during the vacation at the Bristol academy, two of the students might supply their place. He communicated his thoughts to Mr. Pearce, who wrote thus in answer:

May 30, 1796.

"My very dear brother—I thank you a thousand times for your last letter. Blessed be God who hath put it into your heart to propose such a plan for increasing the boundaries of Zion. I have read your letter to our wisest friends here, and they heard it with great joy. The plan, the place, the mode, the persons—all, *all* meet our most affectionate wishes. How did such a scheme never enter our minds before! Alas, we have nothing in our hearts that is worth having, save what God puts there. Do write to me when at Dublin, and tell me whether it be resolved on; when they set out, &c. I hope ere long to hear, that as many disciples are employed in Great Britain, as the Saviour employed in Judea. When he gives the word, great will be the company of the preachers.

"Oh, my dear brother, let us go on still praying, contriving, laboring, defending, until 'the little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, and the small stone from the mountain fill the whole earth.'

"What pleasures do those lose who have no interest in God's gracious and holy cause! How thankful should we be, that we are not strangers to the joy which the friends of Zion feel when the Lord turneth again Zion's captivity. I am beyond expression,

"Your affectionate brother in Christ, S. P."

On May 31, he set off for Dublin, and "the Lord prospered his way, so that he arrived at the time appointed; and from every account it appears, that he was not only sent *in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of peace*, but that the Lord himself went with him. His preaching was not only highly acceptable to every class of hearers, but the word came from him with power, and there is abundant reason to believe, that many will, through eternity, praise God for sending his message to them by this dear ambassador of Christ. His memory lives in their hearts, and they join with the other churches of Christ, in deploring the loss they have sustained by his death.

"He was earnestly solicited by the Evangelical Society to renew his visit to that kingdom in 1798. Ready to embrace every call of duty, he had signified his compliance; and the time was fixed; but the breaking out of the late rebellion prevented him from realizing his intention. This was a painful disappointment to many, who wished once more to see his face, and to have heard the glad tidings from his lips."

Such is the brief account of his visit to Dublin, given by Dr. McDowal. The following letter was written to Mrs. Pearce, when he had been there a little more than a week:—

Dublin, June 31, 1796.

"I long to know how you do, and you will be as much concerned to know how I go on at this distance from you. I haste to satisfy your inquiries.

"I am in perfect health: am delightfully disappointed with the place and its inhabitants. I am very thankful that I came over. I have found much more religion here already than I expected to meet with during the whole of my stay. The prospect of usefulness is flattering. I have already many more friends (I hope *Christian* friends) than I can gratify by visits. Many doors are open for preaching the gospel in the city; and my country excursions will probably be few. Thus much for outline.

"But you will like to know how I spend my time, &c. Well then: I am at the house of Mr. H.——, late high sheriff for the city: a gentleman of opulence, respectability, and evangelical piety. He is by profession a Cavinistic Presbyterian; an elder of Dr. McDowal's church; has a most amiable wife, and four children. I am very thankful for being placed here during my stay. I am quite at home, I mean as to ease and familiarity; for as to *style* of living, I neither do, nor desire to equal it. Yet in my present situation it is convenient. It would, however, be sickening and dull, had I not a God to go to, to converse with, to enjoy, and to call *my own*. Oh, 'tis this, *'tis this*, my dearest Sarah, which gives a point to every enjoyment, and sweetens all the cup of life.

"The Lord's day, after I wrote to you last, I preached for Dr. McDowal in the morning at half past eleven; heard a Mr. Kilburne at five; and preached again at Plunket street, at seven. On Tuesday evening, I preached at an hospital, and on Thursday evening, at Plunket street again. Yesterday, for the Baptists in the morning, Dr. McDowal at five, and at Plunket street at seven.

"The hours of worship will appear singular to you: they depend on the usual *meal* times. We breakfast at ten; dine between four and five, some-

times between five and six; take tea from seven to nine; and sup from ten to twelve.

"I thank God that I possess an abiding determination to aim at the *consciences* of the people in every discourse. I have borne the most positive testimony against the prevailing evils of professors here:—as sensuality, gaiety, vain amusements, neglect of the Sabbath, &c. and last night, told an immense crowd of professors of the first rank, 'that if they made custom and fashion their plea, they were awfully deluding their souls; for it had always been the fashion to insult God, to dissipate time, and to pursue the broad road to hell; but it would not lessen their torments there, that the way to damnation was the fashion.'

"I expected my faithfulness would have given them offence; but I am persuaded it was the way to please the Lord, and those whom I expected would be enemies, are not only at peace with me, but even renounce their sensual indulgences to attend on my ministry. I do assuredly believe that God hath sent me hither for good. The five o'clock meetings are miserably attended in general. In a house that will hold 1,500 or 2,000 people, you will hardly see above fifty! Yesterday morning, I preached on the subject of *public worship*, from Psalm v. 7, and seriously warned them against preferring their bellies to God, and their own houses to his. I was delighted and surprised, at the five o'clock meeting, to see the place nearly full. Surely this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in my eyes. Never, never did I more feel how weak I am in myself—a mere nothing; and how strong I am in the omnipotence of God. I feel a superiority to all fear, and possess a conscious dignity in being the ambassador of God. Oh help me to praise, for it is he alone who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight; and still pray for me; for if he withdraw for a moment, I become as weak and unprofitable as the briars of the wilderness.

"You cannot think how much I am supported by the assurance that I have left a *praying people* at Birmingham; and I believe, that in answer to their prayers I have hitherto been wonderfully assisted in my public work, as well as enjoyed much in private devotion.

"I have formed a most pleasing acquaintance with several serious young men in the university here, and with two of the fellows of the college; most pious gentlemen indeed, who have undergone a world of reproach for Christ and his gospel, and have been forbidden to preach in the churches by the archbishop; but God has raised another house for them here, where they preach with much success, and have begun a meeting in the college, which promises fresh prosperity to the cause of Jesus."

The following particulars, in addition to the above, are taken partly from some notes in his own hand-writing, and partly from the account given by his friend, Mr. Summers, who accompanied him during the latter part of his visits.

At his first arrival, the congregations were but thinly attended, and the Baptist congregation in particular, amongst whom he delivered several discourses. It much affected him to see the whole city given to sensuality and worldly conformity; and especially to find those of his own denomination amongst the lowest, and least affected with their condition. But the longer he continued, the more the congregations increased, and every opportunity became increasingly interesting, both to him and them. His faithful remonstrances, and earnest recommendations of prayer meetings to his Baptist friends, though at first apparently ill received, were well taken in the end; and he had the happiness to see in them some hopeful appearances of a return to God. On June the 20th he wrote to his friend, Mr. Summers, as follows:—

"My dear friend—If you mean to abide by my opinion, I say, come to Dublin, and come directly! I have been most delightfully disappointed. I expected darkness, and behold light: sorrow, and I have had cause for abundant joy. I thank God that I came hither, and hope that many as well as myself, will have cause to praise him. Never have I been more deeply taught my own nothingness; never hath the power of God more evidently rested upon me. The harvest here is great indeed; and the Lord of the harvest hath enabled me to labor in it with delight.

'I praise him for all that is past,
I trust him for all that 's to come.'

"The Lord hath of late been doing great things for Dublin. Several of the young men in the college have been awakened; and two of the fellows are sweet evangelical preachers. One of them is of a spirit serene as the summer evening, and sweet as the breath of May. I am already intimate with them, and have spent several mornings in college with various students, who bid fair to be faithful watchmen on Jerusalem's walls. But I hope you will come; and then you will see for yourself. If not, I will give you some pleasant details when we meet in England. S. P."

Mr. Summers complied with this invitation; and of the last seven or eight days of Mr. Pearce's continuance at Dublin, he himself thus writes:—

"Monday, July 4. At three in the afternoon, I went with my friend, Mr. Summers, to Mr. K——'s. Spent a very agreeable day. Miss A. K—— remarked two wonders in Dublin; a praying society composed of students at college, and another of lawyers. The family were called together. We sung: I read, and expounded the xii. of Isaiah, and prayed. At seven we went to a prayer meeting at Plunket street: very large attendance. Mr. R—— and Mr. S—— prayed, and I spoke from Rom. x. 12, 13. 'There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all who call upon him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.'—Many seemed affected. After I had closed the opportunity, I told them some of my own experience, and requested, that if any present wished for conversation, they would come to me, either that evening, or on Thursday evening in the vestry. Five persons came in:—one had been long impressed with religion, but could never summons courage enough to open her heart before. Another, a Miss W——, attributed her first impression, under God, to my ministry; and told me that her father had regularly attended of late, and that her mother was so much alarmed as to be almost in despair. Poor girl! she seemed truly in earnest about her own soul, and as much concerned for her parents. The next had possessed a serious concern for some time, and of late had been much revived. One young lady, a Miss H——, staid in the meeting house, exceedingly affected indeed. Mr. K—— spoke to her—she said, she would speak with me on Thursday.

"Tuesday, 5th. Went to Leislip. At seven, preached to a large and affected auditory.

"Wednesday, 6th. Mr. H—— and myself went to Mrs. McG——, to inquire about the young lady who was so much affected at the meeting. Mrs. McG—— said, her mother and sister were pious; that she had been very giddy; but that last Lord's day she was seriously awakened to a sense of sin; had expressed her delight in religion, and fled for refuge to the blood of Jesus. Her sister was introduced to me; a sweetly pious lady. I agreed to

wait for an interview with the young lady at Mr. H——'s, in Eccles street to-morrow.

"Thursday, 7th. Miss H——, her sister, and Mrs. McG——, came to Eccles street. A most delightful interview. Seldom have I seen such proficiency in so short a time. That day week, at Plunket street, she received her first serious impressions. Her concern deepened at Mass Lane, on Lord's day morning—more so in the evening at Plunket street—but most of all on Monday night. I exhorted them to begin a prayer and experience meeting; and they agreed. Blessed be God! this strengthens my hands greatly. At seven o'clock, preached at Plunket street, from Jer. l. 4, 5. 'Going and weeping—they shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward.' A full house and an impressive season. Tarried after the public services were ended, to converse on religion. The most pleasing case was a young man of Mr. D——'s.

"Saturday, 9th. Went with my friend Mr. S——, to call on Miss H——. Found her at her mother's—we first passed the door—she ran out after us—seemed happy; but agitated. Ran and called her mother—soon we saw the door of the parlor open, and a majestic lady appeared; who, as she entered the room, thus accosted me:—'Who art thou, oh blessed of the Lord? Welcome to the widow's house! Accept the widow's thanks for coming after the child whom thou hast begotten in the gospel!' I was too much overcome to do more than take by the hand the aged saint. A solemn silence ensued for a minute or two; when the old lady recovering, expressed the fulness of her satisfaction respecting the reality of the change effected in her daughter, and her gratitude for great refreshment of her own soul, by means of my poor labors. She said, she had known the Lord during forty years, being called under the ministry of John Fisher, in the open air, when on a visit to an officer who was her brother-in-law. She told us much of her experience, and promised to encourage the prayer meeting, which I proposed to be held in her house every Lord's day evening. They are to begin to-morrow after preaching. It was a pleasant meeting; and we returned with pleasure to Eccles street. After we rose up to come away, the old lady affectionately said, 'May the good will of Him who dwelt in the bush, attend you wherever you go, for ever and ever!'"

The young lady some months after wrote to Mr. S——, and says, amongst other things,—"I have great reason to be thankful for the many blessings the Lord has been pleased to bestow upon me, and in particular for his sending Mr. Pearce to this city; and that through his means I have been convinced of sin. I am happy to inform you, that through grace I am enabled to walk in the narrow path. The Lord has taken away all desire for worldly company; all my desires now are to attend on the means of grace. Blessed be his name, I often find him present in them. My mother and I often remember the happy time we spent in your company at our house. She often speaks of it with great pleasure, and blesses the Lord for the change which grace has wrought in me."

"Lord's-day, 10. (The last Sabbath.) Preached in the morning at Mary's abbey, from Job xxxiii. 27, 28. 'He looketh upon men, and if any say I have sinned, and perverteth that which was right, and it profited me not; he will deliver his soul from going into the pit, and his life shall see the light.'—A happy season. In the afternoon, having dined with Mr. W———, he took me to Swift's alley, the Baptist place of worship, where I gave an exhortation on brotherly love, and administered the Lord's supper. At Mr. W———'s motion, the church requested me to look out a suitable minister for them. In the evening I preached at Plunket street, from 2 Tim. i. 18. 'The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day!' A very solemn season.

"Monday, 11th. Met the dear Christian friends, for the last time, at a prayer meeting in Plunket street. The Lord was there! Several friends spent the evening with us afterwards at Mr. H———'s.

"Tuesday, 12th. Went aboard at four; arrived at Liverpool on Thursday; and safely at home on Friday, July 15, 1796. Blessed be the Preserver of men, the Saviour of sinners, and the help of his servants, for evermore, amen, amen!"

Some time after, writing to his friend who accompanied him, he says, "I have received several letters from Dublin:—two from Master B. one from Miss H———, one from M———, three or four from the Baptist friends, and some from others, whom I cannot recollect. Mr. K——— lately called on me in his way from Bath to Holyhead. We talked of you, and of our Lord, and did not part till we had presented ourselves before the throne."

During his labors in Dublin, he was strongly solicited to settle in a very flattering situation in the neighborhood;* and a very liberal salary was offered him. On his positively declining it, mention was made of only *six months* of the year. When that was declined, *three months* were proposed; and when he was about to answer this in the negative, the party refused to receive his answer, desiring him to take time to consider of it. He did so; and though he entertained a very grateful sense of the kindness and generosity expressed by the proposal, yet, after the maturest deliberation, he thought it his duty to decline it. Mr. Pearce's modesty prevented his talking on such a subject; but it was known at the time by his friend who accompanied him, and since his death, has been frequently mentioned as an instance of his disinterested spirit.

His friends at Birmingham were ready to think it hard that he should be so willing to leave them to go on a mission among the heathen; but they could not well complain, and much less think ill of him, when they saw that such a willingness was more than could be effected by the most flattering prospects of a worldly nature, accompanied too with promising appearances of religious usefulness.

About a month after his return from Dublin, Mr. Pearce addressed a letter to Mr. Carey, in which he gives some farther account of Ireland, as well as of some other interesting matters:—

Birmingham, Aug. 12, 1796.

"Oh, my dear brother, did you but know with what feelings I resume my pen, freely to correspond with you after receiving your very affectionate letter to myself, and perusing that which you sent by the same conveyance to the society, I am sure you would persuade yourself that I have no common friendship for you, and that your regards are at least returned with equal ardor.

"I fear (I had almost said) that I shall never see your face in the flesh; but if any thing can add to the joy which the presence of Christ, and conformity, perfect conformity to him, will afford in heaven, surely the certain prospect of meeting with my dear brother Carey there, is one of (if not) *the* greatest. Thrice happy should I be, if the providence of God would open a way for my partaking of your labors, your sufferings, and your pleasures on this side the eternal world: but all my brethren here are of a mind, that I shall be more useful at home than abroad; and I, though reluctantly, submit. Yet I am truly with you in spirit. My heart is at Mudna-

* At the *Black Rock*, the residence of some of the most genteel families in the vicinity of Dublin.

patty, and at times I even hope to find my body there: but with the Lord I leave it; *he* knows my wishes, my motives, my regret: *he* knows all my soul; and, depraved as it is, I feel an inexpressible satisfaction that he does know it. However, it is an humbling thought to me, that he sees I am unfit for such a station, and unworthy such an honor as to bear his name among the heathen. But I must be thankful still, that though he appoints me not to a post in foreign service, he will allow me to stand sentinel at home. In this situation may I have grace to be faithful unto death!

"I hardly wonder at your being pained on account of the effects produced on the minds of your European friends, by the news of your engagement in the indigo business, because I imagine you are ignorant of the process of that matter amongst us. When I received the news, I glorified God in sincerity, on account of it, and gave most hearty thanks to him for his most gracious appearance on your behalf: but at the same time I feared, lest through that undertaking, the work of the mission might in some way or other be impeded. The same impression was made on the minds of many others: yet no blame was attached, in our view, to you. Our minds were only alarmed for the future; not disposed to censure for the past. Had you seen a faithful copy of the prayers, the praises, and the conversation of the day in which your letters were read, I know you would not have entertained one unkind thought of the society towards you. Oh no, my dear brother, far be it from us to lay an atom upon your spirits of a painful nature. Need I say, we do love, we do respect you, we do confide too much in you to *design* the smallest occasion of distress to your heart. But I close this subject. In future we will atone for an expression that might bear a harsh construction. We will strengthen, we will support, we will comfort, we will encourage you in your arduous work, all, *all* shall be love and kindness; glory to God and good will to men. If I have done aught that is wrong, as an individual, pardon me: if we have said aught amiss, as a society, pardon us. Let us forbear one another in love, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us.

"By the time this reaches you, I hope you will have received Nos. I. and II. of Periodical Accounts. Should you find any thing in them, which you think had better be omitted, pray be free in mentioning it, and in future your instructions shall be fully attended to. We have taken all the pains, and used all the caution in our power to render them unexceptionable; but you can better judge in some respects than we. If you should not approve of all (though we are not conscious of any thing that you will disapprove) you will not be offended, but believe we have done our best, and with your remarks, hope to do better still.

"With pleasure, approaching to rapture, I read the last accounts you sent us. I never expected immediate success: the prospect is truly greater than my most sanguine hopes. 'The kingdom of heaven is like to a little leaven hid in three measures of meal, till the *whole* is leavened.' Blessed be God! the leaven is in the meal, and its influence is already discoverable. A great God is doing great things by you. Go on, my dearest brother, go on: God will do greater things than these. Jesus is worthy of a *world* of praise: and shall *Hindostan* not praise him? Surely he shall see of the travail of his soul *there*, and the sower and the reaper shall rejoice together. Already the empire of darkness totters, and soon it shall doubtless fall. Blessed be the laborers in this important work; and blessed be *He* who giveth them hearts and strength to labor, and promises that they shall not labor in vain!

"Do not fear the want of money. *God* is for us, and the silver and the gold are his; and so are the hearts of those who possess the most of it. I will travel from the Land's end to the Orkneys but we will get money enough for all the demands of the mission. I have never had a fear on that head: a little exertion will do wonders; and past experience justifies every confidence. *Men* we only want; and God shall find them for us in due time.

"Is brother Fountain arrived? We hope he will be an acceptable remittance, and, viva voce, compensate for the lack of epistolary communications.

"I rejoice in contemplating a church of our Lord Jesus Christ in Bengal, formed upon his own plan. Why do not the Hindoo converts join it? Lord, help their unbelief! But perhaps the drop is now withheld, that you may by and by have the shower, and lift up your eyes, and say, 'These, whence came they? They fly as clouds, and as doves to their windows.' For three years, we read of few baptized by the first disciples of our Lord; but on the fourth, three thousand, and five thousand openly avowed him. The Lord send *you* such another Pentecost!

"I intend to write my dear brother a long letter. It will prove my *desire* to gratify him, if it do no more. I wish that I knew in what communications your other correspondents will be most deficient: then I would try to supply their omissions.

"I will begin with myself: but I have nothing good to say. I think I am the most vile ungrateful servant that ever Jesus Christ employed in his church. At some times, I question whether I ever knew the grace of God in truth; and at others, I hesitate on the most important points of Christian faith. I have lately had peculiar struggles of this kind with my own heart, and have often half concluded to speak no more in the name of the Lord. When I am preparing for the pulpit, I fear I am going to avow fables for facts, and doctrines of men for the truths of God. In conversation I am obliged to be silent, lest my tongue should belie my heart. In prayer I know not what to say, and at times think prayer altogether useless. Yet I cannot wholly surrender my hope, or my profession. Three things I find, above all others, tend to my preservation:—First, A recollection of a time, when, *at once*, I was brought to abandon the practice of sins, which the fear of damnation could never bring me to relinquish before. Surely, I say, this must be the finger of God, according to the scripture doctrine of regeneration: Secondly, I feel such a consciousness of guilt, that nothing but the gospel scheme can satisfy my mind respecting the hope of salvation:—and Thirdly, I see that what true devotion does appear in the world, seems only to be found among those to whom Christ is precious.

"But I frequently find a backwardness to secret prayer, and much deadness in it; and it puzzles me to see how this can be consistent with a life of grace. However, I resolve, that let what will become of me, I will do all I can for God while I live, and leave the rest to him; and this I usually experience to be the best way to be at peace.

"I believe, that if I were more fully given up to God, I should be free from these distressing workings of mind; and then I long to be a missionary where I should have temptations to nothing but to abound in the work of the Lord, and lay myself entirely out for him. In such a situation, I think pride would have but little food, and faith more occasion for exercise; so that the spiritual life, and inward religion would thrive better than they do now.

"At times, indeed, I do feel, I trust, genuine contrition, and sincerely lament my short-comings before God. Oh the sweets that accompany true repentance! Yes, I love to be abased before God.

'There it is I find my blessing.' May the Lord daily and hourly bring me low, and keep me so!

"As to my public work, I find, whilst engaged in it, little cause to complain for want either of matter or words. My labors are acceptable, and not altogether unprofitable, to the hearers: but what is this to me, if my own soul starves whilst others are fed by me? Oh, my brother, I need your prayers, and I feel a great satisfaction in the hope that you do not forget me. Oh that I may be kept faithful unto death! Indeed, in the midst of my strugglings, a gleam of hope, that I shall at last awake in the likeness of God, affords me greater joy than words can express. To be with Christ, is far better than to continue sinning here: but if the Lord hath any thing to do by me, his will be done.

"I have never so fully opened my case to any one before. Your freedom on similar topics, encourages me to make my complaint to you, and I think if you were near me, I should feel great relief in revealing to you all my heart. But I shall fatigue you with my moanings; so I will have done on this subject.

"It is not long since I returned from a kind of mission to *Ireland*. A society is established in Dublin, for the purpose of inviting from England, ministers of various denominations, to assist in promoting the interest of the kingdom of Christ there. Some of our Baptist brethren had been there before me, as Rippon, Langdon, Francis, and Birt; and I think the plan is calculated for usefulness. I have, at Dr. Rippon's request, sent him some remarks on my visit, for the Register; but as it is probable you will receive this before that comes to hand, I will say something of my excursion here.

"Having engaged to spend six Lord's days in that kingdom, I arrived there the day before the first Sabbath in June. I first made myself acquainted with the general state of religion in Dublin. I found there were four Presbyterian congregations; two of these belong to the southern presbytery, and are Arians or Socinians; the other two are connected with the northern presbytery, and retain the Westminster confession of faith. One of these latter congregations is very small, and the minister, though orthodox, appears to have but little success. The other is large and flourishing: the place of worship ninety feet by seventy, and, in the morning, well filled. Their times of public service are at half past eleven, and five. In the afternoon, the usual congregations are small indeed; for five o'clock is the dining hour in Dublin, and few of the hearers would leave their dinners for the gospel. Dr. McDowal is the senior pastor of this church, a very affectionate, spiritual man. The junior is Mr. Horner. The doctor is a warm friend of the society, at whose request I went over to Ireland.

"There is one congregation of Burgher seceders, and another of Antiburghers. The latter will not hear any man who is not of their own cast; the former are much more liberal. I preached for them once, and they affectionately solicited a repetition of my services.

"Lady Huntingdon's connection has one society here, the only one in the kingdom, perhaps, except at Sligo, where there is another. It is not large, and I fear rather declining. There is not one independent church in the kingdom. There were ten Baptist societies in Ireland: they are now reduced to six; and are, I fear, still on the decline.

"The inhabitants of Dublin seem to be chiefly composed of two classes: the one assume the appearance of opulence; the other exhibit marks of the most abject poverty: and as there are no parishes in Ireland which provide for the poor, many die every year for want of the necessaries of life.

"Most of the rich are by profession protestants; the poor are nearly all papists, and strongly prejudiced against the reformed religion. Their ignorance and superstition are scarcely inferior to your miserable Hindoos. On midsummer day I had an affecting proof of the latter. On the public road, about a mile from Dublin, is a well, which was once included in the precincts of a priory, dedicated to St. John, of Jerusalem. This well is in high repute for curing a number of bodily complaints, and its virtues are said to be most efficacious on the saint's own day. So from twelve o'clock at night, for twenty-four hours, it becomes the rendezvous for all the lame, blind, and otherwise diseased people, within a circuit of twenty miles. Here they brought old and young, and applied the 'holy water,' both internally and externally; some by pouring, some by immersion, and all by drinking: whilst, for the good of those who could not come in person, their friends filled bottles with the efficacious water, to use at home. Several I saw on their knees before the well, at their devotions, who were not unfrequently interrupted with a glass of whiskey. With this they were supplied from a number of dealers in that article, who kept standings all round the well.

"Near the spot, was a church-yard, where great numbers kneeled upon the tombs of their deceased relatives, and appeared earnestly engaged in praying for the repose of their souls.

"It was truly a lamentable sight. My heart ached at their delusions, whilst I felt gratitude, I hope unfeigned, for an acquaintance with the water of life, of which, if a man drink, he shall live for ever.

"There are few, or none, of the middle class to connect the rich and the poor; so that favorable access to them is far more difficult than to the lower orders of the people in England; and their priests hold them in such bondage, that if a catholic servant only attend on family worship in a protestant house, penance must be performed for the offence.

"S. P."

Mention has already been made of his having "formed a pleasing acquaintance with several serious young gentlemen of the university of Dublin."* The following letter was addressed to one of them, the Rev. Mr. Matthias, a few months after his return:—

"Dear brother Matthias—I have been employed this whole day in writing letters to Dublin; and it is the first day I have been able to redeem for that purpose. I will not consume a page in apology.—Let it suffice to say, that necessity, not disinclination, has detained from my Irish friends, those proofs of my gratitude and esteem, which in other circumstances I ought to have presented three months ago. I thought this morning of answering all their demands before I slept: but I have written so many sheets, and all full, that I find my eyes and my fingers both fail; and I believe this must close my intercourse with Dublin this day. When I shall be able to complete my purpose, I do not know. To form friendships with good men is pleasant; but to maintain *all that communion*, which friendship expects, is in some cases very difficult. Happy should I be, could I meet my Irish friends in propria persona, instead of sitting in solitude, and maintaining, by the tedious medium of the pen, this distant intercourse. But 'the Lord, he shall choose our inheritance for us.' Were all the planets of our system embodied, and placed in close association, the light would be greater, and the object grander; but then, usefulness and systematic beauty consist in their dispersion: and what are we, my brother, but so many satellites to Jesus, the great sun of the Christian system? Some, indeed, like burning

* Page 386.

Mercuries, keep nearer the luminary, and receive more of its light and heat, whilst others, like the ringed planet, or the Georgium Sidus, preserve a greater distance, and reflect a greater portion of his light: yet if, amidst all this diversity, *they belong to the system*, two things may be affirmed of all; all keep true to one centre, and borrow whatever light they have from one source. True it is, that the further they are from the sun, the longer are they in performing their revolutions: and is not this exemplified in us? The closer we keep to Jesus, the more brilliant are our graces, the more cheerful and active are our lives; but alas, we are all comets; we all move in eccentric orbs: at one time glowing beneath the ray divine, at another freezing and congealing the icicles. 'Oh what a miracle to man is man!'

"Little did I think, when I began this letter, that I should have thus indulged myself in allegory; but true friendship, I believe, always dictates extempore; and my friends must never expect from me a studied epistle. They can meet with better thoughts, than I can furnish them with, in any bookseller's shop. It is not the dish, however well it may be cooked, that gives the relish, but the sweet sauce of friendship; and this I think sometimes makes even nonsense palatable.

"But I have some questions to put to you; first, how are all my college friends, Messrs. Walker, Maturin, Hamilton, &c.? How is their health? But chiefly, how are the interests of religion among you? Are any praying students added to your number? Do all those you thought well of, continue to justify their profession? You know what it is that interests me. Pray tell me all, whether it makes me weep, or rejoice.

"I hope Mr. H—'s ministry was blessed in Dublin. Do you know any instances of it? We must sow in hope, and I trust that we shall all gather the fruit of eternal life, even where the buddings have never appeared to us in this world. How is it with your own soul? I thank God I never, I think, rejoiced habitually so much in him as I have done of late. '*God is love.*' That makes me happy. I rejoice that God reigns; that he reigns over all; that he reigns over me; over my crosses, my comforts, my family, my friends, my senses, my mental powers, my designs, my words, my preaching, my conduct; that he is *God over all* blessed for ever. I am willing to live, yet I long to die, to be freed from all error, and all sin. I have nothing else to trouble me; no other cross to carry. The sun shines without, all day long; but I am sensible of internal darkness. Well, through grace it shall all be light by and by. Yes, you and I shall be angels of light, all Mercuries then; all near the sun; always in motion; always glowing with zeal and flaming with love. Oh for the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness!

'Oh what love and concord there,
And what sweet harmony
In heaven above, where happy souls
Adore thy majesty.
Oh how the heavenly choirs all sing
To him who sits enthron'd above,
What admiring!
And aspiring!
Still desiring:—
Oh how I long to see this feast of love!'

"Will you tell brother M—— that I wait an opportunity to send a parcel to him? In that I will enclose a letter. My very affectionate respects to him, and Mr. H——, with all my college friends, as though named. If you be not weary of such an eccentric correspondent, pray do not be long ere you write to your unworthy, but affectionate brother in Christ, S. P."

Awhile after this, he thus writes to his friend, Mr. Summers:

"December, 1796. I rejoice that you have been supported under, and brought through your late trials. I do not wonder at it, for it is no more han God has promised; and though we may well wonder that he promises any thing, yet his performance is no just ground of surprise; and when we find ourselves so employed, we had better turn our wonder to our own unbelief, that for one moment suspected God would not be as good as his word.

"I have been lately more than ever delighted with the thought, that God *hath engaged* to do any thing for such worms as we. I never studied the deistical controversy so much, nor ever rejoiced in revelation more. Alas! what should we know, if God had not condescended to teach us. Paul very justly remarks, that no one knoweth any thing of God, but the Spirit of God, and he to whom the Spirit revealeth him. Now the Spirit hath revealed God in the Bible, but to an unbeliever the Bible is a sealed book. He can know nothing from a book that he looks upon as an imposture, and yet there is no other book in which God is revealed; so that to reject the Bible, is to immerse ourselves in darkness, and whilst professing to be wise, actually to become a fool; whereas, no sooner do we believe what the Spirit saith, than unto us is God revealed, and 'in his light do we see light.' S. P."

To the above may be added, a few extracts of letters, which he addressed to his friends in 1797, and 1798.

TO DR. RYLAND.

March, 1797.

"During the last three weeks, I have at times, been very poorly, in colds, &c. Am better now, and have been all along assisted in going through my public duties. Let us continue to pray for each other, till death makes it a needless service. How uncertain is life, and what a blessing is death to a saint! I seem lately to feel a kind of *affection* for death. Methinks if it were visible, I could embrace it. 'Welcome herald, that bids the prisoner be free; that announces the dawn of everlasting day; that bids the redeemed come to Zion with everlasting joy, to be beyond the reach of an erroneous judgment, and a depraved heart. To believe, to feel, to speak, to act *exactly* as God will have me; to be wholly absorbed and taken up with him; this, this, nothing short of this can make my bliss complete. But *all this is mine.* Oh the height, the depth, the length, the breadth of redeeming love! It conquers my heart, and constrains me to yield myself a living sacrifice, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.

"My dear brother, we have had many happy meetings upon earth: the best is in reserve.

'No heart upon earth can conceive
The bliss that in heaven they share;
Then, who this dark world would not leave,
And cheerfully die to be there!'

"Oh how full of love, and joy, and praise, shall we be when that happy state is ours! Well, yet a little while, and He that shall come, will come. Even so come, Lord Jesus! My dear brother, forgive the hasty effusions of a heart that loves you in the bowels of Jesus, and is always happy in testifying itself to be affectionately yours, S. P."

TO MR. CAVE,

On the falling away of some who had promised fair in religion.

——1797.

"I thank you my dear brother, for the confidence you repose in me, the affection you have for me,

and the freedom with which you write to me. Assure yourself that I sincerely sympathize in the cutting events which you have lately experienced. Trying indeed! Your heart must bleed. Yet be not discouraged in your work. The more *Satan* opposes *Christ*, the more let *us* oppose *him*. He comes with great violence because his time is short. His kingdom is on the decline; his strong holds are besieged, and he knows they must soon be taken. Whilst it lasts, he is making desperate sallies on the armies of the Lamb. It is no great wonder that he fights and wounds a raw recruit now and then, who strays from the camp, and thoughtless of the danger, keeps not close by the Captain's tent. I hope our glorious Leader will heal the wounded, and secure the captive. He is sure to make reprisals. Christ will have ten to one. You will yet see his arm made bare. He shall go forth like a man of war. The prisoners shall be redeemed, and the old tyrant shall be cast into the bottomless pit. Be of good cheer, my fellow soldier. The cause is not ours, but God's. Let us endure hardness, and still fight the good fight of faith. At last we shall come off conquerors, through Him who hath loved us.

"I hope you have some causes for joy, as well as grief. I trust though one, or two, or three fall, the tens, and the twenties stand their ground. Oh do what you can to cheer them under the common trial. Let them not see a faint heart in *you*. Fight manfully still. Tell them to watch the more; to pray the harder; to walk the closer with God. So out of the eater shall come forth meat, and sweetness out of the strong. S. P."

TO MR. BATES, AND MRS. BARNES,

Who had been burnt out of their residence.

"The many expressions of Christian friendship which I received from you, and your affectionate families, during my last visit to London, will often excite grateful recollection in future, as they have almost daily since I parted from you; and though I do not write this avowedly as a mere letter of acknowledgment, yet I wish to assure you, that I am not forgetful of my friends, nor unthankful for their kindness. May all the favor you show to the servants of our common Lord for his sake, be amply recompensed in present peace, and future felicity, when the promise of Him who cannot lie, shall be fulfilled. 'A cup of cold water given to a disciple, in the name of a disciple, shall not lose its reward.'

"But, whilst you, my dear friends, live 'in hope of the glory' that remains 'to be revealed,' I am persuaded that you expect *all* as the fruit of sovereign mercy, which first forms us to the mind of Christ, then accepts, and then rewards. Truly, if sinners be rewarded, it must be 'of grace, and not of debt.' Yet it is a mercy of unspeakable magnitude, that grace should establish a connection, between obedience and enjoyment; such a connection as at once insures joy to the believer, and glory to Christ.

"Oh that our thoughts, our affections, our desires may be much in heaven! *Here*, you have been taught, is 'no continuing city,' no certain place of abode; and though you have been taught it awfully in flames, yet if you learn it effectually, the terror of the means will be conquered by the excellency and glory of the consequences. Yes, my friends, 'in heaven we have a better and enduring substance:' the apartments there are more spacious; the society more sweet; the enjoyments more perfect; and all to last for ever. Well may Christians 'rejoice in hope of the glory of God!' S. P."

TO MR. AND MRS. BOWYER, PALL MALL.

November 17, 1797.

"Blessed be 'the Preserver of men,' for all his goodness to dear Mr. and Mrs. B. With theirs shall my gratitude also ascend, whilst separated from their society; and with theirs, shall it more warmly and permanently ascend when we meet to form a part of the general assembly, the church of the first born.

"I do not return to London this autumn, but I mean to visit Portsmouth. I must be indebted to you for my directions. We shall be very happy to see you at Luke street: but *Wales* I suppose will be the vortex that will swallow up much of your time. Well, so *you* are happy, we must be disinterested enough to be satisfied, although we be denied a personal participation.

"Let us not forget that we are Christians; and Christians profess a hope of a better country than *Cambria* contains. *There*, we all belong. Already citizens by privilege, we shall be by possession soon.

'Roll swifter round, ye wheels of time,
And bring the welcome day.'

"In hope of greeting you both in that good land, I remain, most affectionately yours, S. P."

TO DR. RYLAND.

November 17, 1797.

"I feel much for you in relation both to the duties and trials of your present situation: at the same time I bless God who fixed you in it, because I am persuaded that it will be for his glory in the churches of Christ. And though none but those, whose hands are full of religious concerns, can guess at your difficulties; yet our blessed Redeemer knows them all. Oh, my brother, you are travailing for Him, who redeemed you by his blood; who sympathizes with you, and who will graciously crown you at last. Small as my trials are, I would turn smith, and work at the anvil and the forge, rather than bear them for any other master than *Christ*. Yet were they ten thousand times as many as they are, the thought of their being for him, I trust, would sweeten them all.

"I have reason to be very thankful for much pleasure of late, both as a Christian and a minister. I have never felt so deeply my need of a Divine Redeemer, and seldom possessed such solid confidence that he is mine. I want more and more to become a little child, to dwindle into nothing in my own esteem, to renounce my own wisdom, power and goodness, and simply look to, and live upon Jesus for all. I am ashamed that I have so much pride, so much self-will. Oh my Saviour! make me 'meek and lowly in heart;' in this alone I find 'rest to my soul.'

"I could say much of what Immanuel has done for my soul; but I fear lest even this should savor of vanity. When shall I be like my Lord! Oh welcome death, when I have nothing more to do for Christ! To him, till then, may I live every day and every hour! Rather may I be annihilated than not live to him!

"You will rejoice with me to hear that we have a pleasing prospect as a church. Several very hopeful, and some very valuable characters are about to join us. Lord carry on thy work!

"S. P."

TO MRS. PEARCE,

On the dangerous illness of one of the children.

Portsmouth, January 29, 1798.

"Ignorant of the circumstances of our dear child, how shall I address myself to her dearer mother! With a fluttering heart, and a trembling hand, I, in this uncertainty, resume my pen. One consideration tranquillizes my mind—I and mine are in the hands of *God:* the wise, the good, the indulgent Parent of mankind! Whatever *he* does is

best. I am prepared for all his will, and hope that I shall never have a feeling, whose language is not, 'Thy will be done.'

"I am most kindly entertained here by Mr. and Mrs. Shoveller: and, except my dear Sarah's presence, feel myself at home. *They* have had greater trials than *we* can at present know. They have attended *seven* children to the gloomy tomb: they have been supported beneath their loss, by Him who hath said, 'As thy days, so shall thy strength be.' Mrs. S. tells me, she 'blessed God for all.' May my dear Sarah be enabled to do the same, whatever the result may prove. To-morrow I expect another letter from you; yet lest you should too much feel my absence, I will not delay forwarding this a single post. O that it may prove in some degree a messenger of consolation!

"Yesterday I preached three times; God was very good. I received your letter before the first service: you may be assured that I bore you on my heart in the presence of my Lord and yours; nor shall I pray in vain. He will either restore the child, or support you under the loss of it. I dare not pray with importunity for any *earthly good*; for 'who knoweth what is good for man in this life, all the days of his vain life which he spendeth as a shadow?' But *strength* to bear the loss of earthly comforts, he has *promised*; for *that* I importune; and *that*, I doubt not, will be granted.

"In a house directly opposite to the window before which I now write, a *wife*, a *mother*, is just departed. Why am I not a bereaved husband? Why not my children motherless? When we compare our condition with our wishes, we often complain: but if we compare it with that of many around us, our complaints would be exchanged for gratitude and praise. S. P."

TO R. BOWYER, ESQ.

February 14, 1798.

"Not a day has hurried by, since I parted with my dear friends in Pall Mall, but they have been in my affectionate remembrance; but not being able to speak with any satisfaction respecting our dear child, I have withheld myself from imparting new anxieties to bosoms already alive to painful sensibility.

"At length, however, a gracious God puts it in my power to say that there is hope. After languishing between life and death for many days she now seems to amend. We flatter ourselves that she has passed the crisis, and yet will be restored to our arms; but parental fears forbid too strong a confidence. It may be that our most merciful God saw that the shock of a sudden removal would be too strong for the tender feelings of a mother; and so by degrees, prepares for the stroke which must fall at last. However, she is in the best hands, and we are, I hope, preparing for submission to whatever may be the blessed will of God.

"I was brought home in safety, and feel myself in much better health in consequence of my journey. Oh that it all may be concentrated to my Redeemer's praise!

"Happy should I be, if I could oftener enjoy your friendly society; but we must wait for the full accomplishment of our social wishes, till we come to that better world, for which divine grace is preparing us—there our best, our brightest hopes, and there our warmest affections must be found. Could we have all we want below, we should be reluctant to ascend, when Jesus calls us home. No, this is not our rest; it is polluted with sin, and dashed with sorrow; but though our pains in themselves are evil, yet our God turns the curse into a blessing, and makes all that we meet with accomplish our good.

"What better can I wish, my friends, than the humble place of Mary, or the happy rest of John! Faith can enjoy them both, till actually we fall at the Saviour's feet, and lean upon his bosom, when we see him as he is.

'Oh the delights, the heav'nly joys,
The glories of the place,
Where Jesus sheds the brightest beams
Of his o'erflowing grace.'

"S. P."

CHAPTER IV.

An account of his last affliction, and the holy and happy exercises of his mind under it.

EARLY in October, 1798, Mr. Pearce attended at the Kettering minister's meeting, and preached from Psalm xc. 16, 17. "Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto thy children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it." He was observed to be singularly solemn and affectionate in that discourse. If he had known it to be the last time that he should address his brethren in that part of the country, he could scarcely have felt or spoken in a more interesting manner. It was a discourse full of instruction, full of holy unction, and that seemed to breathe an apostolical ardor. On his return, he preached at Market Harborough; and riding home the next day in company with his friend, Mr. Summers, of London, they were overtaken with rain. Mr. Pearce was wet through his clothes, and towards evening complained of a chillness. A slight hoarseness followed. He preached several times after this, which brought on an inflammation, and issued in a consumption. It is probable that if his constitution had not been previously impaired, such effects might not have followed in this instance. His own ideas on this subject, are expressed in a letter to Dr. Ryland, dated December 4, 1798, and in another to Mr. King, dated from Bristol, on his way to Plymouth, March 30, 1799. In the former, he says: "Ever since my Christmas journey last year to Sheepshead, Nottingham, and Leicester, on the mission business, I have found my constitution greatly debilitated, in consequence of a cold caught after the unusual exertions which circumstances then demanded; so that from a frame that could endure any weather, I have since been too tender to encounter a single shower without danger; and the duties of the Lord's day, which as far as bodily strength went, I could perform with little fatigue, have since frequently overcome me. But the severe cold I caught in my return from the last Kettering minister's meeting has affected me so much, that I have sometimes concluded I must give up preaching entirely; for though my head and spirits are better than for two years past, yet my stomach is so very weak, that I cannot pray in my family without frequent pauses for breath; and in the pulpit it is labor and agony, which must be felt to be conceived of. I have, however, made shift to preach sometimes thrice, but mostly only twice on a Lord's day, till the last, when the morning sermon only, though I delivered it with great pleasure of mind, and with as much caution as to my voice as possible, yet cost me so much labor as threw me into a fever till the next day, and prevented my sleeping all night." In the letter he writes thus: "Should my life be spared, I and my family, and all my connections will stand indebted, under God, to you. Unsuspecting of danger myself, I believe I should have gone on with my exertions, till the grave had received me. Your attention sent Mr. B. (the apothecary) to me, and then first I learned, what I have since been increasingly convinced of—*that I was rapidly destroying the vi-*

tal principle. And the kind interest you have taken in my welfare ever since, has often drawn the grateful tear from my eye. May the God of heaven and earth reward your kindness to his unworthy servant, and save you from all the evils from which your distinguished friendship would have saved me."

Such were his ideas. His labors were certainly abundant; perhaps too great for his constitution: but it is probable that nothing was more injurious to his health, than a frequent exposure to night air, and an inattention to the necessity of changing damp clothes.

Hitherto we have seen in Mr. Pearce, the active, assiduous, and laborious servant of Jesus Christ; but now we see him laid aside from his work, wasting away by slow degrees, patiently enduring the will of God, and cheerfully waiting for his dissolution. And as here is but little to narrate, I shall content myself with copying his letters, or extracts from them, to his friends, in the order of time in which they were written, only now and then dropping a few hints to furnish the reader with the occasions of some of them.

TO DR. RYLAND.

Birmingham, October 8, 1798.

"Oh! my dear brother, your letter of the 5th which I received this morning, has made me thankful for all my pulpit agonies, as they enable me to weep with a weeping brother. They have been of use to me in other respects; particularly, in teaching me the importance of attaining and maintaining that spirituality and pious ardor, in which I have found the most effectual relief; so that, on the whole, I must try to 'glory in tribulations also.' I trust I often can when the conflict is past; but to glory '*in*' them, especially in mental distress—hic labor, hoc opus est.

"But how often has it been found, that when ministers have felt themselves most embarrassed, the most effectual good has been done to the people. Oh for hearts entirely resigned to the will of God.

"How happy should I be, could I always enjoy the sympathies of a brother, who is tried in these points, as I of late have been. S. P."

TO MR. FULLER.

Birmingham, October 29, 1798.

"I caught a violent cold in returning from our last committee meeting, from which I have not yet recovered. A little thing now affects my constitution, which I once judged would be weather and labor proof for at least thirty years, if I lived so long, I thank God that I am not debilitated by iniquity. I have lately met with an occurrenee which occasioned me much pain and perplexity. **** Trials soften our hearts and make us more fully prize the dear few, into whose faithful sympathizing bosoms we can with confidence pour our sorrows. I think I should bless God for my afflictions, if they produced no other fruits than these—the tenderness they inspire, and the friendships they enjoy. Pray, my dear brother, for yours affectionately, S. P."

To a young man who had applied to him for advice, how he should best improve his time previous to his going to the Bristol academy.

Birmingham, November 13, 1798.

"My dear M.—I can only confess my regret at not replying to yours at a much earlier period, and assure you that the delay has been accidental, and not designed. I feel the importance of your request for advice. I was sensible it deserved some consideration before it was answered. I was full of business at the moment. I put it by, and it was forgotten; and now it is too late. The time of your going to Bristol draws nigh. If instead of an opinion respecting the best way of occupying your time before you go, you will accept a little counsel during your continuance there, I shall be happy at any time to contribute such a mite as my experience and observation have put in my power.

"At present, the following rules appear of so much moment, that were I to resume a place in any literary establishment, I would religiously adopt them as the standard of my conduct:—First, I would cultivate a spirit of habitual devotion. Warm piety connected with my studies, and especially at my entrance upon them, would not only assist me in forming a judgment on their respective importance, and secure the blessing of God upon them; but would so cement the religious feeling with the literary pursuit, as might abide with me for life. The habit of uniting these, being once formed, would, I hope, be never lost; and I am sure that without this, I shall both pursue trivial and unworthy objects, and those that are worthy I shall pursue for a wrong end.—Secondly, I would determine on a uniform submission to the instructions of my preceptor, and study those things which would give him pleasure. If he be not wiser than I am, for what purpose do I come under his care? I accepted the pecuniary help of the society on condition of conformity to its will; and it is the society's will that my tutor should govern me. My example will have influence; let me not, by a single act of disobedience, or by a word that implicates dissatisfaction, sow the seeds of discord in the bosoms of my companions.—Thirdly, I would pray and strive for the power of self-government, to form no plan, to utter not a word, to take no step under the mere influence of passion. Let my judgment be often asked, and let me always give it time to answer. Let me always guard against a light or trifling spirit: and particularly as I shall be amongst a number of youths, whose years will incline them all to the same frailty.—Fourthly, I would in all my weekly and daily pursuits observe the strictest order. Always let me act by a plan. Let every hour have its proper pursuit; from which let nothing but a settled conviction that I can employ it to better advantage, ever cause me to deviate. Let me have fixed time for prayer, meditation, reading, languages, correspondence, recreation, sleep, &c.—Fifthly, I would not only assign to every hour its proper pursuit, but what I did, I would try to do it with all my might. The hours at such a place are precious beyond conception, till the student enters on life's busy scenes. Let me set the best of my class ever before me, and strive to be better than they. In humility and diligence, let me aim to be the first.—Sixthly, I would particularly avoid a *versatile habit.* In all things I would persevere. Without this, I may be a gaudy butterfly, but never like the bee, will my hive bear examining. Whatever I take in hand, let me first be sure I understand it, then duly consider it, and if it be good, let me adopt and use it.

"To these, my dear brother let me add three or four things more minute, but which I am persuaded will help you much—*Guard against a large acquaintance while you are a student.* Bristol friendship, while you sustain that character, will prove a vile thief, and rob you of many an invaluable hour. —*Get two or three of the students, whose piety you most approve, to meet for one hour in a week for experimental conversation and mutual prayer.* I found this highly beneficial, though strange to tell, by some we were persecuted for our practice!—*Keep a diary.* Once a week, at farthest, call yourself to an account: What advances you have made in your studies; in divinity, history, languages, natural philosophy, style, arrangement; and amidst all, do not forget to inquire: Am I more fit to *serve* and to *enjoy* God than I was last week? S. P."

On December 2, 1798, he delivered his last sermon. The subject was taken from Dan. x. 19. "Oh man, greatly beloved, fear not, peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my Lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me."—"Amongst all the Old Testament saints," said he, in his introduction to that discourse, "there is not one whose virtues were more, and whose imperfections were fewer, than those of Daniel. By the history given of him in this book, which yet seems not to be complete, he appears to have excelled among the excellent." Doubtless no one was farther from his thoughts than himself; several of his friends, however, could not help applying it to him, and that with a painful apprehension of what followed soon after.

TO MR. CAVE, LEICESTER.

Birmingham, December 4, 1798.

"——Blessed be God, my mind is calm; and though my body be weakness itself, my spirits are good, and I can write as well as ever, though I can hardly speak two sentences without a pause. All is well, brother! all is well, for time and eternity. My soul rejoices in the everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure. Peace from our dear Lord Jesus be with your spirit, as it is (yea, more also) with your affectionate brother, S. P."

TO DR. RYLAND.

Birmingham, Lord's day evening, Dec. 9, 1798.

"My dear brother—After a Sabbath (such an one I never knew before) spent in an entire seclusion from the house and ordinances of my God, I seek Christian converse with you, in a way in which I am yet permitted to have intercourse with my brethren. The day after I wrote to you last, my medical attendant laid me under the strictest injunctions not to speak again in public for one month at least. He says that my stomach has become so irritable, through repeated inflammations, that conversation, unless managed with great caution, would be dangerous; that he does not think my present condition alarming, provided I take rest—but without that, he intimated my life was in great danger. He forbids my exposing myself to the evening air, on any account, and going out of doors, or to the door, unless when the air is dry and clear; so that I am, during the weather we now have in Birmingham, (very foggy,) a complete prisoner; and the repeated cautions from my dear and affectionate friends, whose solicitude, I conceive, far exceeds the danger, compel me to a rigid observance of the doctor's rules.

"This morning, brother Pope took my place; and in the afternoon, Mr. Brewer, who has discovered uncommon tenderness and respect for me and the people, since he knew my state, preached a very affectionate sermon from 1 Sam. iii. 18. 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' By what I hear, his sympathizing observations, in relation to the event which occasioned his being then in the pulpit, drew more tears from the people's eyes, than a dozen such poor creatures as their pastor could deserve. But I have, blessed be God! long had the satisfaction of finding myself embosomed in friendship—the friendship of the people of my charge: though I lament that their love should occasion them a pang—but thus it is—our heavenly Father sees that, for our mixed characters, a mixed state is best.

"I anticipated a day of gloom, but I had unexpected reason to rejoice that the shadow of death was turned into the joy of the morning; and though I said, with perhaps before unequalled feeling, 'How amiable are thy tabernacles!' yet I found the God of Zion does not neglect the dwellings of Jacob. My poor wife was very much affected at so novel a thing as leaving me behind her, and so it was a dewy morning; but the Sun of Righteousness soon arose, and shed such ineffable delight throughout my soul, that I could say, 'It is good to be *here*.' Motive to resignation and gratitude also, crowded upon motive, till my judgment was convinced, that I ought to rejoice in the Lord exceedingly, and so my whole soul took its fill of joy. May I, if it be my Saviour's will, feel as happy when I come to die! When my poor Sarah lay at the point of death, for some days after her first lying-in, towards the latter days, I enjoyed such support, and felt my will so entirely bowed down to that of God, that I said in my heart, 'I shall never fear another trial—he that sustained me amidst this flame, will defend me from every spark!' and this confidence I long enjoyed. But that was near six years ago, and I had almost forgotten the land of the Hermonites, and the hill Mizar. But the Lord has prepared me to receive a fresh display of his fatherly care, and his (shall I call it?) punctilious veracity. If I should be raised up again, I shall be able to preach on the faithfulness of God more experimentally than ever. Perhaps some trial is coming on, and I am to be instrumental in preparing them for it: or if not, if I am to depart hence to be no more seen, I know the Lord can carry on his work as well without me as with me. He who redeemed the sheep with his blood, will never suffer them to perish for want of shepherding, especially since he himself is the chief Shepherd of souls. But my *family!* Ah, *there* I find my faith but still imperfect. However, I do not think the Lord will ever take me away, till he helps me to leave my fatherless children in his hands, and trust my widow also with him. 'His love in times past,' and I may add in times *present* too, 'forbids me to think he will leave me at *last*, in trouble to sink.'

"Whilst my weakness was gaining ground, I used to ask myself, how I could like to be laid by? I have dreamed that this was the case, and both awake and asleep, I felt as though it were an evil that could not be borne:—but now, I find the Lord can fit the back to the burden, and though I think I love the thought of serving Christ at this moment better than ever, yet he has made me willing to be . . . . nothing, if he please to have it so; and now my happy heart 'could sing itself away to everlasting bliss.'

"O what a mercy that I have not brought on my affliction by serving the *devil*. What a mercy that I have so many dear sympathizing friends! What a mercy that I have so much dear domestic comfort! What a mercy that I am in no violent bodily pain! What a mercy that I can read and write, without doing myself an injury! What a mercy that my animal spirits have all the time this has been coming on, (ever since the last Kettering meeting of ministers) been vigorous—free from dejection! And which I reckon among the greatest of this day's privileges, what a mercy that I have been able to employ myself for Christ and his dear cause to-day, as I have been almost wholly occupied in the concerns of the (I hope) *reviving* church at Bromsgrove; and the infant church at Cradley! O my dear brother, it is *all* mercy, is it not? O help me then in his praise, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.

"Ought I to apologize for this experimental chat with you, who have concerns to transact of so much more importance, than any that are confined to an individual? Forgive me if I have intruded too much on your time—but do not forget to praise on my behalf a faithful God. I shall now leave room

against I have some business to write about—till then, adieu—but let us not forget, that *this God, is our God for ever and ever*, and will be *our guide* even until death. Amen. Amen. We shall soon meet in heaven. S. P."

December 9, 1798, he was detained from public worship, as appears by the preceding letter to Dr. Ryland, written on that day. The following lines seem to have been composed on the same occasion:

On being prevented by sickness from attending on public worship.

The fabric of nature is fair,
But fairer the temple of grace;
To saints 't is the joy of the earth—
Oh glorious, beautiful place!

To this temple I once did resort,
With crowds of the people of God;
Enraptur'd, we entered its courts,
And hail'd the Redeemer's abode.

The Father of nature we prais'd,
And prostrated low at his throne;
The Saviour *we lov'd* and ador'd,
Who *lov'd us* and made us his own.

Full oft to the message of peace,
To sinners address'd from the sky,
We listen'd, extolling that grace,
Which set us, once rebels, on high.

Faith clave to the crucified Lamb;
Hope, smiling, exalted its head;
Love warm'd at the Saviour's dear name
And vow'd to observe what he said.

What pleasure appear'd in the looks
Of brethren and sisters around;
With transports all seem'd to reflect
On the blessings in Jesus they'd found.

Sweet moments! If aught upon earth
Resemble the joys of the skies,
'Tis thus when the hearts of the flock
Conjoin'd to the Shepherd arise.

But ah! these sweet moments are fled,
Pale sickness compels me to stay
Where no voice of the turtle is heard,
As the moments are hasting away.

My God! thou art holy and good,
Thy plans are all righteous and wise;
Oh help me submissive to wait,
Till thou biddest thy servant arise.

If to follow thee here in thy courts,
May it be with all ardor and zeal,
With success and increasing delight
Performing the whole of thy will.

Or should thou in bondage detain,
To visit thy temples no more,
Prepare me for mansions above
Where nothing exists to deplore:

Where Jesus, the Sun of the place
Refulgent incessantly shines,
Eternally blessing his saints,
And pouring delight on their minds.

There—there are no prisons to hold
The captive from tasting delight;
There—there the day never is clos'd,
With shadows, or darkness, or night.

There myriads and myriads shall meet,
In our Saviour's high praises to join;
Whilst transported we fall at his feet,
And extol his redemption divine.

Enough then! my heart shall no more
Of its present bereavements complain,
Since, ere long, I to glory shall soar,
And ceaseless enjoyments attain!

TO MR. NICHOLS, NOTTINGHAM.

Birmingham, Dec. 10, 1798.

"I am now quite laid by from preaching, and am so reduced in my internal strength, that I can hardly converse with a friend for five minutes without losing my breath. Indeed I have been so ill, that I thought the next ascent would be, not to a pulpit, but to a throne, to the throne of glory. Yes, indeed, my friend, the religion of Jesus will support when flesh and heart fail: and in my worst state of body, my soul was filled with joy. I am now getting a little better, though but very slowly. But fast or slow, or as it may, the Lord doth all things well.

"S. P."

TO R. BOWYER, ESQ.

"———I have overdone myself in preaching. I am now ordered to lie by, and not even to *converse*, without great care; nor indeed, till to-day, have I for some time been able to utter a sentence, without a painful effort. Blessed be God! I have been filled all through my affliction with peace and joy in believing; and at one time, when I thought I was entering the valley of death, the prospect beyond was so full of glory, that but for the sorrow it would have occasioned to some who would be left behind, I should have longed that moment to have mounted to the skies. Oh, my friend, what a mercy that I am not receiving the wages of sin; that my health has not been impaired by vice; but that, on the contrary, I am *bearing in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus*. To him be all the praise! Truly I have proved that God is faithful: and most cheerfully would I take double the affliction for one half of the joy and sweetness which have attended it. Accept a sermon which is this day published.*

"S. P."

TO MR. BATES AND MRS. BARNES, MINORIES.

Birmingham, Dec. 14, 1798.

"———I could tell you much of the Lord's goodness during my affliction. Truly 'his right hand hath been under my head, and his left embraced me.' And when I was at the worst, especially, and expected ere long to have done with time, even *then*, such holy joy, such ineffable sweetness filled my soul, that I would not have exchanged that situation for any besides heaven itself.

"Oh, my dear friends, let us live to *Christ*, and lay ourselves wholly out for him whilst we live; and then, when health and life forsake us, he will be the strength of our heart, and our portion for ever. S. P."

About this time, the congregation at Cannon street was supplied for several months by Mr. Ward, who is since gone as a missionary to India: here that amiable young man became intimately acquainted with Mr. Pearce, and conceived a most affectionate esteem for him. In a letter to a friend, dated January 5, 1799, he writes as follows:—

"I am happy in the company of dear brother Pearce. I have seen more of God in him, than in any other person I ever knew. Oh how happy

* The last but one he ever preached, entitled, MOTIVES TO GRATITUDE. It was delivered on a day of national thanksgiving, and printed at the request of his own congregation.

should I be to live and die with him! When well, he preaches three times on a Lord's day, and two or three times in the week besides. He instructs the young people in the principles of religion, natural philosophy, astronomy, &c. They have a Benevolent Society, from the funds of which they distribute forty or fifty pounds a year to the poor of the congregation. They have a Sick Society for visiting the afflicted in general: a Book Society at the chapel: a Lord's-day school, at which betwixt two and three hundred children are instructed. Add to this, missionary business, visiting the people, an extensive correspondence, two volumes of mission history preparing for the press, &c., and then you will see something of the soul of Pearce. He is every where venerated, though but a young man; and all the kind, tender, gentle affections, make him as a little child at the feet of his Saviour.

"W. W."

In February, he rode to the opening of a Baptist meeting house at Bedworth; but did not engage in any of the services. Here several of his brethren saw him for the last time. Soon afterwards, writing to the compiler of these Memoirs, he says—"The Lord's day after I came home, I tried to speak a little after sermon. It inflamed my lungs afresh, and produced phlegm, coughing, and spitting of blood. Perhaps I may never preach more. Well, the Lord's will be done. I thank him that ever he took me into his service: and now, if he sees fit to give me a discharge, I submit."

During the above meeting, a word was dropped by one of his brethren which he took as a reflection, though nothing was farther from the intention of the speaker. It wrought upon his mind, and in a few days after, he wrote as follows:—"Do you remember what passed at B.? Had I not been accustomed to receive *plain, friendly* remarks from you, I should have thought that you meant to insinuate a reproof. If you did, tell me plainly. If you did not, it is all at an end. You will not take my naming it unkind, although I should be mistaken, since affectionate explanations are necessary when suspicions arise, to the preservation of friendship; and I need not say, that I hold the preservation of your friendship in no small account."

The above is copied, not only to set forth the spirit and conduct of Mr. Pearce, in a case where he felt himself aggrieved, but to show in how easy and amiable a manner, thousands of mistakes might be rectified, and differences prevented, by a frank and timely explanation.

TO MR. COMFIELD, NORTHAMPTON.

Birmingham, March 4, 1799.

"I could wish my sympathies to be as extensive as human—I was going to say—(and why not?) as animal misery. The very limited comprehension of the human intelligence forbids this indeed, and whilst I am attempting to participate as far as the news of affliction reaches me, I find the same events do not often produce equal feelings. We measure our sympathies, not by the causes of sorrow, but by the sensibilities of the sorrowful; hence I abound in feeling on *your* account. The situation of your family must have given distress to a president of any character; but in you it must have produced agonies. I know the tenderness of your heart: your feelings are delicately strong. You must feel much, or nothing; and he that knows you, and does not feel much when you feel, must be a brute.

"May the fountain of mercy supply you with the cheering stream! May your sorrow be turned into joy!

"I am sure that I ought to value more than ever your friendship for me. You have remembered me, not merely in my affliction, but in your own. Our friendship, our benevolence must never be compared with that of Jesus; but it is truly delightful to see the disciple treading, though at an humble distance, in the footsteps of a Master, who, amidst the tortures of crucifixion, exercised forgiveness to his murderers, and the tenderness of filial piety to a disconsolate mother! When we realize the scene, how much do our imaginations embrace—the persons—the circumstances—the words—'Woman, behold thy son; John, behold thy mother!'

"S. P."

By the above letter, the reader will perceive, that while deeply afflicted himself, he felt in the tenderest manner for the afflictions of others.

TO MR. FULLER.

March 23, 1799.

He was now setting out for Plymouth; and after observing the great danger he was supposed to be in, with respect to a consumption, he adds:—"But thanks be to God, who giveth my heart the victory, let my poor body be consumed, or preserved. In the thought of *leaving*, I feel a momentary gloom: but in the thought of *going*, a heavenly triumph.

'Oh to grace how great a debtor!'

"Praise God with me, and for me, my dear brother, and let us not mind dying any more than sleeping. No, no! let every Christian sing the loudest, as he gets the nearest to the presence of his God. Eternally yours, in Him, who hath washed us both in his blood. S. P."

TO MR. MEDLEY, LONDON.

Under the same date, he says—"My affliction has been rendered sweet, by the supports and smiles of Him whom I have served in the gospel of his Son. He hath delivered, he doth deliver, and I trust that he will yet deliver. Living or dying, all is well for ever. Oh what shall I render to the Lord!"

It seems, that in order to avoid wounding Mrs. P.'s feelings, he deferred the settlement of his affairs till he arrived at Bristol; from whence he wrote to his friend, Mr. King, requesting him to become an executor. Receiving a favorable answer, he replied as follows:—

Bristol, April 6, 1799.

"Your letter, just received, affected me too much, with feelings both of sympathy and gratitude, to remain unanswered a single post. Most heartily do I thank you for accepting a service, which friendship alone can render agreeable in the most simple cases. Should that service demand your activities at an early period, may no unforeseen occurrence increase the necessary care! But may the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widows, send you a recompense into your own bosom, equal to all that friendship, to which, under God, I have been so much indebted in life, and reposing on whose bosom, even death itself loses part of its gloom. In you, my children will find another father—in you, my wife another husband. Your tenderness will sympathize with the one, under the most distressing sensibilities; and your prudent counsels be a guide to the others, through the unknown mazes of inexperienced youth. Enough—blessed God! My soul prostrates, and adores thee for such a friend. S. P."

TO MR. FULLER.

Plymouth, April 18, 1799.

"The last time that I wrote to you, was at the close of a letter sent to you by brother Ryland. I did not like that postscript form; it looked so card-like, as to make me fear that you would deem it unbrotherly. After all, perhaps you thought nothing about it; and my anxieties might arise only from

my weakness, which seems to be constantly increasing my sensibilities. If ever I felt love in its tenderness for my friends, it has been since my affliction. This, in a great measure, is no more than the love of 'publicans and harlots, who love those that love them.' I never conceived myself by a hundred degrees, so interested in the regards of my friends, as this season of affliction has manifested I was; and therefore, so far from claiming any 'reward' for loving them in return, I should account myself a monster of ingratitude, were it otherwise. Yet there is something in affliction itself, which, by increasing the delicacy of our feelings, and detaching our thoughts from the usual round of objects which present themselves to the mind when in a state of health, may be easily conceived to make us susceptible of stronger, and more permanent impressions of an affectionate nature.

"I heard at Bristol, that you and your friends had remembered me in your prayers, at Kettering. Whether the Lord whom we serve, may see fit to answer your petitions on my account or not, may they at least be returned into your own bosoms.

"For the sake of others, I should be happy could I assure you that my health was improving. As to myself, I thank God that I am not without a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better. I find that neither in sickness, nor in health, I can be so much as I wish like him whom I love. 'To die is gain:' Oh to gain that state, those feelings, that character, which perfectly accord with the mind of Christ, and are attended with the full persuasion of his complete and everlasting approbation! I want no heaven but this; and to gain this most gladly would I this moment expire. But if to abide in the flesh be more needful for an individual, of my fellow-men—Lord, let thy will be done; only let Christ be magnified by me, whether in life or death.

"The weather has been so wet and windy since I have been at Plymouth, that I could not reasonably expect to be much better; and I cannot say that I am much worse. All the future is uncertain. Professional men encourage me; but frequent returns appear, and occasional discharges of blood check my expectations. If I speak but for two minutes, my breast feels as sore as though it were scraped with a rough-edged razor; so that I am mute all the day long, and have actually learned to converse with my sister by means of our fingers.

"I thank you for yours of April 4th, which I did not receive till the 12th, the day that I arrived at Plymouth. On the 16th, a copy of yours to brother Ryland came to hand, to which I should have replied yesterday, but had not leisure. I am happy and thankful for your success. May the Lord himself pilot the *Criterion* safely to Calcutta river!

"Unless the Lord work a miracle for me, I am sure that I shall not be able to attend the Olney meeting. It is to my feelings a severe anticipation; but how can I be a Christian, and not submit to God? S. P."

TO MR. W. WARD.

Plymouth, April 22, 1799.

"Most affectionately do I thank you for your letter, so full of information, and of friendship.—To our common Friend, who is gone into heaven, where he ever sitteth at the right hand of God for us, I commend you. Whether I die, or live, God will take care of you till he has ripened you for the common salvation. Then shall I meet my dear brother Ward again; and who can tell how much more interesting our intercourse in heaven will be made, by the scenes that most distress our poor spirits here. Oh, had I none to live for, I had rather die than live, that I may be at once like Him whom I love. But while he insures me grace—why should I regret the delay of glory? No: I will wait his will, who performeth all things for me.

"My dear brother, had I strength, I should rejoice to acquaint you with the wrestlings and the victories, the hopes and the fears, the pleasures and the pangs, which I have lately experienced. But I must forbear. All I can now say is, that God hath done me much good by all, and made me very thankful for all he has done. Alas! I shall see you no more. I cannot be at Olney on the 7th of May. The journey would be my death; but the Lord whom you serve will be with you then, and for ever. My love to all the dear assembled saints, who will give you their benedictions at that solemn season.

"Ever yours, S. P."

TO MR. KING.

Plymouth, April 23, 1799.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER—I have the satisfaction to inform you, that at length my complaint appears to be removed, and that I am, by degrees returning to my usual diet, by which, with the divine blessing, I hope to be again strengthened for the discharge of the duties, and the enjoyment of the pleasures, which await me among the dear people of my charge.

"I am indeed informed by my medical attendant here, that I shall never be equal to the labors of my past years, and that my return to moderate efforts must be made by slow degrees. As the path of duty, I desire to submit; but after so long a suspension from serving the Redeemer in his church, my soul pants for usefulness more extensive than ever, and I long to become an apostle to the world. I do not think I ever prized the ministerial work so much as I now do. Two questions have been long before me. The first was, shall I live or die? The second, if I live, how will my life be spent? With regard to the former, my heart answered, 'It is no matter—all is well—for my own sake, I need not be taught that it is best to be with Christ; but for the sake of others, it may be best to abide in the body—I am in the Lord's hands, let him do by me as seemeth him best for me and mine, and for his cause and honor in the world.' But as to the second question, I could hardly reconcile myself to the thoughts of living, unless it were to promote the interest of my Lord; and if my disorder should so far weaken me, as to render me incapable of the ministry, nothing then appeared before me but gloom and darkness. However, I will hope in the Lord, that though he hath chastened me sorely, yet, since he hath not given me over unto death, sparing mercy will be followed with strength, that I may show forth his praise in the land of the living.

"I am still exceedingly weak; more so than at any period before I left home, except the first week of my lying by; but I am getting strength, though slowly. It is impossible at present to fix any time for my return. It grieves me that the patience of the dear people should be so long tried, but the trial is as great on my part as it can be on theirs, and we must pity and pray for one another. It is now a task for me to write at all, or this should have been longer. S. P."

TO DR. RYLAND.

Plymouth, April 24, 1799.

"VERY DEAR BROTHER—My health is in much the same state as when I wrote last, excepting that my muscular strength rather increases, and my powers of speaking seem less and less every week. I have for the most part, spoken only in whispers for several days past; and even these seem too much for my irritable lungs. My father asked me a question to day; he did not understand me when I whispered; so I was obliged to utter *one word*, and one word

only, a little louder, and that brought on a soreness which I expect to feel till bed time.

"I am still looking out for fine weather: all here is cold and rainy. We have had but two or three fair and warm days since I have been here; then I felt better. I am perfectly at a loss even to guess what the Lord means to do with me; but I desire to commit my ways to him, and be at peace. I am going to-day about five miles into the country (to Tamerton,) where I shall await the will of God concerning me.

"I knew not of any committee meeting of our society to be held respecting Mr. Marshman and his wife. I have therefore sent no vote, and indeed it is my happiness that I have full confidence in my brethren, at this important crisis, since close thinking or much writing always increases my fever, and promotes my complaint.

"My dear brother, I hope you will correspond much with Kettering. I used to be a medium, but God has put me out of the way. I could weep that I can serve him no more; and yet I fear some would be tears of pride. Oh for perfect likeness to my humble Lord! S. P."

TO MR. KING.

Tamerton, May 2, 1799.

"——Give my love to all the dear people at Cannon street. Oh pray that He who afflicts, would give me patience to endure. Indeed, the state of suspense in which I have been kept so long, requires much of it; and I often exclaim, ere I am aware, 'Oh, my dear people! Oh, my dear family! When shall I be restored to you again!' The Lord forgive all the sin of my desires! At times I feel a sweet and perfect calm, and wish ever to live under the influence of a belief in the *goodness* of God, and of all his plans, and all his works. S. P."

The reader has seen how much he regretted being absent at the solemn designations of the missionaries at Olney. He however addressed the following lines to Mr. Fuller, which were read at the close of that meeting, to the dissolving of nearly the whole assembly in tears:—

Tamerton, May 2, 1799.

"——Oh that the Lord, who is unconfined by place or condition, may copiously pour out upon you all the rich effusions of his Holy Spirit on the approaching day! My most hearty love to each missionary, who may then encircle the throne of grace. Happy men! happy women! you are going to be fellow-laborers with Christ himself! I congratulate—I almost envy you; yet I love you, and can scarcely now forbear dropping a tear of love as each of your names passes across my mind. Oh what promises are yours; and what reward! Surely heaven is filled with double joy, and resounds with unusual acclamations at the arrival of each missionary there. Oh be faithful, my dear brethren, my dear sisters, be faithful unto death, and all this joy is yours! Long as I live, my imagination will be hovering over you in Bengal; and should I die, if separate spirits be allowed a visit to the world they have left, methinks mine would soon be at Mudnabatty, watching your labors, your conflicts, and your pleasures, whilst you are always abounding in the work of the Lord. S. P."

TO DR. RYLAND.

Plymouth, May 14, 1799.

"My dear brother—Yours of the 11th instant I have just received, and thank you for your continued concern for your poor unworthy brother.

"I have suffered much in my health since I wrote to you last by the increase of my feverish complaint, which filled me with heat and horror all night, and in the day sometimes almost suffocated me with the violence of its paroxysms. I am extremely weak, and now that warm weather which I came into Devon to seek, I dread as much as the cold, because it excites the fever. I am happy, however, in the Lord. I have not a wish to live or die, but as he pleases. I truly enjoy the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and would not be without his divine atonement, wherein to rest my soul, for ten thousand worlds. I feel quite weaned from earth, and all things in it. Death hath lost its sting, the grave its horrors; and the attractions of heaven, I had almost said, are sometimes violent.

'Oh to grace how great a debtor!'

"But I am wearied. May all grace abound towards my dear brother, and his affectionate S. P."

TO MR. POPE.

Plymouth, May 24, 1799.

"I cannot write much—this, I believe, is the only letter that I have written (except to my wife) since I wrote to you last. My complaint has issued in a confirmed, slow, nervous fever, which has wasted my spirits and strength, and taken a great part of the little flesh I had when in health away from me. The symptoms have been very threatening, and I have repeatedly thought that let the physician do what he will, he cannot keep me long from those heavenly joys, for which, blessed be God, I have lately been much longing; and were it not for my *dear people and family* I should have earnestly prayed for leave to depart and be with Christ, which is so much better than to abide in this vain, suffering, sinning world.

"The doctors, however, now pronounce my case very hopeful—say there is little or no danger—but that all these complaints require a *great deal of time* to get rid of. I still feel myself on precarious ground, but quite resigned to the will of *Him*, who, unworthy as I am, continues daily to 'fill my soul with joy and peace in believing.' Yes, my dear friend! *now* my soul feels the value of a free, full, and everlasting salvation—and what is more, I do *enjoy* that salvation, while I rest all my hopes on the Son of God in human nature, dying on the cross for me. To me now, health or sickness, pain or ease, life or death are things indifferent. I feel so happy in being in the hands of Infinite Love, that when the severest strokes are laid upon me, I receive them with pleasure, because they come from my heavenly Father's hand? 'Oh to grace how great a debtor,' &c. S. P."

TO THE CHURCH IN CANNON STREET.

Plymouth, May 31, 1799.

"To the dear people of my charge, the flock of Christ, assembling in Cannon street, Birmingham their afflicted but affectionate pastor presents his love in Christ Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep.

"My dearest, dearest friends and brethren—Separated as I have been a long time from you, and during that time of separation, having suffered much both in body and mind, yet my heart has still been with you, participating in your sorrows, uniting in your prayers, and rejoicing with you in the hope of that glory, *to* which divine faithfulness has engaged to bring us, and *for* which our heavenly Father, by all his providences, and by every operation of his Holy Spirit, is daily preparing us.

"Never, my dear brethren, did I so much rejoice in our being made 'partakers of the heavenly calling,' as during my late afflictions. The sweet thoughts of glory, where I shall meet my dear Lord Jesus, with all his redeemed ones, perfectly freed from all that sin which now burdens us, and makes

us groan from day to day—this transports my soul, whilst out of weakness, I am made strong, and at times am enabled to glory even in my bodily infirmities, that the power of Christ, in supporting when flesh and heart fail, may the more evidently rest upon me. Oh, my dear brethren and sisters! let me, as one alive almost from the dead, let me exhort you to stand fast in that blessed gospel, which for ten years, I have now preached among you:—the gospel of the grace of God; the gospel of free, full, and everlasting salvation, founded on the sufferings and death of God, *manifest in the flesh.* Look much at this all-amazing scene!

'Behold! a God descends and dies,
To save my soul from gaping hell;'

And then say whether any poor broken-hearted sinner need be afraid to venture his hopes of salvation on such a sacrifice; especially, since He who is thus 'mighty to save,' hath said, that 'whosoever cometh to him he will in no wise cast out.' You, beloved, who have found the peace-speaking virtue of this blood of atonement, must not be satisfied with what you have already known or enjoyed.—The only way to be constantly happy, and constantly prepared for the most awful changes, which we must all experience, is to be constantly *looking* and *coming* to a dying Saviour; renouncing all our own worthiness; cleaving to the loving Jesus as our all in all; giving up every thing, however valuable to our worldly interests, that clashes with our fidelity to Christ; begging that of his fulness we may receive 'grace upon grace,' whilst our faith actually *relies* on his power and faithfulness, for the full accomplishment of every promise in his word that we plead with him, and guarding against every thing that might, for a moment, bring distance and darkness between your souls and your precious Lord. If you *thus live,* (and oh that you may daily receive fresh life from Christ so to do!) 'the peace of God will keep your hearts and minds,' and you will be filled with 'joy unspeakable and full of glory.'

"As a *church,* you cannot conceive what pleasure I have enjoyed in hearing that you are in peace; that you attend prayer meetings; that you seem to be stirred up of late for the honor and prosperity of religion. Go on in these good ways, my beloved friends, and assuredly the God of peace will be with you. Yea, if after all I should be taken entirely from you, yet God will surely visit you, and never leave you, nor forsake you.

"As to my health, I seem on the whole to be still mending, though but very slowly. The fever troubles me often both by day and night; but my strength increases. I long to see your faces in the flesh; yea, when I thought myself near the gates of the grave, I wished, if it were the Lord's will, to depart among those whom I so much loved. But I am in good hands, and all must be right.

"I thank both you and the congregation most affectionately, for all the kindness you have shown respecting me and my family, during my absence. The Lord return it a thousand fold! My love to every one, both old and young, rich and poor, as though named. The Lord bless to your edification the occasional ministry which you enjoy. I hope you regularly attend upon it, and keep together, as 'the horses in Pharaoh's chariot.' I pray much for you: pray, still pray for your very affectionate, though unworthy pastor, S. P."

In a postscript to Mr. King, he says, "I have made an effort to write this letter; my affections would take no denial; but it has brought on the fever."

It seems to have been about this time that he wrote the following lines, which have appeared in several periodical publications, but with many inaccuracies:—

HYMN IN A STORM.

In the floods of tribulation,
While the billows o'er me roll,
Jesus whispers consolation,
And supports my fainting soul:
Thus the lion yields me honey,
From the eater food is given;
Strengthened thus, I still press forward,
Singing as I wade to heaven—
Sweet affliction! sweet affliction,
That brings Jesus to my soul!

Mid the gloom the vivid lightnings
With increased brightness play;
'Mid the thornbrake, beauteous flow'rets
Look more beautiful and gay;
So, in darkest dispensations,
Doth my faithful Lord appear,
With his richest consolations,
To re-animate and cheer.
Sweet affliction! sweet affliction,
Thus to bring my Saviour near!

Floods of tribulation heighten,
Billows still around me roar;
Those that know not Christ—ye frighten,
But my soul defies your pow'r.
In the sacred page recorded,
Thus his word securely stands—
"Fear not, I'm in trouble near thee,
Nought shall pluck thee from my hands."
Sweet affliction! sweet affliction,
That to such sweet words lay claim!

All I meet I find assists me
In my path to heavenly joy,
Where, though trials now attend me,
Trials never more annoy:
Wearing there a weight of glory
Still the path I'll ne'er forget;
But, reflecting how it led me
To my blessed Saviour's seat,
Cry, "affliction! sweet affliction!
Haste! bring more to Jesus' feet!"

Towards the latter end of May, when Mr. Ward and his companions, were just ready to set sail, a consultation concerning Mr. Pearce was held on board the *Criterion,* in which all the missionaries, and some of the members of the Baptist Missionary Society were present. It was well known that he had for several years been engaged in preparing materials for a *History of Missions,* to be comprised in two volumes octavo: and as the sending of the gospel among the heathens had so deeply occupied his heart, considerable expectations had been formed by religious people, of his producing an interesting work on the subject. The question now was, could not this performance be finished by other hands, and the profits of it be appropriated to the benefit of Mr. Pearce's family? It was admitted by all, that this work would, partly from its own merits, and partly from the great interest which the author justly possessed in the public esteem, be very productive; and that it would be a delicate and proper method of enabling the religious public, by subscribing liberally to it, to afford substantial assistance to the family of this excellent man. The result was, that one of the members of the Society addressed a letter to Mr. Pearce's relations, at Plymouth, requesting them to consult him as he should be able to bear it, respecting the state of his manuscripts; and to inquire whether they were in a con-

dition to admit of being finished by another hand; desiring them also to assure him, for his present relief concerning his dear family, that whatever the hand of friendship could effect on their behalf, should be accomplished. The answer, though it left no manner of hope as to the accomplishment of the object, yet is so expressive of the reigning dispositions of the writer's heart, as an affectionate husband, a tender father, a grateful friend, and a sincere Christian, that it cannot be uninteresting to the reader:—

Tamerton, June 24, 1799.

"To use the common introduction of 'dear brother,' would fall so far short of my feelings towards a friend, whose uniform conduct has ever laid so great a claim to my affection and gratitude; but whose recent kindness—kindness in *adversity*—kindness to my *wife*—kindness to my *children*—kindness that would go far to 'smooth the bed of death,' has overwhelmed my whole soul in tender thankfulness, and engaged my everlasting esteem. I know not how to begin.... 'Thought is poor, and poor expression.' The *only* thing that lay heavy on my heart, when in the nearest prospect of eternity, was the future situation of my family. I had but a comparatively small portion to leave behind me, and yet that little was the *all* that an amiable woman—delicately brought up, and, through mercy, for the most part comfortably provided for since she entered on domestic life—with five babes to feed, clothe, and educate, had to subsist on. Ah, what a prospect! Hard and long I strove to realize the promises made to the widows and the fatherless; but *these alone* I could not fully rest on and enjoy. For my own part, God was indeed very gracious. I was willing, I hope, to linger in suffering, if I might thereby most glorify him, and death was an angel whom I longed to come and embrace me, 'cold' as his embraces are. But how could I leave those who were dearest to my heart in the midst of a world, in which, although thousands now professed friendship for me, and on my account, for mine; yet after my decease, would, with few exceptions, soon forget my widow and my children among the crowds of the needy and distressed. It was at this moment of painful sensibility that *your heart* meditated a plan to remove my anxieties—a plan, too, that would involve much personal labor before it could be accomplished. 'Blessed be God, who put it into thy heart, and blessed be thou.' May the blessing of the widow and the fatherless rest on you and yours for ever. Amen, and amen!

"You will regret, perhaps, that I have taken up so much room respecting yourself, but I have scarcely gratified the shadow of my wishes. Excuse, then, on the one hand, that I have said so much, and accept on the other, what remains unexpressed.

"My affections and desires are among my dear people at Birmingham; and unless I find my strength increase here, I purpose to set out for that place in the course of a fortnight, or at most a month. The journey, performed by short stages, may do me good: if not, I expect when the winter comes, to sleep in peace: and it will delight my soul to see them once more before I die. Besides, I have many little arrangements to make among my books and papers, to prevent confusion after my decease. Indeed, till I get home, I cannot fully answer your kind letter; but I fear that my materials consist so much in references, which none but myself would understand, that a second person could not take it up, and prosecute it. I am still equally indebted to you for a proposal so generous, so laborious.

"Rejoice with me, that the blessed gospel still 'bears my spirits up.' I am become familiar with the thoughts of dying. I have taken my leave often with the world; and thanks be to God, I do it *always* with *tranquillity*, and *often* with *rapture*. Oh, what grace, what grace, it was, that ever called me to be a Christian! What would have been my present feelings, if I were going to meet my God with all the filth and load of my sin about me! But God in my nature hath put my sin away, taught me to love him, and long for his appearing. Oh, my dear brother, how consonant is *everlasting praise* with such a great salvation! S. P."

After this another letter was addressed to Mr. Pearce, informing him more particularly that the above proposal did not originate with an individual, but with several of the brethren who dearly loved him, and had consulted on the business; and that it was no more than an act of justice to one who had spent his life in serving the public; also requesting him to give directions by which his manuscripts might be found and examined, lest he should be taken away before his arrival at Birmingham. To this he answered as follows:

Plymouth, July 6, 1799.

"I need not repeat the growing sense I have of your kindness, and yet I know not how to forbear.

"I cannot direct Mr. K—— to *all* my papers, as many of them are in books from which I was making extracts; and if I could, I am persuaded that they are in a state too confused, incorrect, and unfinished, to suffer you or any other friend to realize your kind intentions.

"I have possessed a tenacious memory. I have begun one part of the history; read the necessary books; reflected; arranged; written, perhaps, the introduction; and then, trusting to my recollection, with the revisal of the books as I should want them, have employed myself in getting materials for another part, &c. Thus, till my illness, the volumes existed in my head—my books were at hand, and I was on the eve of writing them out, when it pleased God to make me pause: and, as close thinking has been strongly forbidden me, I dare say, that were I again restored to health, I should find it necessary to go over much of my former reading to refresh memory.

"It is now Saturday. On Monday next we propose setting out on our return. May the Lord prosper our way! Accept the sincere affection, and the ten thousand thanks, of your brother in the Lord, S. P."

As the manuscripts were found to be in such a state, that no person, except the author himself, could finish them, the design was necessarily dropped. The public mind, however, was deeply impressed with Mr. Pearce's worth, and that, which the friendship of a few could not effect, has since been amply accomplished by the liberal exertions of many.

TO DR. RYLAND.

Birmingham, July 20, 1799.

"My very dear brother—Your friendly anxieties on my behalf demand the earliest satisfaction. We had a pleasant ride to Newport on the afternoon we left you, and the next day without much fatigue reached Tewksbury; but the road was so rough from Tewksbury to Evesham, that it wearied and injured me more than all the jolting we had had before put together. However, we reached Alcester on Wednesday evening, stopped there a day to rest, and last night (Friday) were brought safely hither, blessed be God!

"I find myself getting weaker and weaker, and so my Lord instructs me in his pleasure to remove me soon. You say well, my dear brother, that at

such a prospect, I 'cannot *complain*.' No, blessed be His dear name, who shed his blood for me, he helps me to rejoice, at times, with joy unspeakable. Now I see the value of the religion of the cross. It is a religion for a dying sinner. It is all the most guilty, the most wretched can desire. Yes, I taste its sweetness, and enjoy its fulness, with all the gloom of a dying bed before me. And far rather would I be the poor emaciated, and emaciating creature that I am, than be an emperor, with every earthly good about him .... but without a God!

"I was delighted the other day, in reperusing the Pilgrim's Progress, to observe that when Christian came to the top of the hill Difficulty, he was put to sleep in a chamber called Peace. Why, how good is the Lord of the way to me! said I; I have not reached the summit of the hill yet, but notwithstanding he puts me to sleep in the chamber of Peace *every night*. True, it is often a chamber of *pain;* but let pain be as formidable as it may, it has never yet been able to expel that peace, which the great Guardian of Israel has appointed to keep my heart and mind through Christ Jesus.

"I have been laboring lately to exercise most love to God when I have been suffering most severely: but, what shall I say? Alas! too often the sense of pain absorbs every other thought. Yet there have been seasons when I have been affected with such a delightful sense of the loveliness of God as to ravish my soul, and give predominance to the sacred passion. It was never till to-day that I got any personal instruction from our Lord's telling Peter by *what death* he should glorify God. O what a satisfying thought is it, that God appoints those means of dissolution whereby he gets most glory to himself. It was the very thing I needed; for of all the ways of dying, that which I most dreaded was by a consumption; (in which it is now highly probable my disorder will issue.) But, O my dear Lord, *if by this death* I can most *glorify thee*, I prefer it to all others, and thank thee that by this mean thou art hastening my fuller enjoyment of thee in a purer world.

"A *sinless* state! 'O, 'tis a heaven worth dying for!' I cannot realize any thing about heaven, but the presence of Christ and his people, and a perfect deliverance from sin, and I want no more—I am sick of sinning—soon I shall be beyond its power. 'O joyful hour! O blest abode! I shall be near and *like* my God!' I only thought of filling one side—and now have not left room to thank you and dear Mrs. Ryland for the minute, affectionate, and constant attentions you paid us in Bristol. May the Lord reward you. Our hearty love to all around, till we meet in heaven.

"Eternally yours in Christ, S. P."

TO MR. BIRT.

Birmingham, July 26, 1799.

"It is not with common feelings that I begin a letter to *you*. Your name brings so many interesting circumstances of my life before me, in which your friendship has been so uniformly and eminently displayed, that now, amidst the imbecilities of sickness, and the serious prospect of another world, my heart is overwhelmed with gratitude, whilst it glows with affection—an affection which eternity shall not annihilate, but improve.

"We reached Bristol on the Friday after we parted from you, having suited our progress to my strength and spirits. We staid with Bristol friends, till Monday, when we pursued our journey, and went comfortably on, till the uncommonly rough road from Tewksbury to Evesham quite jaded me; and I have not yet recovered from the excessive fatigue of that miserable ride. At Alcester we rested a day and a half, and, through the abundant goodness of God, we safely arrived at Birmingham on Friday evening, the 19th of July.

"I feel an undisturbed tranquillity of soul, and am cheerfully waiting the will of God. My voice is gone, so that I cannot whisper without pain; and of this circumstance I am at times most ready to complain. For, to see my dear and amiable Sarah look at me, and then at the children, and at length bathe her face in tears, without my being able to say one word of comfort—Oh!!..... Yet the Lord supports me under this also; and I trust will support me to the end. S. P."

TO MR. ROCK.

July 28, 1799.

"—— I am now to all appearance within a few steps of eternity. In Christ I am safe. In him I am happy. I trust we shall meet in heaven.

"S. P."

TO R. BOWYER, ESQ.

Birmingham, August 1, 1799.

"Much disappointed that I am not released from this world of sin, and put in possession of the pleasures enjoyed by the spirits of just men made perfect, I once more address my dear fellow heirs of that glory which ere long shall be revealed to all.

"We returned from Devon last Friday week. I was exceedingly weak, and for several days afterwards got rapidly worse. My friends compelled me to try another physician. I am still told that I shall recover. Be that as it may, I wish to have my own will annihilated, that the will of the Lord may be done. Through his abundant grace, I have been, and still am happy in my soul; and I trust my prevailing desire is, that living or dying I may be the Lord's. S. P."

TO DR. RYLAND.

Birmingham, Lord's day evening,
Aug. 4, 1799.

"My very dear brother—Still, I trust, hastening to the land 'where there shall be no more curse,' I take this opportunity of talking a little with you on the road, for we are fellow-travellers, and a little conversation by the way will not lose me the privilege of getting first to the end of my journey.

"It is seventeen years within about a week since I first actually set out on my pilgrimage; and when I review the many dangers to which, during that time, I have been exposed, I am filled with conviction that I have all along been the care of Omnipotent love. Ah, how many Pliables, and Timorouses, and Talkatives have I seen, while my quivering heart said, 'Alas! I shall soon follow these sons of apostacy, prove a disgrace to religion, and have my portion with hypocrites at last.'

"These fears may have had their uses—may have made me more cautious, more distrustful of myself, and kept me more dependent on the Lord. Thus

'All that I 've met has worked for my good.'

"With what intricacy, to our view, and yet with what actual skill and goodness, does the Lord draw his plans, and mark out our path! Here we wonder and complain.—Soon we shall all agree that it was a right path to the city of habitation; and what we now most deeply regret, shall become the subject of our warmest praises.

"I am afraid to come back again to life. O how many dangers await me! Perhaps I may be overcome of some fleshly lust—perhaps I may get proud and indolent, and be more of the priest than of the evangelist—surely I rejoice in feeling my outward man decay, and having the sentence of death in myself. O what prospects are before me in the

blessed world whither I am going! To be *holy as God is holy*—to have nothing but holiness in my nature—to be assured without a doubt, and eternally to carry about this assurance with me, that the pure God looks on me with constant complacency, for ever blesses me, and says, as at the first creation, 'It is very good.' I am happy now in hoping in the divine purposes towards me; but I know, and the thought is my constant burden, that the Being I love best, always sees something in me which he *infinitely hates*. 'O wretched, wretched man that I am!' The thought even now makes me weep, and who can help it, that seriously reflects, he never comes to God to pray or praise, but he brings what his God detests, along with him—carries it with him wherever he goes, and can never get rid of it as long as he lives? Come, my dear brother! will you not share my joy, and help my praise, that soon I shall leave this body of sin and death behind, to enter on the perfection of my spiritual nature; and patiently to wait till this natural body shall become a spiritual body, and so be a fit vehicle for my immortal and happy spirit?

"But I must forbear—I have been very unwell all day; but this evening God has kindly given me a respite—my fever is low and my spirits are cheerful, so I have indulged myself in unbosoming my feelings to my dear friend. S. P."

TO R. BOWYER, ESQ.

On his having sent him a print of Mr. Shwartz, the missionary on the Malabar coast.

Birmingham, August 16, 1799.

"On three accounts was your last parcel highly acceptable. It represented a man, whom I have long been in the habit of loving and revering; and whose character and labors I intended, if the Lord had not laid his hand upon me by my present illness, to have presented to the public in Europe, as he himself presented them to the millions of Asia. The execution bearing so strong a likeness to the original, heightened its value. And then, the hand from whence it came, and the friendship it was intended to express, add to its worth. S. P."

TO MR. FULLER.

Birmingham, August 19, 1799.

"The doctor has been making me worse and weaker for three weeks. In the middle of the last week he spoke confidently of my recovery; but today he has seen fit to alter his plans; and if I do not find a speedy alteration for the better, I must have done with all physicians, but Him, who 'healeth the broken in heart.'

"For some time after I came home, I was led to believe my case to be consumptive, and then thinking myself of a certainty near the kingdom of heaven, I rejoiced hourly in the delightful prospect.

"Since then, I have been told that I am not in a dangerous way; and though I give very little credit to such assertions in this case, yet I have found my mind so taken up with earth again, that I seem as though I had another soul. My spiritual pleasures are greatly interrupted, and some of the most plaintive parts of the most plaintive Psalms seem the only true language of my heart. Yet, 'Thy will be done,' I trust prevails; and if it be the Lord's will that I linger long, and suffer much, O let him give me the patience of hope, and still his will be done. I can write no more. This is a whole day's work: for it is only after tea that for a few minutes I can sit up, and attend to any thing.

"S. P."

From the latter end of August, and all through the month of September, to the tenth of October, *the day on which he died*, he seems to have been unable to write. He did not, however, lose the exercise of his mental powers; and though in the last of the above letters he complains of darkness, it appears that he soon recovered that peace and joy in God, by which his affliction, and even his life, were distinguished.

A little before he died, he was visited by Mr. Medley, of London, with whom he had been particularly intimate on his first coming to Birmingham. Mr. Pearce was much affected at the sight of his friend; and continued silently weeping for nearly ten minutes, holding and pressing his hand. After this he spoke, or rather, whispered as follows:—"This sick bed is a Bethel to me; it is none other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven. I can scarcely express the pleasures that I have enjoyed in this affliction. The nearer I draw to my dissolution, the happier I am. It scarcely can be called an affliction, it is so counterbalanced with joy. You have lost your pious father; tell me how it was." Here Mr. Medley informed him of particulars. He wept much at the recital, and especially at hearing of his last words,—"Home, home!" Mr. Medley telling him of some temptations he had lately met with, he charged him to keep near to God.—"Keep close to God," said he, "and nothing will hurt you."

The following detached sentences were taken down occasionally by Mrs. Pearce, within four or five weeks of Mr. Pearce's death.

He once said, "I have been in darkness two or three days, crying, O when wilt thou comfort me? but last night the mist was taken from me, and the Lord shone in upon my soul. O that I could but speak, I would tell a world to trust a faithful God. Sweet affliction, now it worketh *glory, glory!*"

Mrs. P. having told him the various exercises of her mind, he replied, "O trust the Lord—if he lifts up the light of his countenance upon you, as he has done upon me this day, all your mountains will become mole-hills. I feel your situation, I feel your sorrows; but he who takes care of sparrows, will care for you and my dear children."

When scorching with burning fever, he said, "Hot and happy." One Lord's day morning he said, "Cheer up, my dear, think how much will be said to-day of the faithfulness of God. Though *we* are called to separate, *he* will never separate from you. I wish I could tell the world what a good and gracious God he is. Never need they, who trust in him, be afraid of trials. He has promised to give strength for the day; that is his promise. O what a lovely God! and he is *my* God and *yours*. He will never leave us nor forsake us—no, never! I have been thinking that this and that medicine will do me good—but what have I to do with it? It is in my Jesus' hands; he will do it all, and there I leave it. What a mercy is it, I have a good bed to lie upon; you, my dear Sarah, to wait upon me; and friends to pray for me! O how thankful should I be for all my pains! I want for nothing: all my wishes are anticipated. O, I have felt the force of those words of David, "Unless thy law (my gracious God!) had been my delight, I should have perished in mine affliction." Though I am too weak to read it, or hear it, I can think upon it, and O how good it is! I am in the best hands I could be in—in the hands of my dear Lord and Saviour, and he will do all things well. Yes, yes, he cannot do wrong."

One morning Mrs. P. asked him how he felt? "Very ill, but unspeakably happy in the Lord and *my* dear *Lord Jesus*." Once beholding her grieving he said, "O my dear Sarah, do not be so anxious, but leave me entirely in the hands of Jesus, and think, if you were as wise as he, you would do the

same by me. If he takes me, I shall not be lost, I shall only go a little before; we shall meet again, never to part."

After a violent fit of coughing he said, "It is all well; O what a good God is he! It is done by him, and it must be well—if I ever recover, I shall pity the sick more than ever, and if I do not, I shall go to sing delivering love; so you see it will be all well.—O for more patience! Well, my God is the God of patience, and he will give me all I need. I rejoice it is in my Jesus' hands to communicate, and it cannot be in better. It is my God who gives me patience to bear all his will."

When after a restless night, Mrs. P. asked him, what she should do for him? "You can do nothing but pray for me, that I may have patience to bear all my Lord's will."—After taking a medicine he said, "If it be the Lord's will to bless it, for your sake, and for the sake of the dear children—but the Lord's will be done. O, I fear I sin, I dishonor God by impatience; but I would not for a thousand worlds sin in a thought if I could avoid it." Mrs. P. replied, she trusted the Lord would still keep him; seeing he had brought him thus far, he would not desert him at last. "No, no," he said, "I hope he will not. As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. Why do I complain? My dear Jesus' sufferings were much sorer and more bitter than mine: *And did he thus suffer, and shall I repine!* No, I will cheerfully suffer my Father's will."

One morning after being asked how he felt, he replied, "I have but one severe pain about me! What a mercy! O how good a God to afford some intervals amidst so much pain! He is altogether good. Jesus lives, my dear, and that must be our consolation."—After taking a medicine which operated very powerfully, he said, "This will make me so much lower; well, let it be. Multiply my pains, thou good God; so thou art but glorified, I care not what I suffer; all is right."

Being asked how he felt after a restless night, he replied, "I have so much weakness and pain, I have not had much enjoyment; but I have a full persuasion that the Lord is doing all these well. If it were not for strong confidence in a lovely God, I must sink; but all is well. O blessed God, I would not love thee less; O support a sinking worm! O what a mercy to be assured that all things are working together for good."

Mrs. P. saying, If we must part, I trust the separation will not be for ever; "O no," he replied, "we sorrow not as those who have no hope." She said, Then you can leave me and your dear children with resignation, can you? He answered, "My heart was pierced through with many sorrows, before I could give you and the dear children up; but the Lord has heard me say, Thy will be done; and I now can say, blessed be his dear name, I have none of my own."

His last day, Oct. 10, was very happy; Mrs. P. repeated this verse,

> Since all that I meet shall work for my good,
> The bitter is sweet, the med'cine is food,
> Though painful at present, 'twill cease before long,
> And then, O how pleasant the conqueror's song.

He repeated with an inexpressible smile, the last line "*The conqueror's song.*"

He said once, "O my dear! what shall I do? But why do I complain? He makes all my bed in my sickness." She then repeated those lines,

> Jesus can make a dying bed
> Feel soft as downy pillows are.

"Yes," he replied, "he can; he does; I feel it."

CHAPTER V.

General Outlines of his Character.

To develop the character of any person, it is necessary to determine what was his governing principle. If this can be clearly ascertained, we shall easily account for the tenor of his conduct.

The governing principle in Mr. Pearce, beyond all doubt, was HOLY LOVE.

To mention this is sufficient to prove it to all who knew him. His friends have often compared him to *that disciple whom Jesus loved.* His religion was that of the heart. Almost every thing he saw, or heard, or read, or studied, was converted to the feeding of this divine flame. Every subject that passed through his hands seemed to have been cast into this mould. Things, that to a merely speculative mind would have furnished matter only for curiosity, to him afforded materials for devotion. His sermons were generally the effusions of his heart, and invariably aimed at the hearts of his hearers.

For the justness of the above remarks, I might appeal not only to the letters which he addressed to his friends, but to those which his friends addressed to him. It is worthy of notice how much we are influenced in our correspondence by the turn of mind of the person we address. If we write to a humorous character, we shall generally find that what we write, perhaps without being conscious of it, will be interspersed with pleasantries: or if to one of a very serious cast, our letters will be more serious than usual. On this principle, it has been thought, we may form some judgment of our own spirit by the spirit in which our friends address us. These remarks will apply with singular propriety to the correspondence of Mr. Pearce. In looking over the first volume of *Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Mission*, the reader will easily perceive the most affectionate letters from the missionaries are those which are addressed to him.

It is not enough to say of this affectionate spirit, that it formed a prominent feature in his character—it was rather the life-blood that animated the whole system. He seemed, as one of his friends observed, to be baptized in it. It was *holy love* that gave the tone to his general deportment: as a son, a subject, a neighbor, a Christian, a minister, a pastor, a friend, a husband, and a father, he was manifestly governed by this principle; and this it was that produced in him that lovely uniformity of character, which constitutes the true *beauty of holiness.*

By the grace of God he was what he was; and to the honor of grace, and not for the glory of a sinful worm, be it recorded. Like all other men, he was the subject of a depraved nature. He felt it, and lamented it, and longed to depart, that he might be freed from it: but certainly we have seldom seen a character, taking him altogether, "whose excellencies were so many, and so uniform, and whose imperfections were so few." We have seen men rise high in contemplation, who have abounded but little in action. We have seen zeal mingled with bitterness, and candor degenerate into indifference; experimental religion mixed with a large portion of enthusiasm, and what is called rational religion, void of every thing that interests the heart of man. We have seen splendid talents tarnished with insufferable pride, seriousness with melancholy, cheerfulness with levity, and great attainments in religion with uncharitable censoriousness towards men of low degree: but we have not seen these things in our brother Pearce.

There have been few men in whom has been united a greater portion of the contemplative and the active; holy zeal and genuine candor; spiritu-

ality and rationality; talents that attracted almost universal applause, and the most unaffected modesty: faithfulness in bearing testimony against evil, with the tenderest compassion to the soul of the evil doer; fortitude that would encounter any difficulty in the way of duty, without any thing boisterous, noisy, or overbearing; deep seriousness, with habitual cheerfulness; and a constant aim to promote the highest degrees of piety in himself and others, with a readiness to hope the best of the lowest; not *breaking the bruised reed nor quenching the smoking flax.*

He loved the Divine character as revealed in the Scriptures. To adore God, to contemplate his glorious perfections, to enjoy his favor, and to submit to his disposal, were his highest delight. "I felt," says he, when contemplating the hardships of a missionary life, "that were the universe destroyed, and I the only being in it besides God, HE is fully adequate to my complete happiness; and had I been in an African wood, surrounded with venomous serpents, devouring beasts, and savage men, in such a frame, I should be the subject of perfect peace and exalted joy. Yes, O my God! thou hast taught ME that *thou alone* art worthy of my confidence; and with this sentiment fixed in my heart, I am freed from all solicitude about my temporal concerns. If thy presence be enjoyed, poverty shall be riches, darkness light, affliction prosperity, reproach my honor, and fatigue my rest!"

He loved the gospel. The truths which he believed and taught, dwelt richly in him, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding. The reader will recollect how he went over the great principles of Christianity, examining the grounds on which he rested, in the first of those days which he devoted to solemn fasting and prayer in reference to his becoming a missionary;* and with what ardent affection he set his seal anew to every part of divine truth as he went along.

If salvation had been of works, few men, according to our way of estimating characters, had a fairer claim: but, as he himself has related, he could not meet the king of terrors in this armor.† So far was he from placing any dependence on his own works, that the more he did for God, the less he thought of it in such a way. "All the satisfaction I wish for here," says he, "is to be doing my heavenly Father's will. I hope I have found it my meat and drink to do his work; and can set to my seal, that the purest pleasures of human life spring from the humble obedience of faith. It is a good saying, 'We cannot do too much for God, nor trust in what we do too little.' I find a growing conviction of the necessity of a free salvation. The more I do for God, the less I think of it; and am progressively ashamed that I do no more."

Christ crucified was his darling theme, from first to last. This was the subject on which he dwelt at the outset of his ministry among the Coldford colliers, when "He could scarcely speak for weeping, nor they hear for interrupting sighs and sobs;" this was the burden of the song when addressing the more polished and crowded audiences at Birmingham, London, and Dublin; this was the grand motive exhibited in sermons for the promotion of public charities; and this was the rock on which he rested all his hopes, in the prospect of death. It is true, as we have seen, he was shaken for a time by the writings of a *Whitby* and of a *Priestley;* but this transient hesitation, by the overruling grace of God, tended only to establish him more firmly in the end. "Blessed be his dear name," says he, under his last affliction, "who shed his blood for me. He helps me to rejoice at times with joy unspeakable. Now I see the value of the religion of the cross. It is a religion for a dying sinner. It is all the most guilty and the most wretched can desire. Yes, I taste its sweetness and enjoy its fulness, with all the gloom of a dying bed before me; and far rather would I be the poor emaciated and emaciating creature that I am, than be an emperor with every earthly good about him, but without a God."

Notwithstanding this, however, there were those in Birmingham, and other places, who would not allow that *he preached the gospel.* And if by the gospel were meant the doctrine taught by Mr. Huntington, Mr. Bradford, and others, who follow hard after them, it must be granted he did not. If the fall and depravity of man operate to destroy his accountableness to his Creator; if his inability to obey the law, or comply with the gospel, be of such a nature as to excuse him in the neglect of either; or if not, yet, if Christ's coming under the law frees believers from all obligation to obey its precepts; if gospel invitations are addressed only to the regenerate; if the illuminating influences of the Holy Spirit consist in revealing to us the secret purposes of God concerning us, or impressing us with the idea that we are the favorites of Heaven; if believing such impressions be Christian faith, and doubting of their validity, unbelief; if there be no such thing as progressive sanctification, nor any sanctification inherent, except that of the illumination before described; if wicked men are not obliged to do any thing beyond what they can find in their hearts to do, nor good men to be holy beyond what they actually are; and if these things constitute the *gospel*, Mr. Pearce certainly *did not* preach it. But if man, whatever be his depravity, be necessarily a free agent, and accountable for all his dispositions and actions; if gospel invitations be addressed to men not as elect, nor as non-elect, but as sinners exposed to the righteous displeasure of God; if Christ's obedience and death rather increase than diminish our obligations to love God and one another; if faith in Christ be a falling in with God's way of salvation, and unbelief a falling out with it; if sanctification be a progressive work, and so essential a branch of our salvation, as that without it no man shall see the Lord; if the Holy Spirit instruct us in nothing by his illuminating influences but what was already revealed in the Scriptures, and which we should have perceived but for that we loved darkness rather than light; and if he inclines us to nothing but what was antecedently right, or to such a spirit as every intelligent creature ought at all times to have possessed—then Mr. Pearce *did* preach the gospel; and that which his accusers call by this name is *another gospel, and not the gospel of Christ.*

Moreover if the doctrine taught by Mr. Pearce be not the gospel of Christ, and that which is taught by the above writers and their adherents be, it may be expected that the effects produced will in some degree correspond with this representation; and, is it evident to all men who are acquainted with both, and who judge impartially, that the doctrine taught by Mr. Pearce is productive of *hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, railings, evil surmisings,* and *perverse disputings;* that it renders those who embrace it *lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, false accusers, fierce, despisers of those that are good;* while that of his adversaries promotes *love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness* and *temperance? Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right? Ye shall know them by their fruits!*

Mr. Pearce's ideas of preaching *human obligation* may be seen in the following extract from a letter addressed to a young minister who was sent out of the church of which he was pastor. "You re-

* See page 381. † Page 375.

quest my thoughts how a minister should preach *human obligation*. I would reply, do it *extensively*, do it *constantly*; but withal, do it *affectionately* and *evangelically*. I think, considering the general character of our hearers, and the state of their mental improvement, it would be time lost to argue much from the data of natural religion. The best way is, perhaps, to express duties in Scripture language, and enforce them by evangelical motives; as, the example of Christ—the ends of his suffering and death—the consciousness of his approbation—the assistance he has promised—the influence of a holy conversation on God's people, and on the people of the world—the small returns we at best can make for the love of Jesus—and the hope of eternal holiness. These form a body of arguments, which the most simple may understand, and the most dull may feel. Yet I would not neglect on *some occasions* to show the obligations of man to love his Creator—the reasonableness of the divine law—and the natural tendency of its commands to promote our own comfort, the good of society, and the glory of God. These will serve to *illuminate*, but, after all, it is *the gospel of the grace of God* that will most effectually *animate* and impel to action."

Mr. Pearce's affection to the doctrine of the cross was not merely nor principally on account of its being a system which secured his own safety. Had this been the case, he might, like others, whose religion originates and terminates in self-love, have been delighted with the idea of the grace of the Son, but it would have been at the expense of all complacency in the righteous government of the Father. He might have admired something which he accounted the gospel, as saving him from misery; but he could have discerned no loveliness in the divine law as being holy, just, and good, nor in the mediation of Christ as doing honor to it. That which in his view constituted the glory of the gospel was, that God is therein revealed as *the just God and the Saviour—just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.*

He was a lover of good men.—He was never more in his element than when joining with them in spiritual conversation, prayer, and praise. His heart was tenderly attached to the people of his charge; and it was one of the bitterest ingredients in his cup, during his long affliction, to be cut off from their society. When in the neighborhood of Plymouth, he thus writes to Mr. King, one of the deacons—"Give my love to all the dear people. O pray that He who afflicts would give me patience to endure. Indeed, the state of suspense in which I have been kept so long, requires much of it; and I often exclaim, ere I am aware, O my dear people! O my dear family, when shall I return to you again!" He conscientiously dissented from the church of England, and from every other national establishment of religion, as inconsistent with what he judged the scriptural account of the nature of Christ's kingdom: nor was he less conscientious in his rejection of infant baptism, considering it as having no foundation in the Holy Scriptures, and as tending to confound the church and the world; yet he embraced with brotherly affection great numbers of godly men both in and out of the establishment. His spirit was truly catholic: he loved all who loved our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. "Let us pray," said he in a letter to a friend, "for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper who love—not this part, or the other, but who love—HER—that is, the whole body of Christ."

He bare good will to all mankind.—It was from this principle that he so ardently desired to go and preach the gospel to the heathen. And even under his long affliction, when at times he entertained hopes of recovery, he would say, "My soul pants for usefulness more extensive than ever: I long to become an apostle to the word!" The errors and sins of men wrought much in him in a way of pity. He knew that they were culpable in the sight of God: but he knew also that he himself was a sinner, and felt that they were entitled to his compassion. His zeal for the divinity and atonement of his Saviour, never appeared to have operated in a way of unchristian bitterness against those who rejected these important doctrines; and though he was shamefully traduced by professors of another description as a mere legal preacher, and his ministry held up as affording no food for the souls of believers, and could not but feel the injury of such misrepresentations; yet he does not appear to have cherished unchristian resentment; but would at any time have laid himself out for the good of his worst enemies. It was his constant endeavor to promote as good an understanding between the different congregations in the town as the nature of their different religious sentiments would admit. The cruel bitterness of many people against Dr. Priestley and his friends, at and after the Birmingham riots, was affecting to his mind. Such methods of opposing error he abhorred. His regard to mankind made him lament the consequences of war: but while he wished and prayed for peace to the nations, and especially to his native country, he had no idea of turbulently contending for it. Though friendly to civil and religious liberty, he stood aloof from the fire of political contention. In an excellent Circular Letter to the churches of the Midland Association in 1794, of which he was the writer, he thus expresses himself—"Have as little as possible to do with the world. Meddle not with political controversies. An inordinate pursuit of these, we are sorry to observe, has been as a canker-worm at the root of vital piety; and caused the love of many, formerly zealous professors, to wax cold. The Lord reigneth, it is our place to *rejoice in his government*, and quietly wait for the salvation of God. The establishment of his kingdom will be the ultimate end of all those national commotions which terrify the earth. The wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain." If he could write in this manner in 1794, his seeing a hopeful undertaking, in which he had taken a more than common interest, blasted by this species of folly in 1796, would not lessen his aversion to it. From this time more than ever, he turned his whole attention to the promoting of the kingdom of Christ, cherishing and recommending a spirit of contentment and gratitude for the civil and religious advantages that we enjoyed. Such were the sentiments inculcated in the last sermon that he printed, and the last but one that he preached. (See Note at page 396.) His dear young friends who are gone to India will never forget how earnestly he charged them by letter, when confined at Plymouth, to conduct themselves in all civil matters as peaceable and obedient subjects to the government under which they lived, in whatever country it might be their lot to reside.

It was love that tempered his faithfulness with a large a portion of tender concern for the good of those whose conduct he was obliged to censure.—He could not bear them that were evil, but would set himself against them with the greatest firmness; yet it was easy to discover the pain of mind with which this necessary part of duty was discharged. It is well remembered how he conducted himself towards certain preachers in the neighborhood, who, wandering from place to place, corrupted and embroiled the churches; whose conduct he knew to be as dishonorable as their principles were loose and unscriptural: and when requested to recite particulars in his own defence, his fear and tender-

ness for character, his modest reluctance to accuse persons older than himself, and his deep concern that men engaged in the Christian ministry, should render such accusations necessary, were each conspicuous, and proved to all present, that the work of an accuser was to him a *strange work.*

It was love that expanded his heart, and prompted him to labor in season and out of season for the salvation of sinners.—This was the spring of that constant stream of activity by which his life was distinguished. His conscience would not suffer him to decline what appeared to be right. "I dare not refuse," he would say, "lest I should shrink from duty. Unjustifiable ease is worse than the most difficult labors to which duty calls." To persons who never entered into his views and feelings, some parts of his conduct, especially those which relate to his desire of quitting his country that he might preach the gospel to the heathen, will appear extravagant: but no man could with greater propriety have adopted the language of the apostle, *Whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God: or whether we be sober, it is for your cause; for the love of Christ constraineth us.*

He was frequently told that his exercises were too great for his strength; but such was the ardor of his heart, "He could not die in a better work." When he went up into the pulpit to deliver his last sermon, he thought he should not have been able to get through, but when he got a little warm, he felt relieved, and forgot his indisposition, preaching with equal fervor and freedom as when in perfect health. While he was laid aside, he could not forbear hoping that he should sometime resume his delightful work; and knowing the strength of his feelings to be such that it would be unsafe to trust himself, he proposed for a time to write his discourses, that his mind might not be at liberty to overdo his debilitated frame.

All his counsels, cautions, and reproofs, appear to have been the effect of love.—It was a rule dictated by his heart, no less than by his judgment, to discourage all evil speaking: nor would he approve of just censure unless some good and necessary end were to be answered by it. Two of his distant friends being at his house together, one of them, during the absence of the other, suggested something to his disadvantage. He put a stop to the conversation by answering: "He is here, take him aside and tell him of it by himself: you may do him good."

If he perceived any of his acquaintance bewildered in fruitless speculations, he would in an affectionate manner endeavor to draw off their attention from these mazes of confusion to the simple doctrine of the cross. A specimen of this kind of treatment will be seen in the letter, No. I. towards the close of this chapter.

He was affectionate to all, but especially towards the *rising generation.* The youth of his own congregation, of London, and of Dublin, have not forgotten his melting discourses which were particularly addressed to them. He took much delight in speaking to the children, and would adapt himself to their capacities, and expostulate with them on the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. While at Plymouth he wrote thus to one of his friends, "O how should I rejoice were there a speedy prospect of my returning to my great and *little* congregations." Nor was it by preaching only that he sought their eternal welfare: several of his letters are addressed to young persons.—See Nos. II. and III. towards the close of this chapter.

With what joy did he congratulate one of his most intimate friends, on hearing that three of the younger branches of his family had apparently been brought to take the Redeemer's yoke upon them.—"Thanks, thanks be to God," said he, "for the enrapturing prospect before you as a *father*, as a *Christian father* especially. What, *three* of a family! and these three at once! Oh the heights, and depths, and lengths, and breadths, of his unfathomable grace. My soul feels joy unspeakable at the blessed news. Three immortal souls secured for eternal life! Three rational spirits preparing to grace Immanuel's triumphs, and sing his praise! Three examples of virtue and goodness; exhibiting the genuine influences of the true religion of Jesus before the world—perhaps three mothers traing up to lead three future families in the way to heaven. O what a train of blessings do I see in this event! Most sincerely do I participate with my dear friend, in his pleasures and in his gratitude."

Towards the close of life, writing to the same friend, he thus concludes his letter:—"Present our love to dear Mrs. S. and the family, especially those whose hearts are engaged to seek the Lord and his goodness. O tell them that they will find him good all their lives, supremely good on dying beds, but best of all in glory."

In his visits to the sick he was singularly useful. His sympathetic conversation, affectionate prayers, and endearing manner of recommending to them a compassionate Saviour, frequently operated as a cordial to their troubled hearts. A young man of his congregation was dangerously ill. His father, living at a distance, was anxious to hear from him; and Mr. Pearce, in a letter to the minister on whose preaching the father attended, wrote as follows: "I feel for the anxiety of Mr. V. and am happy in being at this time a Barnabas to him. I was not seriously alarmed for his son till last Tuesday, when I expected, from every symptom, and the language of his apothecary, that he was nigh unto death. But, to our astonishment and joy, a surprising change has since taken place. I saw him yesterday apparently in a fair way for recovery. His mind, for the first part of his illness, was sometimes joyful, and almost constantly calm; but when at the worst, suspicions crowded his mind; he feared he had been a hypocrite. I talked, and prayed, and wept with him. One scene was very affecting; both he and his wife appeared like persons newly awakened. They never felt *so strongly* the importance of religion before. He conversed about the tenderness of Jesus to broken-hearted sinners; and whilst we spoke, it seemed as though he came and began to heal the wound. It did me good, and I trust was not unavailing to them. They have since been for the most part happy; and a very pleasant interview I had with them on the past day."

Every man must have his seasons of relaxation. In his earlier years he would take strong bodily exercise. Of late, he occasionally employed himself with the microscope, and in making a few philosophical experiments. "We will amuse ourselves with philosophy," said he to a philosophical friend, "but Jesus shall be our teacher." In all these exercises he seems never to have lost sight of God; but would be discovering something in his works that should furnish matter for praise and admiration. His mind did not appear to have been unfitted, but rather assisted, by such pursuits, for the discharge of the more spiritual exercises, into which he would fall at a proper season, as into his native element. If in company with friends, and the conversation turned upon the works of nature, or art, or any other subject of science, he would cheerfully take a part in it, and when occasion required, by some easy and pleasant transition, direct it into another channel. An ingenious friend once showed him a model of a machine which he thought of constructing, and by which he hoped to be able to produce a perpetual motion. Mr. Pearce having pa-

tiently inspected it, discovered where the operation would stop, and pointed it out. His friend was convinced, and felt, as may be supposed, rather unpleasant at his disappointment. He consoled him; and a prayer meeting being at hand, said to this effect: "We may learn from hence our own insufficiency, and the glory of that Being, who is *wonderful in council, and excellent in working:* let us go and worship him."

His mild and gentle disposition, not apt to give or take offence, often won upon persons in matters wherein at first they have shown themselves averse. When collecting for the Baptist mission, a gentleman who had no knowledge of him, or of the conductors of that undertaking, made some objections, on the ground that the Baptists had little or nothing to say to the unconverted. This objection Mr. Pearce attempted to remove, by alleging that the parties concerned in this business were entirely of another mind. I am glad to hear it, said the gentleman, but I have my fears. Then pray, sir, said Mr. Pearce, do not give till you are satisfied. Why, I assure you, replied the other, I think the Methodists more likely to succeed than you; and should feel more pleasure in giving them ten guineas than you one. If you give them twenty guineas, sir, said Mr. Pearce, we shall rejoice in their success; and if you give us one, I hope it will not be misapplied. The gentleman smiled, and gave him four.

His figure, to a superficial observer, would at first sight convey nothing very interesting; but on close inspection, his countenance would be acknowledged to be a faithful index to his soul. Calm, placid, and when in the pulpit especially, full of animation, his appearance was not a little expressive of the interest he felt in the eternal welfare of his audience; his eyes beaming benignity, and speaking, in the most impressive language, his willingness to *impart, not only the gospel of God, but his own soul also.*

His imagination was vivid, and his judgment clear; he relished the elegancies of science, and felt alive to the most delicate and refined sentiments; yet these were things on account of which he does not appear to have valued himself. They were rather his amusements than his employment.

His address was easy and insinuating; his voice pleasant, but sometimes overstrained in the course of his sermon; his language chaste, flowing, and inclined to the florid: this last, however, abated as his judgment ripened. His delivery was rather slow than rapid; his attitude graceful, and his countenance in almost all his discourses approaching to an affectionate smile. He never appears, however, to have studied what are called the graces of pulpit action; or, whatever he had read concerning them, it was manifest that he thought nothing of them, or of any other of the ornaments of speech at the time. Both his action and language were the genuine expressions of an ardent mind, affected, and sometimes deeply, with his subject. Being rather below the common stature, and disregarding, or rather, I might say, disapproving every thing pompous in his appearance, he has, on some occasions, been prejudged to his disadvantage; but the song of the nightingale is not the less melodious for his not appearing in a guady plumage. His manner of preparing for the pulpit may be seen in a letter addressed to Mr. C——, of L——, who was sent out of his church: and which may be of use to others in a similar situation. See No. IV. towards the close of this chapter.

His ministry was highly acceptable to persons of education: but he appears to have been most in his element when preaching to the poor. The feelings which he himself expresses when instructing the colliers, appear to have continued with him through life. It was his delight to carry the glad tidings of salvation into the villages wherever he could find access and opportunity. And as he sought the good of their souls, so he both labored and suffered to relieve their temporal wants; living himself in a style of frugality and self-denial, that he might have whereof to give to them that needed.

Finally, *he possessed a large portion of real happiness.* There are few characters whose enjoyments, both natural and spiritual, have risen to so great a height. He dwelt in love: and *he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.* Such a life must needs be happy. If his religion had originated and terminated in self-love, as some contend the whole of religion does, his joys had been not only of a different nature, but far less extensive than they were. His interest was bound up with that of his Lord and Saviour. Its afflictions were his affliction, and its joys his joy. The grand object of his desire was, to *see the good of God's chosen, to rejoice in the gladness of his nation, and to glory with his inheritance.* "What pleasures do those lose," says he, "who have no interest in God's gracious and holy cause!"*

If an object of joy presented itself to his mind, he would delight in multiplying it by its probable or possible consequences. Thus it was, as we have seen, in his congratulating his friend on the conversion of three of his children; and thus it was when speaking of a people who divided into two congregations, not from discord, but from an increase of numbers; and who generously united in erecting a new and additional place of worship—"These liberal souls are subscribing," said he, "in order to support a religion, which, as far as it truly prevails, will render others as liberal as themselves."

His heart was so much formed for social enjoyment that he seems to have contemplated the heavenly state under this idea with peculiar advantage. This was the leading theme of a discourse from Rev. v. 9—12, which he delivered at a meeting of ministers at Arnsby, April 18, 1797; and of which his brethren retain a lively remembrance. On this pleasing subject he dwells also in a letter to his dear friend *Birt.*—"I had much pleasure a few days since, in meditating on the affectionate language of our Lord to his sorrowful disciples: *I go to prepare a place for you.* What a plenitude of consolation do these words contain; what a sweet view of heaven as a place of *society.* It is *one place* for us all: that place where his glorified body is, there all his followers shall assemble to part no more. Where he is, there we shall be also. Oh blessed anticipation! There shall be Abel, and all the martyrs; Abraham, and all the patriarchs; Isaiah, and all the prophets; Paul, and all the apostles; Gabriel, and all the angels; and above all, Jesus, and all his ransomed people! Oh to be amongst the number! My dear brother, let us be strong in the Lord. Let us realize the bliss before us. Let our faith bring heaven itself near, and feast, and live upon the scene. Oh what a commanding influence would it have upon our thoughts, passions, comforts, sorrows, words, ministry, prayers, praises and conduct. What manner of persons should we be in all holy conversation and godliness!"

In many persons, the pleasures imparted by religion are counteracted by a gloomy constitution: but it was not so in him. In his disposition they met with a friendly soil. Cheerfulness was as natural to him as breathing; and this spirit, sanctified by the grace of God, gave a tincture to all his thoughts, conversation, and preaching. He was seldom heard without tears: but they were fre-

* See the letter to Dr. Ryland, May 30, 1796, p. 385.

quently tears of pleasure. No levity, no attempts at wit, no aiming to excite the risibility of an audience ever disgraced his sermons. Religion in him was habitual seriousness, mingled with sacred pleasure, frequently rising into sublime delight, and occasionally overflowing with transporting joy.

LETTERS REFERRED TO IN THIS CHAPTER.

No. I.

To a young man whose mind he perceived was bewildered with fruitless speculations.

"The conversation we had on our way to ———, so far interested me in your religious feelings, that I find it impossible to satisfy my mind, till I have expressed my ardent wishes for the happy termination of your late exercises, and contributed my mite to the promotion of your joy in the Lord. A disposition more or less to 'scepticism' I believe is common to our nature, in proportion as opposite systems and jarring opinions, each supported by a plausibility of argument, are presented to our minds; and, with some qualification, I admit Robinson's remark, 'that he who never doubted, never believed.' While examining the grounds of persuasion, it is right for the mind to hesitate. Opinions ought not to be prejudged any more than criminals. Every objection ought to have its weight; and the more numerous and forcible objections are, the more cause shall we finally have for the triumph: 'Magna est veritas et prevalebit;' but there are two or three considerations, which have no small weight with me in relation to religious controversies.

"The first is, the importance of truth. It would be endless to write on truth in general. I confine my views to what I deem the leading truth in the New Testament—*The atonement made on behalf of sinners by the Son of God; the doctrine of the cross; Jesus Christ and him crucified.* It surely cannot be a matter of small concern whether the Creator of all things, out of mere love to rebellious men, exchanged a throne for a cross, and thereby reconciled a ruined world to God. If this be not true, how can we respect the Bible as an inspired book, which so plainly attributes our salvation to the grace of God, *through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus?* And if we discard the Bible, what can we do with prophecies, miracles, and all the power of evidence, on which, as on adamantine pillars, its authority abides! Surely the infidel has more to reject than the believer to embrace. That book, then, which we receive, not as the word of man, but as the word of God, not as the religion of our ancestors, but on the invincible conviction which attends an impartial investigation of its evidences; that book reveals a truth of the highest importance to man, consonant to the opinions of the earliest ages, and the most enlightened nations, perfectly consistent with the Jewish economy, as to its spirit and design, altogether adapted to unite the equitable and merciful perfections of the Deity, in the sinner's salvation, and above all things calculated to beget the most established peace, to inspire with the liveliest hope, and to engage the heart and life in habitual devotedness to the interest of morality and piety. Such a doctrine I cannot but venerate: and to the *Author* of such a doctrine, my whole soul labors to exhaust itself in praise.

> **'Oh the sweet wonders of the cross**
> **Where God, my Saviour, lov'd and died!'**

Forgive, my friend, forgive the transport of a soul compelled to feel where it attempts only to explore. I cannot on *this* subject control my passions by the laws of logic. *God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of Christ Jesus my Lord.*

"Secondly, I consider man as a depraved creature; so depraved, that his judgment is as dark as his appetites are sensual: wholly dependent, therefore, on God for religious light, as well as true devotion: yet such a dupe to pride, as to reject every thing, which the narrow limits of his comprehention cannot embrace; and such a slave to his passions as to admit no law but self-interest for his government. With these views of human nature, I am persuaded we ought to suspect our own decisions whenever they oppose truths too sublime for our understandings, or too pure for our lusts. 'To err' on this side, indeed, 'is human;' wherefore the wise man saith, 'He that trusteth to his own heart is a fool.' Should, therefore, the evidence be only equal on the side of the gospel of Christ, I should think, with this allowance, we should do well to admit it.

"Thirdly, if the gospel of Christ be true, it should be heartily embraced. We should yield ourselves to its influence without reserve. We must come to a point, and resolve to be either infidels or Christians. To know the power of the sun, we should expose ourselves to his rays; to know the sweetness of honey, we must bring it to our palates. Speculations will not do in either of these cases; much less will it in matters of religion. *My son*, saith God, *give me thine heart.*

"Fourthly, an humble admission of the light we already have, is the most effectual way to a full conviction of the truth of the doctrine of Christ. *If any man will* DO *his will, he shall know of his doctrine whether it be of God.* If we honor God as far as we know his will, he will honor us with further discoveries of it. Thus shall we know, if we follow on to know the Lord; thus, thus shall you, my dear friend, become assured that there is salvation in no other name than that of Jesus Christ; and thus from an inward experience of the quickening influences of his Holy Spirit, you will join the admiring church, and say of Jesus, 'This is my beloved, this is my friend; he is the chiefest among ten thousand, he is altogether lovely.' Yes, I yet hope, I expect to see you rejoicing in Christ Jesus; and appearing as a living witness that he is faithful who hath said, 'Seek and ye shall find; ask and receive, that your joy may be full.' S. P."

In another letter to the same correspondent, after congratulating himself that he had discovered such a mode of killing noxious insects, as should put them to the least pain and which was characteristic of the tenderness of his heart, he proceeds as follows:—"But enough of nature: how is my brother *as a Christian?* We have had some interesting moments in conversation on the methods of grace, that grace whose influence reaches to the day of adversity, and the hour of death; seasons when, of every thing beside it may be said, Miserable comforters are they all! My dear friend, we will amuse ourselves with philosophy, but Christ shall be our teacher; Christ shall be our glory; Christ shall be our portion. Oh that we may be enabled 'to comprehend the heights, and depths, and lengths, and breadths, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge!'

"Affectionately yours, S. P."

No. II.

To a young gentleman of his acquaintance, who was then studying physic at Edinburgh.

"Did my dear friend P — know with what sincere affection, and serious concern, I almost daily think of him, he would need no other evidence of the effect which his last visit, and his subsequent letters have produced. Indeed there is not a young man in the world, in earlier life than myself, for whose universal prosperity I am so deeply interested. Many circumstances I can trace, on a review

of the past fourteen years, which have contributed to beget and augment affection and esteem: and I can assure you that *every interview*, and *every letter*, still tend to consolidate my regard.

"Happy should I be, if my ability to serve you at this important crisis of human life, were equal to your wishes or my own. Your situation demands all the aid, which the wisdom and prudence of your friends can afford, that you may be directed not only to the most worthy objects of pursuit, but also to the most effectual means of obtaining them. In your professional character it is impossible for me to give you any assistance. If any general observations I can make should prove at all useful, I shall be richly rewarded for the time I employ in their communication.

"I thank you sincerely for the freedom wherewith you have disclosed the peculiarities of your situation, and the views and resolutions wherewith they have inspired you. I can recommend nothing better, my dear friend, than a *determined adherence* to the purposes you have already formed, respecting the intimacies you contract, and the associates you choose. In such a place as Edinburgh, it may be supposed, no description of persons may be wanting. Some so notoriously vicious, that their atrocity of character will have no small tendency to confirm your morals, from the odious contrast which their practices present to your view. Against these, therefore, I need not caution you. You will flee them as so many serpents, in whose breath is venom and destruction. More danger may be apprehended from those mixed characters, who blend the profession of philosophical refinement with the secret indulgence of those sensual gratifications, which at once exhaust the pocket, destroy the health, and debase the character.

"That morality is friendly to individual happiness, and to social order, no man, who respects his own conscience or character, will have the effrontery to deny. Its avenues cannot, therefore, be too sacredly guarded, nor those principles which support a virtuous practice be too seriously maintained. But morality derives, it is true, its best, its only support, from the principles of religion. 'The fear of the Lord (said the wise man) is to hate evil.'—He, therefore, who endeavors to weaken the sanctions of religion, to induce a sceptical habit, to detach my thoughts from an *ever present God*, and my hopes from a futurity of holy enjoyment, HE is a worse enemy than the man that meets me with a pistol and the dagger. Should my dear friend, then, fall into the company of those, whose friendship cannot be purchased but by the sacrifice of Revelation, I hope he will ever think such a price too great for the good opinion of men who blaspheme piety, and dishonor God. Deism is indeed the fashion of the day; and to be in the mode, you must quit the good old path of devotion, as too antiquated for any but monks and hermits; so as you laugh at religion, that is enough to secure to you the company, and the applause of the sons of politeness. Oh that God may be a buckler and a shield to defend you from their assaults! Let but their private morals be inquired into, and if they may have a hearing, I dare engage they will not bear a favorable testimony to the good tendency of scepticism; and it may be regarded as an indisputable axiom, That what is unfriendly to virtue is unfriendly to man.

"Were I to argue a posteriori in favor of truth, I should contend that those principles must be true, which (first) corresponded with general observation —(secondly) tended to general happiness—(thirdly) preserved a uniform connection between cause and effect, evil and remedy, in all situations.

"I would then apply these data to the principles held, on the one side, by the deists; and on the other by the believers in Revelation. In the application of the *first*, I would refer to the state of human nature. The deist contends for its purity and powers. Revelation declares its depravity and weakness. I compare these opposite declarations with the facts that fall under constant observation. Do I not see that there is a larger portion of vice in the world, than of virtue: that no man needs solicitation to evil, but every man a guard against it; and that thousands bewail their subjection to lusts, which they have not power to subdue, whilst they live in moral slavery, and cannot burst the chain?—Which principle then shall I admit? Will observation countenance the *deistical?* I am convinced to the contrary, and must say, I cannot be a deist without becoming a fool; and to exalt my reason, I must deny my senses.

"I take the *second* datum, and inquire, which tends most to general happiness? To secure happiness, three things are necessary:—*object*, *means*, and *motives*. The question is—Which points out the *true source* of happiness; which directs to the *best means* for attaining it; and which furnishes me with the most *powerful motives* to induce my pursuit of it? If I take a deist for my tutor, he tells me that *fame* is the object; universal *accommodation of manners to interest*, the means; and *self-love* the spring of action. Sordid teacher! From him I turn to *Jesus*. His better voice informs me, that the source of felicity is the *friendship of my God;* that *love to my Maker*, and *love to man*, expressed in all the noble and amiable effusions of devotion and benevolence, are the means; and that *the glory of God*, and *the happiness of the universe*, must be my motives. Blessed Instructer, thy dictates approve themselves to every illuminated conscience, to every pious heart! Do they not, my dear P——, approve themselves to yours?

"But I will not tire your patience by pursuing these remarks. Little did I think of such amplification when I first took up my pen. Oh that I may have the joy of finding that these (at least well meant) endeavors to establish your piety, have not been ungraciously received, nor wholly unprofitable to your mind! I am encouraged to these effusions of friendship, by that amiable *self-distrust*, which your letter expresses; a temper not only becoming the earlier stages of life, but graceful in all its advancing periods.

"Unspeakable satisfaction does it afford me to find that you are conscious of the necessity of 'first' seeking assistance from Heaven. Retain, my dear friend, this honorable, this equitable sentiment. 'In all thy ways acknowledge God, and he shall direct thy paths.'

"I hope you will still be cautious in your intimacies. You will gain more by a half-hour's intercourse with God, than the friendship of the whole college can impart. Too much acquaintance will be followed with a waste of that precious time, on the present improvement of which, your future usefulness and respectability in your profession depend. Like the bee, you may do best by sipping the sweets of every flower; but remember, the sweetest blossom is not the *hive*.

"Yours very affectionately, S. P."

"P. S. So many books have been published on the same subject as the manuscript you helped me to copy, that I have not sent it to the press."*

* The compiler believes this was an answer to Mr. Peter Edwards' *Candid Reasons*, &c. He knows Mr. Pearce did write an answer to that performance. By the effrontery of the writer he has acknowledged he was at first a little stunned; but upon examining his arguments, found it no very difficult undertaking to point out their fallacy.

No. III.

To a young lady at school, Miss A. H. a daughter of one of the members of his church.

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure which this opportunity affords me, of expressing the concern I feel for your happiness, arising from the sincerest friendship; a friendship, which the many amiable qualities you possess, together with the innumerable opportunities I have had of seeing them displayed, have taught me to form and perpetuate.

"It affords me inexpressible pleasure to hear, that you are so happy in your present situation: a situation in which I rejoice to see you placed, because it is not merely calculated to embellish the manners, but to profit the soul. I hope that my dear Ann, amidst the various pursuits of an ornamental or scientific nature, which she may adopt, will not omit that first, that great concern, the dedication of her heart to God. To this, my dear girl, every thing invites you that is worthy of your attention. The dignity of a rational and immortal soul, the condition of human nature, the gracious truths and promises of God, the sweetness and usefulness of religion, the comfort it yields in affliction, the security it affords in temptation, the supports it gives in death, and the prospects it opens of life everlasting; all these considerations, backed with the uncertainty of life, the solemnity of judgment, the terrors of hell, and the calls of conscience and of God, all demand your heart for the *blessed Jehovah*. This, and nothing short of this, is true religion. You have often heard, and often *written* on religion: it is time you should *feel* it now. Oh, what a blessedness will attend your hearty surrender of yourself to the God and Father of men! Methinks I see all the angels of God rejoicing at the sight, all the saints in heaven partaking of their joy; Jesus himself, who died for sinners, gazing on you with delight; your own heart filled with peace and joy in believing; and a thousand streams of goodness flowing from your renovated soul to refresh the aged saint, and to encourage your fellow youth to seek first the kingdom of heaven, and press on to God. But oh, should I be mistaken! Alas, alas, I cannot bear the thought. Oh thou Saviour of sinners, and God of love! take captive the heart of my dear young friend, and make her truly willing to be wholly thine!

"If you can find freedom, do oblige me with a letter on the state of religion in your own soul, and be assured of every sympathy or advice that I am capable of feeling or giving.

"Affectionately yours, S. P."

No. IV.

To a young minister, Mr. C——, of L——, on preparation for the pulpit.

"My dear brother—Your first letter gave me much pleasure. I hoped you would learn some useful lesson from the first Sabbath's disappointment. Every thing is good that leads us to depend more simply on the Lord. Could I choose my frames, I would say respecting industry in preparation for public work, as is frequently said respecting Christian obedience; I would apply as close as though I expected no help from the Lord, whilst I would depend on the Lord for assistance, as though I had never made any preparation at all.

"I rejoice much in every thing that affords you ground for solid pleasure. The account of the affection borne you by the people of God, was therefore a matter of joy to my heart, especially as I learnt from the person who brought your letter, that the friendship seemed pretty general.

"Your last has occasioned me some pain on your account, because it informs me that you have been 'exceedingly tried in the pulpit:' but I receive satisfaction again from considering, that the gloom of midnight precedes the rising day, not only in the natural world, but frequently also in the Christian minister's experience. Do not be discouraged, my dear brother: those whose labors God has been pleased most eminently to bless, have generally had their days of prosperity ushered in with clouds and storms. You are in the sieve; but the sieve is in our Saviour's hands; and he will not suffer any thing but the chaff to fall through, let him winnow us as often as he may. No one at times, I think I may say, has been worse tried than myself, in the same manner as you express; though I must be thankful it has not been often.

"You ask direction of me, my dear brother. I am too inexperienced myself to be capable of directing others; yet if the little time I have been employed for God has furnished me with any thing worthy of communication, it will be imparted to no one with more readiness than to you.

"I should advise you, when you have been distressed by hesitation, to reflect whether it arose from an inability to recollect your ideas, or to obtain words suited to convey them. If the former, I think these two directions may be serviceable:—First, endeavor to think *in a train*. Let one idea depend upon another in your discourses, as one link does upon another in a chain. For this end I have found it necessary to arrange my subjects in the order of time. Thus, for instance—If speaking of the promises, I would begin with those which were suited to the earliest inquiries of a convinced soul; as pardon, assistance in prayer, wisdom, &c.; then go to those parts of Christian experience which are usually subsequent to the former; as, promises of support in afflictions, deliverance from temptations, and perseverance in grace; closing with a review of those which speak of support in death, and final glory. Then all the varieties of description respecting the glory of heaven will follow in natural order; as, the enlargement of the understanding, purification of the affections, intercourse with saints, angels, and Christ himself, which will be *eternal;* thus beginning with the lowest marks of grace, and ascending, step by step, you at last arrive in the fruition of faith. This mode is most natural, and most pleasing to the hearers, as well as assisting to the preacher: for one idea gives birth to another, and he can hardly help going forward regularly and easily.

"Secondly, labor to *render your ideas transparent to yourself*. Never offer to introduce a thought, which you cannot *see through* before you enter the pulpit. You have read in Claude, that the best preparative to preach from a subject, is to understand it: and I think Bishop Burnet says, 'No man properly understands any thing, who cannot at *any time* represent it to others.'

"If your hesitation proceeds from a want of words, I should advise you—1. To *read good and easy authors; Dr. Watts especially.*—2 To *write a great part of your sermons*, and for a while get at least the leading ideas of every head of discourse by heart, enlarging only at the close of every thought. 3. Sometimes, as in the end of sermons, or when you preach in villages, *start off in preaching beyond all you have premeditated.* Fasten on some leading ideas; as the solemnity of death, the awfulness of judgment, the necessity of a change of heart, the willingness of Christ to save, &c. Never mind how far you ramble from the point, so as you do not lose sight of it; and if your heart be any way warm, you will find some expressions then fall from your lips, which your imagination could not produce in an age of studious application. 4. *Divest yourself of all fear.* If you should break the rules of grammar, or put in, or leave out

a word, and recollect at the end of the sentence the impropriety; unless it makes nonsense, or bad divinity, never try to mend it, but let it pass. If so, perhaps only a few would notice it; but if you stammer in trying to mend it, you will expose yourself to all the congregation.

"In addition to all I have said, you know where to look, and from whom to seek that wisdom and strength which only God can give. To him I recommend you, my dear brother, assuring you of my real esteem for you, and requesting you will not fail to pray for the least of saints, but yours affectionately, S. P."

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

The great ends of Christian Biography are instruction and example. By faithfully describing the lives of men eminent for goodness, we not only embalm their memory, but furnish ourselves with fresh materials and motives for a holy life. It is abundantly more impressive to view the religion of Jesus as operating in a living character, than to contemplate it abstractedly. For this reason, we may suppose the Lord the Spirit has condescended to exhibit it first and principally in the life of Christ; and after his, that of many of his eminent followers. And for this reason, he by his holy influences still furnishes the church with now and then a singular example of godliness, which it is our duty to notice and record. There can be no reasonable doubt that the life of Mr. Pearce ought to be considered as one of these examples. May that same divine Spirit who had manifestly so great a hand in forming his character, teach us to derive from it both instruction and edification!

First: *In him we may see the holy efficacy, and by consequence, the truth of the Christian religion.*—It was long since asked, *Who is he that overcometh the world, but he who believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?* This question contained a challenge to men of all religions, who were then upon the earth. Idolatry had a great diversity of species: every nation worshipping its own gods, and in modes peculiar to themselves: philosophers also were divided into numerous sects, each flattering itself that it had found the truth: even the Jews had their divisions; their Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes: but great as many of them were in deeds of divers kinds, an apostle could look them all in the face, and ask, *Who is he that overcometh the world?* The same question might be safely asked in every succeeding age. The various kinds of religion that still prevail, the Pagan, Mahometan, Jewish, Papal, or Protestant, may form the exteriors of man according to their respective models; but where is the man amongst them, save the true believer in Jesus, that overcometh the world? Men may cease from particular evils, and assume a very different character; may lay aside their drunkenness, blasphemies, or debaucheries, and take up with a kind of monkish austerity, and yet all amount to nothing more than an exchange of vices. The lusts of the flesh will on many occasions give place to those of the mind; but to overcome the world is another thing. By embracing the doctrines of the cross; to feel not merely a dread of the consequences of sin, but a holy abhorrence of its nature; and by conversing with invisible realities, to become regardless of the best, and fearless of the worst, that this world has to dispense; this is the effect of genuine Christianity, and this is a standing proof of its divine original. Let the most inveterate enemy of revelation have witnessed the disinterested benevolence of a Paul, a Peter, or a John, and whether he would own it or not, his conscience must have borne testimony that this is true religion. The same may be said of Samuel Pearce: whether the doctrine he preached found a place in the *hearts* of his hearers or not, his spirit and life must have approved itself to their *consciences*.

Secondly: *In him we see how much may be done for God in a little time.*—If his death had been foreknown by his friends, some might have hesitated whether it was worth while for him to engage in the work of the ministry for so short a period: yet if we take a view of his labors, perhaps there are few lives productive of a greater portion of good. That life is not always the longest which is spun out to the greatest extent of days. The first of all lives amounted but to thirty-three years; and the most important works pertaining to that were wrought in the last three. There is undoubtedly a way of rendering a short life a long one, and a long life a short one, by filling or not filling it with proper materials. That time which is squandered away in sloth, or trifling pursuits, forms a kind of blank in human life: in looking it over there is nothing for the mind to rest upon; and a whole life so spent, whatever number of years it may contain, must appear upon reflection short and vacant, in comparison of one filled up with valuable acquisitions, and holy actions. It is like the space between us and the sun, which, though immensely greater than that which is traversed in a profitable journey, yet being all empty space, the mind goes over it in much less time, and without any satisfaction. If "that life be long which answers life's great end," Mr. Pearce may assuredly be said to have come to his grave in a good old age. And might we not all do much more than we do, if our hearts were more in our work? Where this is wanting, or operates but in a small degree, difficulties are magnified into impossibilities; a lion is in the way of extraordinary exertion; or if we be induced to engage in something of this kind, it will be at the expense of a uniform attention to ordinary duties. But some will ask, How are our hearts to be in our work? Mr. Pearce's heart was habitually in his; and that which kept alive the sacred flame in him, appears to have been—The constant habit of conversing with divine truth, and walking with God in private.

Thirdly: In him we see in clear and strong colors, *to what a degree of solid peace and joy, true religion will raise us, even in the present world.* A little religion, it has been justly said, will make us miserable; but a great deal will make us happy. The one will do little more than keep the conscience alive, while our numerous defects and inconsistencies are perpetually furnishing it with materials to scourge us; the other keeps the heart alive, and leads us to drink deep at the fountain of joy. Hence it is, in a great degree, that so much of the spirit of bondage, and so little of the spirit of adoption prevails among Christians. Religious enjoyments with us are rather occasional, than habitual; or if in some instances it be otherwise, we are ready to suspect that it is supported in part by the strange fire of enthusiasm, and not by the pure flame of scriptural devotion. But, in Mr. Pearce we saw a devotion ardent, steady, pure, and persevering; kindled, as we may say, at the altar of God, like the fire of the temple, it went not out by night nor by day. He seemed to have learned that heavenly art, so conspicuous among the primitive Christians, of converting every thing he met with into materials for love and joy, and praise. Hence he "labored," as he expresses it, "to exercise most love to God when suffering most severely;" and hence he so affectingly encountered the billows that overwhelmed his feeble frame, crying,

"Sweet affliction, sweet affliction,
Singing as I wade to heaven."

The constant happiness that he enjoyed in God was apparent in the effects of his sermons upon others. Whatever we feel ourselves we shall ordinarily communicate to our hearers: and it has been already noticed, that one of the most distinguishing properties of his discourses was—that they inspired the serious mind with the liveliest sensations of happiness. They descended upon the audience, not indeed like a transporting flood, but like a shower of dew: gently insinuating itself into the heart, insensibly dissipating its gloom, and gradually drawing forth the graces of faith, hope, love, and joy; while the countenance was brightened almost into a smile, tears of pleasure would rise and glisten, and fall from the admiring eye.

What a practical confutation did his life afford of the slander so generally cast upon the religion of Jesus, that it fills the mind with gloom and misery! No: leaving futurity out of the question, the whole world of unbelievers might be challenged to produce a character from among them who possessed half his enjoyments.

Fourthly: From his example we are furnished with *the greatest encouragement, while pursuing the path of duty, to place our trust in God.* The situation in which he left his family, we have seen already, was not owing to an indifference to their interest, or an improvident disposition, or the want of opportunity to have provided for them; but to a steady and determined obedience to do what he accounted the will of God. He felt deeply for them, and we all felt with him, and longed to be able to assure him before his departure, that they would be amply provided for; but owing to circumstances which have already been mentioned, this was more than we could do. This was a point in which he was called to *die in faith;* and indeed so he did. He appears to have had no idea of that flood of kindness, which immediately after his decease, flowed from the religious public; but he believed in God, and cheerfully left all with him. "Oh that I could speak, said he to Mrs. Pearce a little before his death, "I would tell a world to trust a faithful God. Sweet affliction; now it worketh glory, glory!" And when she told him the workings of her mind, he answered, "O trust the Lord! If he lift up the light of his countenance upon you, as he has done upon me this day, all your mountains will become mole-hills. I feel your situation: I feel your sorrows: but he who takes care of sparrows, will care for you and my dear children."

The liberal contributions which have since been made, though they do not warrant ministers in general to expect the same, and much less to neglect providing for their own families on such a presumption; yet they must needs be considered as a singular encouragement, when we are satisfied that we are in the path of duty, to be inordinately "careful for nothing, but in every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, to let our requests be made known unto God."

Finally: In him we see that *the way to true excellence is not to affect eccentricity, nor to aspire after the performance of a few splendid actions; but to fill up our lives with a sober, modest, sincere, affectionate, assiduous, and uniform conduct.* Real greatness attaches to character: and character arises from a *course of action.* Solid reputation as a merchant arises not from a man's having made his fortune by a few successful adventures; but from a course of wise economy and honorable industry, which, gradually accumulating, advances by pence to shillings, and by shillings to pounds. The most excellent philosophers are not those who have dealt chiefly in splendid speculations, and looked down upon the ordinary concerns of men as things beneath their notice, but those who have felt their interests united with the interests of mankind, and bent their principal attention to things of real and public utility. It is much the same in religion. We do not esteem a man for one, or two, or three good deeds, any farther than as these deeds are indications of the real state of his mind. We do not estimate the character of Christ himself so much from his having given sight to the blind, or restored Lazarus from the grave, as from his *going about* continually *doing good.*

These single attempts at great things are frequently the efforts of a vain mind, which pants for fame, and has not patience to wait for it, nor discernment to know the way in which it is obtained. One pursues the shade, and it flies from him; while another turns his back upon it, and it follows him. The one aims at once to climb the rock, but falls ere he reaches the summit: the other walking round it, in pursuit of another object, gradually and insensibly ascends till he reaches it: seeking the approbation of his God, he finds with it that of his fellow-Christians.

THE END.

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM MILNE.

William Milne, a native of Aberdeenshire, received from his widowed mother the best education it was in her power to bestow: she did not train him in the admonition of the Lord, yet his spirit was early and graciously visited. "Sometimes," he observes, "I used to walk home from the school, alone, over the brow of a hill, praying all the way. I was led to search the Scriptures: at this time I began the worship of God in my mother's family." At sixteen years of age he removed to a place where he had the society of some persons of eminent piety: to the lonely home of one of them, he used to go, at the hour of evening prayer, so faithfully observed by the peasantry of Scotland. In this blessed and beautiful observance, she may be said to excel all lands: her family altars, on the moor, the mountains, or the lake-side, are like so many little temples, where God is humbly and sincerely worshipped, and a vain or false sacrifice is rarely offered up. "The father was accustomed to make some remarks on the chapter read for the instruction of his children, and to prepare them for the solemn exercise of prayer: these interested me much, and showed me a beauty in the word of God, which I never saw before. From this time my enjoyments of pleasure in the world were marred, and an excellence was discovered in religion, which led me to choose it as the only object. As the family in which I lived were strangers to, and derided its power, I was very disagreeably situated. The only place I found for retirement was a sheep-cote. Here, surrounded with my fleecy companions, I often bowed the knee, on a piece of turf which I carried in with me for the purpose. Many hours have I spent there, in the winter evenings, with a pleasure to which before I was a stranger." His employments being at this time chiefly of a rural nature, afforded much opportunity through the day for spiritual improvement: books were his constant companions, and one in particular made a powerful impression; it was entitled, "The Cloud of Witnesses," containing an account of the persecution in Scotland, in the reign of Charles II. How many a gifted, as well as devoted spirit, has been nursed to excellence amidst the wilds and glens of this land—where Cameron and Cargill fled for refuge from the sword, and were faithful unto death. "Often have I sat," continues Milne, "on the brow of a hill, reading the lives of these martyrs, admiring their patience and fortitude in suffering, till I longed that God would, some time or other, honor me thus to confess his name. Having an earnest desire to devote myself to him, I was encouraged to do so in the way of a personal covenant, judging this plan agreeable to the language of the prophet, that "One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob." I determined to adopt it, and, having retired to a place surrounded by hills on every side, I offered up myself to be ruled, sanctified, and saved by him. This was followed by much peace and happiness of mind." About three years after this, he was admitted as a member of the church at Huntley.

At the age of twenty he resolved to become a missionary, even to the most distant scenes: his mind was naturally ardent and impetuous: he used to say, "When I am convinced a thing is right, I could go through the fire to accomplish it." He consulted with his friends, who advised an application to the London Missionary Society, which was done by the two ministers of Huntley and Aberdeen: and the result was, that a committee of ministers at the latter town, was appointed to examine into his talents and qualifications for the work. On approval, he went to England, and passed through the regular course of studies at Gosport, where he was subsequently ordained, in the manner usual among dissenters. Mr. Morrison having long solicited a colleague in China, the directors proposed that station to Mr. Milne. In the mean time, he married Miss Cowie, daughter of Charles Cowie, Esq. of Aberdeen, and they sailed in September, 1812, and arrived safely in Macao in July. A few days afterwards he received an order from the Portuguese governor to leave the island. Remonstrances were in vain; and he went with some friends in a small boat to Canton, where he was soon after followed by Morrison, under whose instructions he made a rapid progress in the Chinese language. At the expiration of a year, it was judged advisable for him to make a tour through the principal settlements of the Malay archipelago, and circulate the Scriptures and tracts. Morrison, by his individual labors, having finished the Chinese translation of the New Testament, it was resolved to print 2000 copies, 10,000 tracts, and 5000 catechisms, of which the greater part was placed in Mr. Milne's charge, for distribution on his journey. He sailed in a vessel bound to Java, by way of Banca; on board were 450 Chinese emigrants, who hoped to mend their fortunes at the latter place, where numbers of people are employed in the tin mines: among these he distributed a selection of his works, and left many copies in care of the British resident. On his departure on this adventurous voyage, he left behind the following memoranda for his loved wife:—

"She is requested to keep a journal of such things as may strike her mind; what her own views and exercises may be as to God, the mission, &c.; what books she reads. To continue to write out her own history, as it will preserve many past events, and may at a future day, be profitably read by our daughter.

"2. To learn some of the dialogues by heart, in order to make the colloquial language of the Chinese familiar.

"3. To look after my books. To prepare herself as fully as she can for future usefulness.

"4. To endeavor to keep her mind easy, by trusting all to the care of God—by faith in Christ—by the hope of eternal rest.

"William Milne."

In March, 1814, Mr. Milne arrived at Batavia, and procured a lodging at a little distance from the town. Having letters of introduction to Governor Raffles, the latter furnished him with the means of travelling through the island at the expense of government, and gave him letters to the British officers, and native princes. He sent round by sea several boxes of books to the chief eastern ports, and took some large packages with him in the carriage in which he travelled. He was, as yet, but twenty-eight years of age: and the scene had changed rapidly and strangely, from the wild hills of Scotland, on whose brow he used to sit and read the "Cloud of Witnesses," and long to be like them, and the sheep-cote, where he prayed alone, to the sultry shores of Malacca and Java; where he wandered, often to the homes of princes, and distributed the "book of life." The enjoyments of learning were now his own; and he was, ere long, to found a college, whose duration and usefulness

should be very great. The life of Brainerd had been his delight in his native and pastoral scenes.

At the close of the year, Milne left Java, and in the following month again returned to China, to his family and friends. The extreme jealousy of the Chinese government rendering it imprudent for him to remain with Mr. Morrison throughout the year, Malacca, after much consideration, appeared to be the preferable centre of the mission, and preparations were made for his removal thither with his family. They arrived safely after a passage of a month, and were kindly received by the resident, Major Farquhar.

It would be unjust not to dwell for a while on the admirable labors of Morrison. The acquirement of the Chinese language, and then the painful translation of the Scriptures, had entirely occupied him during many years: his toils were the fountain of all the after success of the mission in China and Malacca. He went on gradually through the New Testament, printing small editions of its several portions, as they were revised and corrected. In March, 1813, having finished the epistles, a few copies were sent home to England, where they excited no small surprise, as well as pleasure. Several grants of money were sent to the aid of this mission, by the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the expenses of the London Missionary Society had been very great. Thus animated, the translator persevered, in the midst of many bodily infirmities; he, for some time, felt at a loss what kind of style was most proper to be adopted. In the Chinese books there are three kinds of style: that which prevails in the Woo-king and Szeskoo, is remarkably concise, and considered highly classical. Most of the works of fiction, of the lighter sort, are written in a style perfectly colloquial. The San-kwo, a work much admired in China, holds, in point of style, a middle place between these two. He at first inclined to this style, but afterwards, on seeing an imperial work, called Shingyee, designed to be read twice a month in the public halls of the different provinces, for the instruction of the people in relative and political duties, he resolved to imitate this work. Of the style of the San-kwo, the Chinese speak in raptures; it may be considered as the "Spectator" of China; and the student of Chinese, who would express himself with ease and acceptance, ought carefully to read and imitate this work. China, it is true, has scarcely any modern writers of note: but Choo-tsze, and his contemporaries, who wrote in the 12th century, were eminent authors. Choo-tsze paraphrased most of the Kiny, or classical books, and confesses himself often at a loss for the genuine sense of the text, from its extreme age and brevity. Education is far more widely diffused in China than in any other pagan country: and there is no objection to foreigners using the religions of their respective nations, whatever these may be. Those of the natives who regard no God, and treat with contempt every kind of religion, sink greatly in the estimation of their countrymen.

A tract in Chinese, published by Morrison, on "the redemption of the world," had a favorable influence on the minds of some of the people. He also published a collection of hymns, which were translations from the Psalms, as well as from the hymns of Cowper and Watts. He had long been preparing materials for a Chinese dictionary; the question now was, how it could be printed. The dictionary of 8000 characters, composed by the Romish missionaries, cost about two hundred Spanish dollars to transcribe, and it does not contain more than one-sixth of what Morrison's plan embraced. He had gone to great expense for books necessary in the compilation, and few societies for religious purposes, were adequate to the cost of the printing. The work was undertaken by the Honorable East India Company, on that scale of liberality which has often characterized the operations of that powerful body. In conformity with a resolution of a Court of Directors, Mr. P. P. Thomas was sent out with a press, types, and other requisites for printing. He arrived at Macao, and applied himself earnestly to the fabrication of moveable metal types, in which he was finally successful. The printing proceeded slowly the first year, owing to the many obstacles which attended the casting and cutting of the characters; but the successive numbers of the dictionary at last appeared, and were followed by a volume of decalogues. In herculean toil, patient and minute research, this achievement of Morrison may compare with that of Johnson; its future usefulness to the cause of Christianity in China will be incalculable. The unwearied translator pressed onward to new triumphs, and successively produced the book of Genesis, and the "Life of Christ;" the latter was generally understood by the lower classes of Chinese, and read with some degree of interest.

The establishment of a central mission in Malacca, under the care of Mr. Milne, now occupied all the attention of the two friends; the situation was more favorable than that of Canton. The first effort of the latter in Malacca, was the formation of a school: a place that had been occupied as a stable, was fitted up at a small expense; and papers, posted in different parts of the town, gave notice of it to the people. Such a thing had never been heard of in the place before; a people, in whose breast scarcely any motives but those of interest bear sway, could not believe, even for twelve months, that the children were to be taught, and furnished with books gratuitously. At last, some were gathered together; but the Chinese master could only begin on a lucky day, and each of the children must have what they called "a heart-opening cake," to prepare him for instruction. But this was not all; it is customary also for the Chinese, in all their schools, to set up the images of Confucius and of Wanchang, (the god of letters,) to which the children used to bow, and burn incense-matches every morning.—The fourteen scholars were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, the whole in their native tongue. They were next taught Morrison's catechism, from which they learned from six to ten questions in a week; Milne afterwards expounded this. The native masters were also gradually induced to attend the public worship, with the children.

Towards the close of this year was commenced the library of the Ultra-Ganges mission, as it was called, with a small number of books, European and Chinese. On a memorial to the Governor in Council at Penang, a grant was made of ground for the erection of missionary buildings. In 1816, the Chinese scholars had increased to nearly sixty; and Mr. Milne, who had made rapid advances in the language, under the tuition of his friend, composed several tracts for their use, and translated the book of Deuteronomy. In 1817, a new range of warehouses and printing-offices were erected; and the next step, as had been previously agreed with Dr. Morrison, was to publish a magazine, called the "Chinese Gleaner." It was published quarterly, and contained extracts of the correspondence of the Eastern missionaries, and miscellaneous notices relative to the philosophy and mythology of the Indo-Chinese nations. The circulation of this work commenced at 500, and increased to 1000 or more, monthly.

Mr. Milne had now many engagements on his hands; regular services were begun on the week-days and the Sabbaths, which have ever since been

continued: every morning the Chinese domestics, workmen, and scholars, met for Christian worship. He had then a portion of the Old Testament in hand to translate, the school to superintend, and his own studies in the language to pursue. In the evening, he often spent an hour in distributing tracts through the town, and conversing with the natives; afterwards the Scriptures were read, and remarks made on them, and prayer concluded the service. The number of hearers was always small; sometimes two or three from the neighboring streets joined the regular attendants. Some came occasionally, from curiosity, or a wish to be employed; when their curiosity was satisfied, or they perceived that there was no worldly gain or pleasure to be had, they came but seldom. In dispensing instruction to the few who attended, Milne found the catechism and tracts, composed by his colleague, of great assistance. Written in a plain style, and free from the stiffness which generally adheres to translations, these tracts were easily understood, and a page or two often furnished the ground of the exhortations. Milne anxiously placed a copy before each individual, and went over the portion selected for the occasion. The same method was observed in reading the New Testament. He had seen in Scotland, his native country, the beneficial effects of this practice on the people, who keep their Bibles open in church, and follow the minister in the chapter he is explaining.

The interest and attention of the Chinese towards this service, were just as intense as those of the French audience, who gathered to listen to a friend of the writer; a man of great enthusiasm of character, formerly a captain of dragoons in the Peninsular war, and now a clergyman. His zeal led him to the neighboring capital, to convert the gay and volatile Parisians; an enterprize more daring and hopeless than that of Christianizing the Malays or Esquimaux. He procured a large and waste room in one of the most favorite and frequented streets, fitted it up as a chapel, and began to preach. A few gentlemen, whose acquaintance he had cultivated, (and whose minds he had believed open to conversion, since they not only acquiesced in his sentiments, but even showed signs of emotion,) at first formed his whole congregation. By degrees, others dropped in, attracted by curiosity, and the novelty of the thing. The contrast between minister and people was startling and perplexing: he was a tall, fine, military-looking man, and addressed them with as much fire and enthusiasm as if leading on his brigade to the charge; they listened in the most calm, gentlemanly manner possible, without the slightest derangement of look or attitude. In the midst of the discourse, a well dressed Frenchman often entered, looked curiously round for a moment, sat down on one of the forms, and fixed his eyes earnestly on the preacher, who, full of hope and fervor, proceeded till he was persuaded he had touched their hearts, and struck the very chord of repentance and awakening; at that very moment a few of the audience gracefully took a pinch of snuff, then rose, bowed politely to the preacher, and walked out: ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour, was the term to which the patience of most of them extended; and the more self-denying ones, who sat to the end, found the tax on their politeness and piety so great, that they soon ceased to attend. A whole year he thus labored, with somewhat of the patience and baffled hope of Egede amidst the snows of Greenland.

Even when the Chinese came to hear, it was no easy matter to fix their attention. Some would be talking, others laughing at the newness of the things spoken; some smoking their pipes; others, on coming in and going out, would pass through the usual routine of their ceremony, as if in the temple of their own gods, before which nothing like reverence is ever seen: so that the whole scene was somewhat of a ludicrous and confused nature, One native only had as yet been baptized in Canton, and another in Malacca: there were several candidates for admission to Christianity; but it is evident that the more efficient way of doing good to this subtle and wary people, is to convince by degrees the understanding—to enlighten the mind; and the circulation of the Scriptures, &c. are more instrumental to this end than preaching. A manuscript, containing the Acts and some of Paul's epistles, translated at a former period by some Catholic missionary, had been useful to Morrison in his translations. The Nestorians, according to Dr. Mosheim and other historians, must have been in China for a period of more than eight hundred years. In the thirteenth century, the Roman Catholic church first extended its efforts to China. An embassy, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, was sent from Pope Nicholas IV. to the Tartars, and they are said to have erected churches in China. Francis Xavier had long and ardently contemplated the conversion of this country to the Christian faith; but he died in the midst of his hopes. Matthew Ricci, an Italian of the same order, penetrated China, preached the Catholic faith, and laid the foundation of the Romish church there. Much stress cannot be laid on any thing done for Christianity in this kingdom, since the days of Ricci. In the commencement of the seventeenth century, numbers of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans, arrived, and mingled with the gospel a great deal of the superstitions of their church, and the peculiarities of their respective orders.

In July, 1816, Dr. Morrison left Macao for Pekin, in the suite of Lord Amherst: after nine years' incessant study, his health was greatly improved by this journey, which afforded facilities of acquiring much historical information, as well as an acquaintance with the various dialects of the country.—While absent, his volume of Dialogues, Chinese and English, was printed. In June, 1817, Mr. and Mrs. Milne, their health declining, sailed for China, where he occupied himself in translating the book of Judges, having previously finished that of Joshua. The two friends, being once more brought together, jointly drew up some regulations for the future conduct of the Ultra-Ganges mission. The most important and interesting of these resolutions, was that of founding an Anglo-Chinese College. A friend having given four thousand Spanish dollars, a spot upon the missionary premises at Malacca was devoted to the erection. The foundation stone of this institution was laid in November, 1818, by Major Farquhar, late English resident and commandant of Malacca, in the presence of the Dutch governor of the colony, the Hon. I. Erskine, and others. The college stands in an open and airy situation, close to the western gate of the town, and commands a fine view of the roads, and of the sea. Besides a large library and hall, it contains accommodations for a number of students. The chief objects of this institution are, the cultivation of Chinese and English literature, and the diffusion of Christianity in the countries and islands which lie to the eastward of Pulo-Penang. It owes its origin to the indefatigable and generous Morrison, who has devoted the sum of one thousand pounds to the erection of the house, and has further promised one hundred pounds annually, during the first five years. The college is placed under the care of a president, a board of trustees, and a committee, who, with the concurrence of the founder, have the entire management of its affairs. The treasurer and secretary of the London Missionary

Society for the time being, are to be perpetual members of the board of trustees. The first topic of disputation given in the college of Fort William, was the following:—"It is easier to diffuse the literature and science of the western nations among the natives of India, by translating European books into their own tongue, than by instructing them in the European languages." The rising college was greatly indebted to the personal cares of Milne, who about this time received the gratuitous diploma of D. D. from the University of Glasgow. At the laying of the foundation stone, he delivered an admirable speech.

In the year 1819, he had to mourn the loss of his wife: left alone with several children, he applied with increased ardor to his studies, as the best relief to sorrow. In this year he finished the translation of the historical books of the Old Testament. His health now began to decline: the directors were desirous that he should seek a more propitious climate; he took a voyage to the Prince of Wales' Island, where, finding the heat too oppressive, the governor of Malacca sent the Nautilus to convey him home. He suffered extreme pain; but death came rapidly to his release, and, with great composure of mind, he yielded his life at the age of 37.

After the decease of his friend, Dr. Morrison paid a visit to England, where he earnestly sought to promote the cultivation of the Chinese language and literature, and gave instruction to several students. The prosperity of the Anglo-Chinese college, was the fervent desire of this learned and eminent man, who is considered to be the first Chinese scholar of his day. "The gospel," he observes in his address to the British public, "can be preached to this people, where tens and hundreds of thousands of them dwell under Christian Protestant governments, and under Malayan governments, which do not interfere to prevent instruction being given to the Chinese. In Java, there is a large population of the latter; as well as in the British settlements, and at Rhio, Borneo, and other places in the archipelago. It is not a field of labor that is wanting, but reapers to enter into, and labor in that field. The late Dr. Milne proved at Malacca, what has been proved every where else, that prejudices will give way to sincere benevolence, persevered in. The Chinese in Malacca, now allow their sons to be taught the principles of the Christian religion; and were proper teachers to make the experiment, they would allow their daughters also to receive instruction from Christian females. Reading, to a certain extent, may be considered as a common attainment throughout the whole of China, and in the colonies; also in Corea, Japan, Loochoo, and Cochin-China: this fact makes the press an important instrument."

On his return to China, this most valuable man resumed his various labors: he composed and printed three volumes, viz. an Introduction to the Reading of the Scriptures; an Epitome of Church history and Prophecy; and Aids to Devotion, taken from the English Liturgy. He has also undertaken a dictionary of the provincial dialect of Canton, which is now printing at the Honorable Company's press. Leang-a-fa, the native convert and preacher, has removed to a village 100 miles from Canton, where he seeks every opportunity to be useful to his countrymen.

The Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca has now twenty-six Chinese students; the senior students apply to Christian theology, mathematics, geography, and the English language; there are eight candidates for admission: the usual literary exercises and religious instruction are continued daily. Several works have issued from the college press, and others are in progress. Government allows 100 dollars a month in aid of this useful and interesting institution. Sir George Staunton, in addition to his former munificent donation, has placed another sum at the disposal of Dr. Morrison. Some of the students have executed translations of Chinese books into English, and of English works into their own language, which do them much credit.

"The students, in general," observes Morrison, "cheerfully read and commit to memory our books; and when we go out to speak to the people, they beg to be permitted to accompany and assist us: also, on the Thursday evenings, when we go to meet the people in the temple. Most of their leisure hours are spent with us. Should it please our gracious God to bring them to the knowledge of himself, what happy results might be expected from their labors!" In behalf of this institution, its learned and disinterested founder appeals not only to the public, but to men of science and literature: he justly considers it, not only as the chief agent to promote the diffusion of Christianity in China, but also to lay open the mine of the history, philosophy, and literature of that country. "While the propagation of the principles of Divine revelation is its final object, it is hoped that, by promoting the intellectual intercourse of Europe and eastern Asia, the temporal happiness of man will be advanced." The amount of subscriptions received in England for its support, in 1828, was £1202.

There are also two schools at Malacca, one Malay and one Tamul, under the care of the missionaries: both are supported by government. In the native female school, opened by Miss Newell, there are twenty pupils: under her excellent care, there is also a free school, which is patronized by Lady Garling, and contains seventy girls. This young lady, a relative probably of Harriet Newell, has published "An Abstract of Geography" for the use of her schools: she has also prepared twelve discourses, adapted to the circumstances and feelings of Indian children.

Singapore is a station, where there is a chapel, and regular preaching to the Malays and Chinese: the teachers enter the houses, temples, &c. and a spirit of inquiry is excited among the people; one of them, Mr. Tomlin, lately made a journey to Bankok, the capital of Siam, where he was well received: crowds of people thronged his apartments, to procure copies of the Chinese Scriptures and tracts, in his possession.

At Penang and Java, two promising stations, there is a general demand for the Scriptures in various languages—Arabic, Persian, &c. A fresh supply of Malay Bibles and Testaments was sent out. The Malay services on the Sabbath, and the schools, were well attended. The lithographic press, to which Mr. Medhurst has paid much attention, as being in every respect preferable to any other for works in the Eastern language, is now at work. At this press, some thousands of books have already been printed. A fount of Javanese types has also been executed, the expense of which was defrayed by Mr. Bruckner, formerly a missionary of the Society. The Ultra-Ganges mission, as it is called, has thus a very wide and arduous field of exertion, hitherto untried by any laborer.

While the life of Morrison is spared to this mission, a high and increasing interest will attend its progress: the zeal of his companions in the cause, is great—the success is slow, and painfully won: a few have followed Milne to an early grave.

MARTHA:

A

MEMORIAL OF AN ONLY AND BELOVED

SISTER.

BY REV. ANDREW REED,

AUTHOR OF "NO FICTION; A NARRATIVE FOUNDED ON FACT."

Very pleasant hast thou been unto me!
DAVID.

And yet once more I trust to have
Full sight of thee in heaven!
MILTON.

NEW-YORK:
THOMAS GEORGE, JR. 162 NASSAU STREET.

1835.

PREFACE.

When the subject of the following memoir was removed from all earthly intercourse, it became unconsciously the purpose of the writer, as soon as his mind could come to the employ, and before any of the lighter passages in the history should be lost, to bring together whatever might best illustrate her estimable character. Such a record seemed necessary to himself, since he could not allow any thing valuable to fade from his memory connected with a name so sacred to his thoughts; and it appeared desirable for his children, as he hoped it might supply them in future time with a fine example of excellence, and a strong relative motive to copy it into their lives and deportment.

If it is asked why the original purpose is now carried out into an act of *publication*, the author acknowledges that he has been influenced in coming to this decision, generally, by the opinion of those on whose opinion he can well rely; and especially by the hope that it might contribute to accomplish more extensively the earnest and latest desire of his beloved relation. Without the most distant anticipation of the measure now adopted, it was particularly her prayer, *that her death might be made useful;* and in fervently seeking to give the fullest effect to her devout wishes, he knew not of any means better suited to the object, than placing under the eye of others a correct delineation of her character.

Let it be understood, however, that the history is entirely of a *domestic class.* The author has no splendid incidents, no improbable reverses, no extraordinary circumstances to excite curiosity and hold attention. The life he records, if interesting at all, must be so, not from its dissimilarity, but from its resemblance to our own; the occurrences which vary it are of that simple and sober kind, that they abound in our daily enjoyments, and are familiar to our common existence. The same observation should be applied to the character he would describe. It is not intellectual so much as *moral;* and if intellectual, the mental endowments are only such as are ordinary and general, while they are successfully directed to high and extraordinary *moral* attainments.

If these explanations are given to prevent disappointment, the writer does not state them as disadvantages. They are rather, he conceives, favorable to his design. His memoir may not make so deep an impression, but it may make a *better* one. Were it his duty to record the most striking incidents, he might well fear lest, in the excitation and development of an intricate story, the lessons inseparable from it should be neglected. Were he about to fix the eye on the brilliancy of mental powers of unusual magnitude, he might suspect that his reader would be content to admire what he despaired to imitate. But as there is nothing to captivate the thoughts from the chief object, as there is nothing *extraordinary* but what is *attainable*, he would hope that the reader will readily feel, that what the deceased became he may be; and that, if he is not, it will be, not his fate, but his *fault.*

The author was convinced, that in portraying such a life, it would be utterly useless merely to make a chronological record of events and actions, or even to do no more than faithfully describe the leading features of character. He has been concerned to subordinate dates and occurrences to their moral effect; to trace the influence of circumstances on the passions and the judgment; to show, not only what the individual became, but to mark, step by step, the way in which she reached her spiritual elevation. And this object was not to be effected by a hasty sketch, or a few powerful strokes of the pencil. Patient exertion was indispensable. There must be stroke upon stroke, line upon line, touch upon touch, to reach progressively the full expression of a character at once energetic and delicate.

In fulfilling his design, it was unavoidable that allusion should be made to living names, and especially to the members of his family. He hopes, however, that though he has not written with the eye of the public upon him, he has in no case exceeded the limits of propriety. He can sincerely say he has always made such reference with reluctance, and never except where it appeared necessary to put the subject of his memoir in interesting and useful lights. Had he taken more liberty in this way, the narrative would certainly have approached nearer to what he desired to render it. After this statement, he is ready to believe every candid mind will justify his intentions, even if it should be thought, in the fulness of the heart, more has been said than is meet.

He now commits his little work to the hands of those with whom he has found favor beyond his highest expectations; anxiously breathing at the footstool of Him who has all hearts in his disposal, the prayer of his relative—*that He would render her life and her death useful—eminently useful.* Particularly he commends it to the kindly notice of those who are of the same sex and similar age.—Their character is *soon* formed: much depends on *how* it is formed. Woman, like the snow from heaven, is the fairest thing we know when fair; the foulest when debased and polluted.

MARTHA.

CHAPTER I.

INFANCY. 1793—1800.

READER—Permit the writer to detain your attention one moment. He is unwilling that your eye should pass to the ensuing narrative with the indifference of a stranger, or the cold curiosity of a critic. He is about to introduce you, more or less, to a retired domestic circle, and especially to an acquaintance with one of its members, with whom he is disposed to think you cannot have communion without being made the wiser and the happier. In thus welcoming you as an inmate of his humble family, and placing before you whatever in the character and life of a beloved relative, may contribute to gratify or to benefit, he affords a sincere pledge of his friendship; and, in return, he anxiously solicits the exercise of a kindly sympathy and reposing confidence. Perhaps you possessed a treasure as dear to you as his, and have lost it; or perhaps you still hold such a one, and tremble at the idea of its removal: in either case the sympathy he desires will already have existence. And though, by a mere possibility, neither circumstance may apply to you, the pleadings of our common humanity will be, he would think, too powerful to withhold confidence where confidence is given, or to disrespect those sufferings which sooner or later "all flesh is heir to." In this assurance, then, he will pour his words as into the ear of a friend, expecting friendship for friendship, joy for joy, and tear for tear.

My dear sister was born on the 2d of June, 1793, and named Martha, after the late Mrs. Hamilton, of Brighton; a lady endeared to my mother by the intimacies of a lengthened friendship, and who was so happy in conciliating general opinion, that her friends were accustomed to say, by a forced application of Scripture, she was obnoxious to that wo, which is expressed against those who are followed by the voice of universal approbation.

At this time I was somewhat more than five years of age; and was well prepared to receive my new relation with open arms of love. I had, about a twelvemonth previously, lost an infant brother, who had been so repeatedly talked of by my parents, in terms of tenderness and regret, that I felt as if I had lost every thing in losing him. When, therefore, "a little sister" was announced to me, I seemed restored to a world of happiness; and I was most earnest in begging to see and possess my undefined treasure.

At length I was told that my prayer was granted —that I was to see my sister; an assurance capable of producing such powerful emotions, as subsided in an impression of the event which my memory still retains, and will ever retain. The very attempt to record it, brings it to my mind with a vividness and a force, which for many years I have not realized. I am carried back to an apartment familiar to my days of childhood. I appear to see the door open, and the nurse enter with her tender charge resting on her bosom. I follow her to her seat, and take my place at her knees, impatient to behold an object of which I had I know not what conceptions. What sensations I felt, as the nurse prepared to unfold the delicate coverings in which it was wrapped! With what a full heart of satisfaction I first looked on its half hidden face! How I trembled as I pressed the soft and unresisting flesh of its little arm!

The earliest impressions which I remember to have received from my sister's own conduct, were entirely favorable to those I had derived from her birth, and are connected with the second and third years of her life. About this time, our parents judged it necessary, for the preservation of our health, to remove us from their habitation, which was in the confined neighborhood of Temple-bar, before the adoption of the recent improvements. We were therefore placed at Highgate, under the care of a nurse; who, like most of her class, was notable, industrious, and attentive to the outward wants and comforts of her children; but who, with intervening fits of fondness, was really sharp-tempered; and who, whether kind or severe, was never prepared to exercise, what children most need, and in the end most desire, *impartial justice*. Her treatment was never the fruit of reflection on the different characters and tempers of children; it sprang from the caprice of the moment, or from the settled preferences of a selfish attachment.

It happened, from whatever cause, that my sister succeeded in gaining the partialities of this good woman; and, of course, I lost them. I was not long in painfully ascertaining the extent of my loss.—We were constantly put in opposition to each other. She was the "good girl," and I was "the troublesome, mischievous boy." I was sometimes corrected on her account, when my heart told me I was not in fault; and she was caressed unduly, that I might feel more the bitterness of neglect. I was uniformly made subservient to her; if she cried, I was forced to amuse her; if she desired my toys, I was obliged to surrender them; if any thing was to be enjoyed, she was to be first and chiefly consulted; till I was in danger of concluding, that in order to make her happy, it was necessary to render me miserable.

To those who are interested in the education of children, it will at once appear that our moral dispositions were placed, at this early period, in a perilous state of trial. I had hitherto considered my sister as a part of my happiness, as an enlargement of myself; and my enjoyments, of whatever kind, had seldom yielded me their full amount of pleasure, unless she was made, as she could, to participate. But now the thoughtless conduct of our nurse awakened within me passions, of which I had not been conscious. I was disposed to look on my sister's gratifications with jealousy, as they usually robbed me of mine. Her interests and mine appeared, not only separate, but contrary. I felt uneasy in the society of her I loved above all human beings; and to avoid rebukes, and sacrifices, and humiliations, I was inclined, though reluctantly, to avoid her.

Happily, my sister seemed more prepared to meet this little crisis in our infantile friendship than myself. On a temper more vain, or more selfish, it might undoubtedly have produced the most baneful effects; but her affection supplied her already with a weapon to resist and subdue them. My previous fondness towards her, had sunk into her susceptible heart; and as soon as she perceived that her pleasures were to be purchased at the price of my comfort, she began to hesitate in demanding them.—Nothing the nurse could do to gratify her at my expense, would secure her approbation, or influence her to abandon her brother in sorrow and disgrace. She would often restore the toy which, at her own hasty request, had been too rudely snatched away; she would take her little stool, and seat herself quietly by me when I was in distress, and refused to

be comforted, unless I was to be comforted likewise; she would gaze on my face, and, throwing her arms round my neck, would kiss away the tear which hung on my cheek; she would boldly plead my cause against her friend and my judge; and insist again and again with her sweet lisping tongue, (I think I hear it now!) that I was a *good boy*. In these generous exercises, she preserved my affection and strengthened her own; and though it was very undesirable, that so early our loves should be thus exposed to trial, certainly it ended in mutual advantage.

The eye of a parent is remarkably searching. There was nothing in the treatment we received which a general observer would not have approved —nothing of which our parents could decidedly complain; yet there was enough to cherish uneasiness and dissatisfaction. There was not that appearance of content, and cheerfulness, and unconstrained familiarity which they had been accustomed to see in us. The uneasiness of the child was quickly communicated to the heart of the parent. Confidence in our nurse was shaken; and we were restored to the society of our natural and best protectors.

When Martha was about five years of age, it was again found desirable to afford us the advantage of a freer and purer air. We were therefore situated with a friend at Mitcham in Surrey, with whom, excepting some intervals in the winter seasons, we continued for a considerable time. I have a distinct remembrance of the days that passed over us at this place; childhood can have few to boast of happier than they.

We were no longer in circumstances to tempt the bad passions into exercise. The hours not engaged by the duties of our separate schools, were spent together; we were nearly each other's sole companions. Martha naturally looked to me as her brother and senior. She thought herself safe in my protection, and aspired to partake of my more robust amusements. With me she spun the top, trundled the hoop, and taught the kite to fly on the wings of the wind. With me she chased the butterfly, surmounted the stile and hedge, and wandered from cornfield to cornfield, collecting gay flowers; and at last returning home, each other's king and queen, crowned with the garlands our busy fingers had weaved.

Fancy, too, had her reign; and active pursuits would be resigned for those which were more pensive. When the summer shower has been falling, we have sat gazing up into heaven, till we thought we saw it sprinkled from the hands of angels, and have run out to the garden that it might fall on us. Often have we sat beneath the elm trees, while the glorious sun was setting, imagining his rays, broken as they were by the branches and foliage, to be a thousand separate stars, and amused ourselves in a vain attempt to number them. We have wandered far from home; and penetrating the copse-wood, and burying ourselves in the leaves, have represented the babes in the wood, till we reproached the birds for not bringing us blackberries. We have made to ourselves wings, and flown to every part of the earth with which we had any acquaintance; we travelled to the edge of the world (which we could never think of but as a plain,) and have shuddered to look down into nothing. We told over again the tales of the nursery, and have invented, if possible, many things more marvellous.

What joys have been ours in the midst of these childish engagements! Free from care and from fear, we desired nothing, we regretted nothing. We were a little world to ourselves, and were happy in mutual possession. We forgot "all that was before or after," in the plenitude of enjoyment the present moment bestowed.

It may readily be supposed that this entire community of thought, occupation, and amusement was of advantage to us both. Separate from its opening to us a fund of pleasure for the passing time, it placed us in the most attractive lights to each other. It gave us each an object to love; and furnished, however unconsciously, the opportunity and means of establishing our affection.

What was the full amount of benefit arising to my sister from this intercourse must be inferred from her general history, rather than from any particular illustrations; of the benefits derived from her character and attachment to myself I think I can speak with greater precision. How high soever the gratifications we found in our innocent, healthful, and sometimes pensive amusements, I am conscious of having possessed a higher and deeper source of pleasure in my love of her. Frequently in the very hey-day of my enjoyments, I have involuntarily paused to gaze on her with a heart full of sweet sentiments. Memory still supplies me with the image of what she then was. Her lively and affectionate blue eyes, her rosy and smiling cheeks, her open and fair countenance, her golden locks resting on her shoulders—her whole form, ornamented with the white frock and streaming broad sash, such as I have seen it tripping over the green, or reposing in the shadow of a tree, is still before me!

I can imagine, likewise, that her greater susceptibility, arising partly from her character and partly from her sex, was equally advantageous. The boy who associates only with boys, is in danger of becoming cruel and obstreperous. The mother and the sister are wisely prepared to soften and restrain the manly propensities from running into vicious excess. This influence is rather uniform than striking—rather effectual than palpable! but as my memory supplies me with an instance, which may assist me in throwing out the character I am seeking to delineate, I do not scruple to record it.

I was not long mixed with the school boys of a country village, before I acquired a taste for birds-nesting; a taste in the mind of an active and inquisitive boy, remarkably keen and powerful. At first, I did not think of rifling the nest; the discovery of an object so artfully concealed was abundant gratification; afterward the eggs, so beautifully colored and marked, became an overpowering temptation; while I satisfied myself in this trespass, by vowing I would never commit the greater offence of disturbing a nest of young and helpless birds. When I had advanced so far, I was anxious to divide this pursuit, as I did every other, with my sister; but could never succeed. Her discountenance made me think, and whenever I thought about it I felt, it was a needless cruelty.

It happened, however, in one of our rambles, that my eye fell upon a nest without seeking it. There were several young ones in it. I thought of nothing but showing them to my sister. I seized the nest, scrambled down through the bushes, and held it before her. She was not pleased, as I expected; she could not help admiring them; but the tear stood in her eyes; she blamed me, and entreated me to restore them. I assured her, as I believed, that the parent birds would never return to them, and that it would be cruel to expose them to starve. We, therefore, carried them home, determined to do our very best for their preservation. But the little creatures were now dependent on skilless though kind protectors. They languished and died; but her distress and her kindness, through this little event, made one of those deep impressions on my heart which contribute so largely to the formation of

character; and which, could they be often traced, would be found frequently to arise from occurrences equally trivial. To her

"Whose heart, from cruel sport estranged, would bleed,
To work the wo of any living thing,"

I probably owe it, that, at this moment, I cannot willingly set my foot upon a worm, nor rob a harmless bird of its life or of its liberty.

CHAPTER II.

EDUCATION. 1793—1803.

It was the inestimable privilege of my sister to be the offspring of considerate and pious parents. If they rejoiced at her birth in receiving another pledge of the Divine mercy, they trembled also under the reflection that another immortal spirit was committed to their charge for which they were to be responsible. This conviction mixed sobriety with their gladness, and prayer with their hopes.

No sooner had the anguish of the mother, the excitement of the father, passed away, than their infant child was, with prayers and thanksgiving, dedicated to the Being who gave it. Without any unnecessary loss of time, this act of dedication was renewed and confirmed in the solemn ordinance of baptism, adoring, as they did, the Father of every good and perfect gift for an institution which recognised them in their *parental relationships;* and earnestly imploring that the appointed and visible seal of the covenant might be accompanied by its rich and invisible grace. These prayers were a thousand and a thousand times repeated in the regular exercises of the closet, the family, and the sanctuary; nor was this always found sufficient for the anxieties and tenderness of a pious parent. I can well remember, on several occasions, seeing my father walk the room with his beloved daughter lying in his arms. I have marked his lifted eye, his moving lips, and his more measured tread. Child as I was, they told me that he was in prayer. I recollect nothing at this period that gave me such an elevated idea of my father's goodness as this act, performed, as he evidently thought it was, without a witness. Thus was he commending one child to the blessing of heaven, and opening the passages to the heart of another for the blessing he had already so often solicited!

Martha's parents were honest in their prayers and unsophisticated in their religious views; to pray and to act with them, therefore, if not the same, were yet inseparable things. They believed with bishop Sanderson (it is the creed of common sense) that prayer without exertion is presumption, and that exertion without prayer is atheism; and they resolved to adopt the best means to realize their own devout desires.

The routine of school education they were obliged to trust in other hands; but they spared neither inquiry nor expense in securing for so important a trust hands that were most worthy. It was a family maxim, often repeated that it might never be broken, that a good education was a fortune a child could never spend, and a parent could always bestow. Filial gratitude is powerfully excited in recalling the many sacrifices and determined self-denial that were necessary in doing justice to this maxim; a maxim which had descended from my maternal grandfather, the only shred by which his name now fastens to my memory. So does the very record of man hasten to decay! And so may one wise and practical saying arrest it in its course to oblivion, and render it a blessing to posterity.

By obtaining assistance for one branch of education, our parents did not consider themselves relieved from that responsibility which nature and nature's God imposed upon them. A general superintendence of our entire education, and an especial regard to our moral and religious instruction, were duties which they felt they could not, and would not if they could, have transferred to others. With hands so full as theirs, and with their children so frequently removed from their care, even these duties were very difficult of performance; but a ready mind was theirs, and it is surprising what this may accomplish. This is not the mind which refuses to do any thing because it cannot do all it desires; it is the mind that does at once, and cheerfully, what it can; and which was honored by the commendation of incarnate wisdom.

To do well under many disadvantages what it is not easy to do under most favorable circumstances, is an achievement which invites inquiry, and promises to reward it. I shall therefore indulge in a few brief observations on the course pursued by our excellent parents, so far as my memory will assist to retrace it, and they shall be found relevant to the present design.

It was a rule with them to *begin early.* My sister, I am persuaded, could not recur to the time when first religion was presented to her notice. From the cradle she was taught to lift her hands in prayer, and behave with seriousness in the house of God; and from a child she was made to know the Holy Scriptures. Our parents knew how soon soever they attempted to occupy the heart with the good seed of the kingdom, they should find it pre-occupied by an enemy who scattereth tares. They revered the sacredness and mysteries of religion, but they saw nothing in these which forbade them to explain divine truth to the infant mind. They did not urge their children into those depths where the elephant may swim; they led them to those shallows where the lamb may stand and drink, and be refreshed. They rejoiced in that Goodness which had supplied a food on which, like the manna of the wilderness, the infant might thrive and the man be invigorated. They admired that Wisdom which had made truth familiar to us by narrative, by parable, and by fable; which had even imbodied and *brought it near* to us in the humanity of the Saviour; so that the understanding and the heart, in their feeblest state, might be interested. They were concerned to imitate this condescension; and no one can judge how easily they succeeded but by making the experiment.

Our parents *always dwelt on a few governing principles in our education.* It is readily admitted that they had not those comprehensive views of education which are now happily possessed by most intelligent parents of the same class. But if their plans had less of philosophy in them, they had more of religion; if they described a smaller circle, they described it the oftener; and, after all, RELIGION AND REPETITION are the soul of education. Of religious truths they choose the simplest and most influential. It was their effort to bring their children at once into communion with their Maker. The existence, the justice, the goodness, and the presence of the Divine Being, as they bear upon our circumstances of weakness, guilt, and temptation, and as they provide for us abundant salvation, were the sentiments on which they insisted, and by which they sought to enlighten the mind, impress the conscience, and govern the conduct. They thus prepared a good foundation on which to build; and if they did not raise the superstructure so high, nor throw around it so much of ornament as might be desirable, they succeeded infinitely better than those who, with unmeasured pains and skill, trust to social claims, worldly prudence, and metaphysical theory for the formation of character. The one

builds rudely perhaps—but it is upon a rock; the other builds magnificently—but it is upon sand!

They were also remarkable for *seizing all occasions to carry forward the work of education.* This arose partly from their limited opportunities—knowing them to be few, they were eager to embrace them all; and partly from having minds always awake to the importance of religion and the welfare of their children. They did not indeed moralize, and task their children to wearisomeness, nor did they so mingle serious things with worldly intercourse as to soil their purity; but they employed the present emotion, and the passing event, to make a lasting and good impression. The conduct of others, the pains and wants of the body, the comforts and vexations of life, with endless other circumstances, were used, as they were under the attention of their children, to give and to fix the moral or pious lesson on the heart.

To parents so circumstanced, the *Sabbath* is of unspeakable value; and in this instance the opportunities it afforded were well appreciated and employed. The whole family welcomed its arrival and regretted its departure. It was a day that yielded more of rest and of comfort, and of domestic intercourse and affection, than any other; and about our parents there was an alacrity and cheerfulness in meeting its duties which induced us to think there was a charm in them, when we were not otherwise sensible of it. My mind returns to few things in childhood with more pleasure than many of the Sabbath evenings of that period, which Martha and myself commonly spent with our father.

At these seasons we were required to repeat what we could remember of the public services; we then went through our catechetical exercises; and at the end of these we generally took our places, my sister on the lap, and myself between the knees, of our beloved parent. His countenance, naturally grave, would wear a serene smile; and he would enter into familiar conversation with us, answering our questions or proposing his own. We then chose a hymn and he sang it with us; we thought no one could sing so sweetly. Afterward he would caress us, and smile upon us, and frequently he would close by pressing us nearer to his side, and saying, with a feeling we could not then understand, "God Almighty bless ye, my children!" By this time our mother usually joined us. We talked and sang afresh. It was an hour of gladness. Our parents embraced us, and we embraced each other. At such a moment there was but one thing that could heighten our joy: it was simply to hear our father say, "Well, my dear, I should like the children to stay up and sup with us to-night." If these words were uttered, whose parents were so good as ours! or what children so happy!

It would be needless to add, did not its pre-eminent importance require it to be placed in a prominent light, that *they were concerned to sustain all their instructions by their own example.* Children are astonishingly quick in observing how far their teachers are influenced by the lessons they give. It is in vain that we point them to an upward, narrow, and forbidding path, if we are walking in a broad, flowery, and fascinating one; it is in vain that we enforce the necessity of humility and self-denial, if we are slaves to sense and selfishness. They will see through the hypocrisy, and are in danger, in their turn, of becoming either hypocrites or infidels.

Our parents exposed their children to no such perils. They did not attempt to worship God and Mammon. They did not mix up with the Sabbath worldly pleasures and vain conversation, and then expect their children to "remember to keep it holy." They did not treat the name and character of the minister with levity or rudeness, and then wonder that their children were not impressed by his ministrations. They did not lend their tongues to plead for a religion of humility and charity, while they cherished in their hearts envy, hatred, and pride. No; they were sincere and decided in their profession. They renounced from their hearts what it was right their children should renounce; and pursued with their might what they exhorted them to pursue. They pointed to heaven, and led the way. In their busiest pursuit of worldly things, it was apparent that they were animated by dearer hopes than earth could either inspire or gratify.

It will readily be concluded, that such prayers, such exertions, and such example could not have been without their influence; it now remains to ascertain the amount and character of this influence on the mind of my sister, while yet a child.

At this early period she was remarkable for *an enlightened state of the conscience.* She was quick to mark vice and inconsistency; and in the earlier part of her childhood, while to feel and to speak were the same thing, she would at once express herself to the offending party: so that the swearer and Sabbath-breaker have been confused by her reproof. Her conscience was active when it could not decide on the presence of evil; and in noticing those dubious actions which she had too much light to approve, and too little to condemn, she would be constantly applying to her parents with the questions—Is that right? Is he a good man? Can he love God?

Her conscience was equally faithful with herself; she would easily detect her faults, and in most cases acknowledge them with great ingenuousness of disposition. On one occasion, the servant who was intrusted with taking her to chapel resolved to give the time to pleasure; she amused and treated Martha till she thought her more than reconciled to the act of disobedience; but the first sight of her mother revived the subdued sense of wrong, and, much to the servant's vexation, she ran to her lap, burst into tears, and told every thing that had occurred, taking to herself a full share of the offence.

What is of yet greater consequence, she was thus early in the habit of confessing her faults in private and voluntary prayer. Prayer was certainly less irksome to her than to most children, and it became indispensable to her peace when her conscience reproached her with having done wrong. In a letter which I possess, afterward written to some children, she states, that when she was "a very little girl," if she had committed any fault, she used to confess it to God, and pray that she might be made sorry for it, and do it no more.

Martha had, at this period, a vivid sense of the *Divine Omnipresence.* This impression was likely to be made by her general religious instruction; but I ascribe its clearness and power to one of those happy and beneficial Sabbath evening exercises which have been already noticed. Our father generally confined his conversations to one subject, that our attention might not be dissipated; and on this evening he chose the universal presence of Deity. He read to us the 139th Psalm. He explained and enforced it in its practical tendencies. Afterward we sung a part of it in the version of Dr. Watts. We were much interested. We proposed many curious questions on a subject so incomprehensible; but our anxious instructer gave them all a practical direction. Martha was particularly affected; and the impression remained on her. She committed the Psalm to memory; and she was constantly making allusion to its prevailing sentiment; she would sometimes name it as a consolation to her parents; and a considerable time af-

ter she had received the impression, she employed it to reprove me. I was hastened to bed, and had forgotten to say my prayers; she told me of the omission, and admonished me by adding—"Remember, brother, God sees you!"

I cannot but think that this sentiment, thus deeply fixed in her mind, exerted a great moral power on her conduct; that it delivered her from the meanness of hypocrisy, and many other temptations incident to childhood. I would not venture to say that, as a child, she was free from deceit, falsehood, or pilfering; but undoubtedly she was superior in these respects to most children I have known; and to what can this with such propriety be referred as to the conviction that she was not acting merely in the presence of beings on whose ignorance or credulity she could often impose, but under the eye of a Being who saw every thing, who saw it as it really was, and with whom, therefore, it was as foolish as it was wicked to attempt deception?

Nothing, however, seemed more uniformly to attract her regard than the display of the *Divine goodness*. On these her parents frequently discoursed; and on these, a temper so susceptible and generous as hers was likely to dwell with particular pleasure. This goodness, as it is familiarized to the tenderest mind in the incarnation and history of the Saviour, was most engaging. She preferred this record of infinite compassion to all other books, and to all other parts of the Bible. She would prevail with me to read portions of it to her, and more frequently peruse them intently herself; and it was seldom done without an expression of sympathy, either by the tear that started into her eye, or the admiring exclamation, "How good he was, brother! How good he was!"

So fully, at times, did these sentiments possess her, that she was not seldom employed in attempting to make others as happy with them as she felt herself to be. I remember to have been present when she had a little party of friends, and when she could not have been more than eight years of age. Not of my sex nor age, I was among them rather as an idle boy than as a playfellow. When they were somewhat fatigued, and my sister was at a loss to present them with fresh amusement, she sat down in the midst of them, and spontaneously began talking about the goodness of Jesus Christ; she touched on the most prominent events in his life with such simplicity and animation of countenance as interested all her visiters, and her brother likewise; and the remainder of the evening was spent in singing those hymns, and talking of those characters in Scripture history, which are usually favorites with children. I introduce this trifling incident merely to show how the subject occupied her youthful thoughts; and it may well be supposed that they would impart tenderness and elevation to a mind already so susceptible.

Let it not be concluded, that, in thus illustrating the effects of religious instruction on my sister's opening life, I am claiming for her the unquestionable evidences of genuine piety. Piety can assuredly be known to us only by settled and tried character; these cannot be the growth of childhood; favorable symptoms at this period should therefore be entertained, with gratitude and hope indeed, but still with caution. I have traced them as the legitimate fruits of an education which, whatever may have been its deficiencies, was begun, and continued, and ended in the fear of God; of an education which respected principles more than accomplishments, and a future life more than the present.

Nor must I bring the sketch to a close without observing, that this course of education brought as many benefits to the parents as to the child. Like all other children, Martha gave her parents occasional concern; but the tenor of her mind was marked by confidence, affection, and obedience. They are persuaded that, though naturally amiable, nothing produced this equally with the religious character of their instructions. They insisted on love and obedience as *due to God*, and this included all that was due to themselves. Had they selfishly only enforced the lesser duties, they might have realized neither; but have gone down to the grave in sorrow. They honored the God they served, and He honored them. They passed through many trials, but they have not had the bitterness of beholding any one of their children turning aside from a religious profession to the paths of vice and folly. And now that they are "old and gray-headed," and are "as those who watch for the coming of their Lord," I have it in charge from them to state, as their matured conviction, that if the means used for the religious benefit of our children do ultimately fail, it must generally arise either from want of skill or fidelity; for He is true who has said, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

CHAPTER III.

IMPRESSIONS. 1803—1809.

The constitution of society, like the waters of a river, is constantly varying; and all its variations are marked by the bestowment and recession of peculiar advantages. Whatever may be the improvements of the present period, certainly we have gained nothing in our domestic attachments. Relative affection is the fruit of familiar and long-continued intercourse: but now, either from custom or necessity, it too commonly happens, that the parent and the child, the brother and the sister, see little of each other during a season in which the heart is most alive to sympathy, and in which if the seeds of love are not sown, they will either not spring up at all, or afford a late and sickly plant, neither lovely nor serviceable. Hence we have so little of fraternal attachment and filial devotion; so poor a remembrance of the natal days and principal events of a family; so few of those domestic meetings which, once in the year at least, brought all the relatives together from the venerable grandsire down to the rosy babe of the third generation; and which, by anticipation or review, shed something of their gladness and exhilaration on all the intervening periods of life.

I allude to this change the more feelingly, because, at this moment, I am sensible of having suffered by it. Our parents had succeeded, against many forbidding circumstances, to keep my sister and myself mostly together during the earlier part of childhood, and had thus knit our hearts together in love; now, however, our separation, more or less for some years, was inevitable. I was, therefore, deprived of opportunity to observe the progress of her character as I was becoming more fit for the work; and must be content to reduce a considerable term in her brief life within narrow limits, when otherwise it might have furnished lengthened and profitable detail.

Prior to this date, our family had removed to Chiswell-street, Finsbury Square; and as the situation was more open, our parents determined to keep the younger children beneath their eye. Martha, therefore, enjoyed their care and society for several years without interruption, and they enjoyed in her all the satisfaction which an affectionate and improving child can bestow. At the same time, her education was committed to a lady, who, not content with imparting the ordinary instruc-

tions, watched sedulously over the religious welfare of her pupils. Under such circumstances, it is supposing the least to say, that Martha's sympathies towards the objects by which they had been awakened did not diminish. More than this I might perhaps say from my own observation, as I still had occasional opportunities of intercourse with her, and was concerned to make a serious use of them; becoming as I was, at this period, interested in the things of an invisible world more than I had previously been.

Some of the children in the school to which Martha was now attached were in the habit of attending a catechetical exercise, conducted by Mr. John Scott, a gentleman well known as a blameless elder of the tabernacle, and a partner in the firm of a respectable banking-house in the city, but still better known and loved as the kind and devoted friend of children. They were eager in pressing Martha to join them in their attendance on this condescending instructer; and Martha was as eager in applying to her parents for permission so to do. Always desirous of promoting by any means the spiritual benefit of their child, and having no similar exercise in the churches to which they respectively belonged, they readily met her request, and lost no time in procuring for her ■ necessary introduction.

My sister was now twelve years of age; and the period requires to be marked, as it is associated with some strong and abiding impressions. The lessons to which she had often attended were enforced by a new voice, clothed with happy illustrations, and commended by manners both serious and gentle; and they made a fuller and deeper entry into her mind. Nothing clave to her memory so readily as the instructions of her beloved teacher; and the animation with which she would frequently repeat his striking remarks and beautifully simple representations of Divine truth, sufficiently evinced how well she perceived and felt them. In after-life she was accustomed to refer to these as having assisted her to think rightly on many practical points in religion; and the name of Scott never passed her lips without expressions indicative of high esteem and filial love.

The possession and the bestowment of happiness in a spirit active and affectionate as Martha's, were identified; it was, therefore, an immediate inquiry, how she might make others to share in her pleasure and profit. It was not long before she found means of reply. She had risen into the good opinion and confidence of her governess, and was sometimes employed as a sort of monitor over the younger children. These she induced to prepare their tasks once a week in less than the allotted period; and the surplus time was occupied by repeating and urging on their attention as much of Mr. Scott's address as she could remember. They liked the exercise—it was not an imposed task. Their mistress either connived at or approved it. It became more frequent; and that it might be less open to disturbance, they used to retire into a closet which was attached to the school-room.

Martha was often thrown on her own resources, small as they were; nor did they prove less acceptable to her little auditors. On referring to these engagements only a few months since, she remarked—"What I said to the children I have no idea. It was usually about religion and the Saviour. I was very earnest, and sometimes burst into tears, and not uncommonly we all wept together." How far these tears were the pledges of real benefit it is not needful to determine. It is, however, worthy of passing record, that several of the children who thus associated with her are now sustaining a consistent profession of godliness; and one of the number, with whom she was especially intimate, is the worthy and pious partner of an excellent minister in the Baptist denomination.

As her understanding expanded, Martha took an increasing interest in the public discourses of the ministry. She had hitherto found pleasure principally in the conversations of her parents, and in those addresses which were especially directed to children; but now, as she obtained power to connect the parts and comprehend the designs of a sermon, she felt herself profited, and the sense of profit afforded gratification. She became an attentive hearer of the word preached, and commenced ■ practice which she afterwards continued, of noting, either on the Sabbath or on the ensuing day, what she could recollect of the discourses to which she had attended. The specimens of this practice which I have by me are proofs of ■ diligent hand and retentive memory.

There are some brief passages in life to which the interest of years is given; in which impressions are made of a nature so powerful as to contribute largely in shaping the character and influencing the pursuits of the individual. One of these important periods it is now necessary to observe. It happened that Martha, in her fifteenth year, and in her accustomed attendance on the instituted means of grace, heard a sermon by the Rev. William Allen, then of Exeter, on *the devices of Satan*. The sermon was of course solemn and admonitory. She had probably heard many such before; but she had not been similarly affected by them. She had admired the preacher rather than thought of herself; she had been gratified rather than concerned. Now, however, truth was presented in new and convincing lights: she felt that there was something to be known of which she was ignorant: and her mind was urged, by its own uneasiness, to reflection.

Hitherto Martha's mind had been free from any continued uneasiness on religious accounts. She had been nurtured on the bosom of parental piety; her education had restrained her from many of the faults common to childhood; she rejoiced in the exercise of filial love and obedience; her sensibility sympathized with the affecting portion of Scripture history; her temper was cheerful, joyous, and unsuspicious: what wonder, then, if she had hastily concluded that she knew all it was necessary to know, felt all it was needful to feel, and did all it was requisite to do?

If any thing occasionally disturbed this state of self-satisfaction, it was the often-reiterated admonition of her anxious and beloved parents:—"Remember, my dear, *profession* is not *possession; pious education* is not *piety*—the *form* of godliness will never save you." These exhortations had fixed themselves in her memory, while her mind was unprepared to appreciate them; but, now that her eye was turned inwardly upon herself, they rose to her clothed with an importance they had never worn before, and gave force to those convictions of which she was so entirely the subject.

Martha's principal deficiency had been the want of self-inspection—a defect that is never supplied but by religious influence. She had mourned over an evil temper, and confessed the criminality of ■ wrong action; but she had not inquired into the motives and principles of conduct; she had admitted the truth of our general depravity, but she had not realized it. And now that she was disposed to a sincere examination of her heart, she was surprised and pained at the discoveries which were made to her. In bringing her thoughts, her motives, and her affections to ■ high, holy, and spiritual standard—a standard she had not before comprehended—she found that the least offence, the least defect, exposed her to condemnation. She was constrained to admit that she had sinned, and

come short of the glory of God; that, however well she might have thought of herself, or her connections have thought of her, she was "by nature a child of wrath even as others." She awoke as from a profound sleep; she had dreamed of peace and security, but she was awakened by the stings of an accusing serpent coiling round her heart.

These discoveries, in the first instance, were not acceptable to her mind. She could not welcome a light that revealed only forbidden objects; she could not at once throw up the hope and confidence in which she trusted; she was unwilling to allow that all her actions and thoughts partook "of the nature of sin;" and she considered it hard to exact a perfect obedience from imperfect creatures. The vague and general ideas she had of the Divine Mercy, and the way in which her susceptible mind had dwelt upon it almost exclusively, tempted her to consider it unsuitable for God to condemn for one offence as for many, and to connect with all offence a punishment as lasting as existence. She was anxious to abandon these sentiments; but Scripture and an enlightened conscience forced them upon her. Her mind was fretted, disappointed, mortified. She was disposed to complain of the Divine Providence, to think of God as an austere master and a severe judge; to say to the sovereign Ruler of the universe, "What doest thou?—why hast thou made me thus?"

This check to the current of penitential sorrow only increased its strength to overcome all resistance. Every day spiritual truth stood out to her view with distincter light and with greater prominency. The very dispositions which perplexed her were employed to fix those convictions on her mind which she was so desirous to reject. In proportion as the irritation of her thoughts yielded to reflection, she was astonished and confounded to find the temper of her mind in opposition to the government of God—a Being she had thought she so truly loved. She found she had been loving and trusting a creature of her own imagination, and not the God of the Scriptures; that while she thought God altogether such a one as herself, she admired and approved; but when he became her reprover, and set her sins in order before her eyes, she was disposed to resist, to fight, to rebel. The truth burst upon her like a revelation. "The carnal mind is enmity against God; it is not subject to the law of God; neither, indeed, can it be!" The majesty, the forbearance, the purity, the mercy of God—the pride, the unbelief, the rebellion of her spirit, were all apparent to her. She cordially justified God, and condemned herself; she sank before the eternal throne, shedding the overflowing tears of generous contrition and godly sorrow. Hers was now the spirit and the language of the enlightened and humbled patriarch: "I had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes: behold I am vile!"

Now came the great, the momentous question—What shall I do to be saved? The question and the reply had often been brought to her thoughts in the course of a religious education; but they had not been rightly understood and valued. They had been in her memory like a prescription in the hands of a healthy man, unnoticed or disesteemed. To estimate the doctrine of salvation, it must be desired—desired above all things, from a conviction of its indispensable necessity. She now found herself to be in a state of imminent peril; she was alive to a sense of her helplessness in attempting her own deliverance; she felt herself in the condition of the disciple sinking amid the opening waves, and ready to perish; and her eye looked eagerly for an object to which she might attach her dying hopes, and from which she might bring peace to her troubled spirit.

To possess the theory of religion only is of high advantage. It is possessing the escape-ladder, which, though it may never have been used, is always ready for use when the hour of distress shall arrive. Thousands, from their ignorance of divine truth, have to inquire for the means of salvation when they should be intent only on their application. They are aware of their danger, but know not where their help is to be found; and they remain in a state of most fearful distress, if they are not precipitated into overwhelming despair.

From these perplexities Martha did not suffer. In the ruin of her existing hopes, she knew where her only, her last dependance must rest, and her eye turned spontaneously to that Saviour who is the hope and consolation of Israel. With this object her mind had been familiarized for many years; but it is important to mark the fresh lights in which it was now contemplated. Before, it was the Saviour's gentleness of temper, the benevolence of his heart, the innocence of his life, the distress of his circumstances, or the agonies of his final hours, that called forth her sympathy, while the more exalted parts of his character rested behind a veil which she had little desire to remove. Now, however, it was on these her thoughts most earnestly dwelt. The Saviour as Mediator; his engagements for man's redemption; his authority to forgive sins; his power to propitiate Divine justice, and bring near to us the infinite Mercy; his conquest over our spiritual foes, and his bestowment of a renewing, sanctifying spirit—these were the particulars in his character and work which were felt to be so needful to her condition. She searched the Scriptures afresh, and found that they testified of Him in a sense and with a power to which she had been hitherto a stranger. She saw that Christ was indeed the wisdom of God—the power of God—the Son of God—God himself, manifested in the flesh. It was apparent to her that the Saviour, possessing the nature of God and man, was qualified to stand in the breach and effect our reconciliation. A scheme of salvation lay before her above her hopes—above her thoughts; she could not doubt its suitableness—it was exactly what she wanted; she could not question its sufficiency—it was the production of inexhaustible love. "No," she remarked at this period, with peculiar emphasis, "I cannot for a moment doubt the ability or willingness of Jesus to save to the very uttermost; my only doubt is whether I have come to him aright for salvation."

This doubt, while it proved her sincere and honest dealing with herself, was salutary in its consequences. It excited her caution, gave fervency to her prayers, and rendered her diligent and persevering in her inquiries. It had possession of her mind; but she could not grant it a quiet and continued residence. Her fears were raised by the presence of real and extreme dangers; and nothing could subdue them less than a real, reasonable, and scriptural hope that they were removed. The approbation of God, the safety of her spirit, the right and cordial acceptance of the Redeemer, were things of infinitely too great importance in her esteem to be thought of with indifference, or suspended in voluntary doubt. She was not now hesitating in her determinations between God and Mammon, Christ and Belial; she was whole-hearted; and it was not in the power of youth, with all its buoyancy and thoughtlessness, nor of the world, with all its fascinating and unbroached delights, to give her spirit ease and comfort, till she had found a satisfactory reply to that affecting question, which is addressed to the conscience of every child of man—"Dost thou believe on the Son of God?"

The means were sincerely employed, and they were attended by the promised success. She asked, and received; she sought, and found; she knocked at the door of truth and mercy, and to her it was opened. Hope took possession of her mind; and the very perturbations which troubled it proved it also to be both sure in itself, and steadfastly fixed on the things which cannot be shaken. Her thoughts became tranquil, and they settled themselves intently on Him who is the author and finisher of our faith. She was particularly encouraged by observing the character of the Saviour's invitations, and the persons to whom they were addressed. He stood before her in all his mediatorial excellence and efficiency, as the helper of the helpless, the friend of the destitute, the surety of the debtor, the saviour of the lost. She approached unto Him, and put her trust under the shadow of his wings. She deliberately renounced whatever was contrary to the love of Him; and placed her reliance on his sacrifice and mediation for acceptance with the Father. She acknowledged Him as her first, her last, her only, her sufficient hope of salvation; and she committed herself, body, soul, and spirit, into his hands, to be redeemed from all evil, to be controlled by his divine authority, and to be modelled after his most holy will. In one word—she believed; and believing, she rejoiced with joy unspeakable; it was the joy of penitence—the joy of hope—the joy of love—the joy of gratitude—the joy of heaven.

These exercises of the mind, though they are brought within a few short paragraphs, were extended through many days, and even several weeks. With them, she was disposed to hope, commenced that change without which she could not expect to enter the kingdom of heaven. She might have been moved by the influence of the good Spirit at earlier periods; but she dared not conclude on the possession of an inward principle of spiritual life, except as she was brought to discover her spiritual state, and raised to the love and pursuit of spiritual objects. Her thoughts were not occupied with curious and vain inquiries on the precise moment in which this life originated; she was content to trace its existence in its effects. She felt there was no comparison in the importance of the two questions—Do I live? and, When did I begin to live? Happily, God has furnished us with ample means of satisfaction on the one inquiry; while the other, except as we judge by the evidences of life, is, with as much wisdom and delicacy, veiled from our knowledge. Life of no class, vegetable, animal, or spiritual, is to be ascertained by detecting the vital principle; and yet it is, of all things, most apparent by its own outward expressions. A truth this which, had it been properly regarded, would have preserved the minds of many from being diverted or perplexed by needless and impracticable inquiries; and would have given them, at once, an active and prospective direction.

Such a change, bringing the mind into accordance with the humbling truths of the Scriptures, and elevating it into sympathy with an invisible and eternal world, what ever may be the adaptation of means, must, without hesitation, be ascribed to the finger of God. I am aware that this allusion to a Divine agency will provoke the censure of the world. But it is a received maxim, even with the world, that the Deity may be introduced on an occasion worthy of himself; and can we conceive any thing more worthy of the Divine Mercy and Majesty than to illuminate, and sanctify, and restore to himself an immortal spirit, which has wandered from his feet, and is alienated from the life and blessedness it is alone qualified to enjoy?

Yet the world will exclaim, "This is a hard saying!" and the most candid, perplexed by a subject beyond the circle of their thoughts, will, with a teacher in Israel, demand, "How can these things be?" However mortifying to our pride and complacency, this question admits only one reply—These things, rightly to be understood, must be truly experienced. To see the light we must be in the light. To comprehend a spiritual life we must live spiritually. "The natural man discerneth not the things of the spirit, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." He wants the answering faculty; and without this, his conceptions of a "life he does not live" will be as vague, as unreal, and as wild as the conclusions of the blind man who compared the color of scarlet to the sound of a trumpet. But let him fear to deny what he does not perceive. These things are as *rational* as they are important. To deny the necessity of a divine change is to deny the uniform testimony of Scripture, supported by the voice of conscience, and the universal state of mankind. To deny its possibility is to deny a Providence, to sit in judgment on our Maker, to exclude him from the work of his own hands, and to say that the spirit he has formed, as his living temple, he has power neither to occupy nor to influence.

CHAPTER IV.

AFFLICTION. 1809.

Life is a progressive principle; and in its progress to vigor and maturity, is often assisted by apparently adverse principles. The tree is frequently *distressed* that it may bear fruit; man is inoculated with disease that he may preserve his health; and the Christian is called to endure affliction, that his divine nature may be purified from earthly adhesions, and shine out the brighter and the stronger.

It was the will of Providence that the good work begun on the mind of Martha should be established by suffering. It happened in the commencement of this year that Mrs. Wilks, the consort of the Rev. Matthew Wilks, suddenly expired. Martha was among the many who admired and loved this most excellent woman when living, and who mourned her dissolution when dead. It was her earnest request that her parents would allow her to witness the interment of the earthly remains in Bunhill Fields—that ancient and sacred place of sepulture which, above all others, perhaps, will be prepared to welcome the awakening trumpet of the archangel. The day was bleak and damp; the melting snows were upon the ground; her parents objected; but she entreated, and prevailed. What with the unfitness of the weather, the agitation of her spirits, and her want of caution to avoid disease she had never felt, she received a violent cold. This was soon removed; but a troublesome cough, which attended it, remained upon her, and bade defiance to the care and medicine employed to eradicate it. There were, however, no consumptive tendencies in her constitution; and the cough, though it gave uneasiness, excited no alarm, till, in the month of July, when it appeared to be passing away, it ruptured a blood-vessel. This was a distressing and fearful event to all the family; further professional advice was taken, and Martha was ordered to leave town immediately.

In selecting a place where she might enjoy a purer air and greater quiet, the choice fell upon Cheshunt, a pleasant village at the foot of the Hertfordshire hills. Here the bosom of a family was open to receive her, of which her parents had a slight acquaintance; and to its protection they therefore resigned their afflicted child with the less reluctance.

The hand which had brought Martha under its corrections had also provided for her, in this family,

friend, who contributed considerably to soothe her bodily sufferings, and to promote her spiritual improvement. This young person was of her own sex, and but little her superior in years. They were both ardent in their sensibility, unsuspicious in their confidence, and sincerely devoted to religious pursuits. Neither had as yet found a friend to whom she could fully communicate on the subject which now filled their attention. They spent their days and their nights together. They walked at the same hour; they worked at the same table; they read the same book; they joined in the same prayer. They were pleased and surprised to find, that, as face answereth to face in a glass, so did the exercises of their minds correspond. They had thought that their state was altogether peculiar; but now they found they had been agitated by similar griefs, humbled under conviction of similar offences, and brought, through similar perplexities of mind, to rely on the almighty and compassionate Redeemer. They communed with themselves and with each other; they edified one another on their most holy faith; and their hearts were knit together in love—in Christian love, the most powerful and refined of all sympathies.

Martha, it will be felt, was in circumstances to be particularly affected by this intercourse. She was among strangers; her mind was softened by disease; she was in want of those attentions which imperceptibly, and therefore surely, make their way to the heart. Her young friend readily seized the opportunity of offering these attentions. She became a staff to her trembling steps when she sought the refreshing influence of the air; she administered punctually the salutary portions of prescribed medicine; she surprised her sluggish appetite with tempting articles of nourishment; and studied, in manifold instances, her present ease and ultimate restoration. Is it strange, if a spirit like Martha's, inclined to kindle into gratitude and love on the slightest show of kindliness, should feel deeply, perhaps excessively, in the exercise of so much real and unostentatious sympathy, imparted, as it was, without any claims of previous friendship?

There is a thorn in every nest. Amid this retirement, it did not appear possible for her to be visited with any external vexation; but even here, distress found its way to her in a form which it had never before assumed. The family which thus afforded her so sincere a friend, possessed a member of very opposite principles and character. This relative was a young man, chiefly remarkable for his ignorance and wilfulness. Unsocial in his manners; neglectful of his calling; disobedient to his parents; and of so vexatious a temper, as, if ever capable of happiness, to find it only in the unhappiness of others. Revelation, least of all things, could be acceptable to such a person; and he *chose*, therefore, to become an infidel. It was truly a matter of choice with him, and not of opinion; he professed not to argue on the subject; it was enough for him that he could show his daring by slandering and profaning what others held to be most sacred.

This daring unbeliever, however, was dastardly enough to attempt, in every way, the annoyance of two young females, one of them his relative, and the other an invalid, a stranger, and beneath the protection of his family! He gave them the greatest provocation, and then reproached them with the want of meekness; he made them sad by his presence, and then insulted them for their demure hypocrisy; he shocked their ears with his blasphemies, and found satanic delight in the pains he had created; and so much was he the enemy of all godliness, that even when they fled to their closets for peace, he would often enter on some contrivance to disturb their devotions.

The trials which, to the spectator, may appear to be intolerable, are sometimes welcomed by the individual who is to suffer them. Matha had erred with many young Christians in supposing, that while she lacked opposition she wanted one evidence of Christian character; not considering that, in her case, opposition had been hitherto an impossibility, as her connections had been limited to the friends of real piety. This disposition of mind, however, prepared her to meet these rude assaults with comparative calmness. She felt herself to be innocent; and therefore entered into the blessedness of those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. She bowed her head quietly to the storm; she embraced the more favorable moments of saying something that might fasten on the conscience of the offender; and when, as often happened, her tender spirits were jaded by blustering and noise, she withdrew to her chamber, seeking relief by weeping at the feet of her Saviour, and presenting afresh that prayer which was offered by him who prayed as never man prayed: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

After the lapse of a couple of months, Martha returned to the embraces of her parents, improved in health, enriched in friendship, and benefited even by the tongue of persecution. Her life was made precarious by disease, and her thoughts were brought nearer to eternity. She had been enabled to exercise a divine temper under provocation, and it gave her fuller assurance of possessing a divine nature. She was confirmed in gratitude and confidence; and she walked in the light of the Divine countenance!

The sky that is cleared too quickly is seldom tranquil. Martha had passed with comparative celerity into a state of lively enjoyment; but in the remaining months of this year her mind was frequently overcast by the clouds of anxiety and doubt. I learn this chiefly from her correspondence with her young friend, from whom she was now separated; and which is very kindly put into my hands to use at discretion. As the Christian is known equally by what he *fears* as by what he *hopes*, it may be expedient to make a few extracts from her letters at this period. It will be remembered, that they are the expressions of a child of sixteen, and of a mind too intent on things to study words.

"*Sept.*—A week is past since we were called to a painful separation; and we are a week nearer to eternity. I feel my mind more deeply impressed than ever by the importance of eternal things. O, if we lived more for eternity, how different would our conversation and all our conduct be! To think that we are dying creatures, and come into this world only as probationers for an eternal one! solemn thought! To recollect that I have been sixteen years in the world, and that so very, very little of that time has been devoted to the purpose for which I came into being! But I must stop and adore the Goodness which has spared me to this moment. O that we may be enabled to live more as dying creatures!"

"I hope the Lord will never suffer us to deceive ourselves. Let us pray much that he will search us and try us. Though our hearts are so deceitful, yet we may come to a knowledge of our characters; and how important is it to know this! It will make our afflictions pleasant; it will enliven our love and all our graces; it will teach us to look on all earthly things as straw and stubble, which are to be burned."

"I have just had another fit of coughing. If I should be removed from you, do not repine. Remember, the Lord brought us together, and we shall not be parted till he sees fit. O, my dear, let me

entreat you to be sober and vigilant, because of your adversaries. Watch, for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh. My dear, heaven is worth striving for! To think of being for ever with the Lord! Let us determine, in the strength of Jesus, to knock, and to knock hard too, at the door of Mercy, till we gain admission.

"Faint, yet I hope pursuing. I am much afraid I have been deceiving myself, I have such a very deceitful heart; and, indeed, I hardly know what reasons I have for thinking I am a child of God. I dare not deny that a change has taken place in me, but I fear it is not a change wrought by the Spirit of God; I am so lukewarm, so cold and indifferent. You know every Christian has faith and humility, and I am afraid I have neither. I am afraid to hope, and yet afraid not to hope. This is a paradox, but you can understand it. O, my dear, pray for me, that I may be altogether, and not almost, a Christian!"

"I have had a great many doubts and fears lately. I find so much pride and unbelief in my heart, that I think, at times, there cannot be any grace there. I am often afraid I am deceiving myself, and fear I am like the barren fig-tree. You know what the end of that is, though it appear ever so green and beautiful. May we bring forth much fruit—the fruits of the Spirit! This is a hard conflict; but let us rejoice that it is a conflict—that our enemies have it not all their own way—

'Still toss'd tempestuous on the sea of life,
My little bark is driven to and fro;
With winds and waves I hold unequal strife,
Nor can decide the doubtful course I go;
O may we reach that blissful shore,
Where storms and winds distress no more!'

"Let us never forget that we are travellers to an eternal world. To what *place* in that world are we bound? If to Canaan, we must remember there is a waste howling wilderness to pass through, innumerable enemies to fight, and a Jordan to cross: but let us not be discouraged; our enemies are mighty—our Saviour is almighty. He has said, 'Fear not, worm Jacob; my strength is made perfect in thy weakness.' O, my dear, humbly relying on this strength, let us go forth and fight courageously the battles of the Lord of hosts, not fearing that we shall come off more than conquerors through Him who hath loved us, and died for us, and will not withhold from us any good thing."

"I have felt my mind more calm since I saw you; but, alas! I am ready to fear it is a *false* calm. You will ask me my reasons. I think, if it were a true peace, I should be more humbled under a sense of sin, and should walk far more close with God. O, that we may lie humbled at the footstool of the Saviour, that we bear no more resemblance to him! And let us not rest here: but, with the greatest importunity, beseech him to give us his Holy Spirit, that he may conform our hearts entirely to his image."

These *variations* of mind, thus artlessly described, are in some measure necessarily connected with the young Christian's experience. The very *strangeness* of his situation will produce them. God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined into his mind with a new and powerful illumination; and a thousand objects relative to himself and others, to this life and that which is to come, press upon his attention at once, awing him by their sublimity, and dazzling him by their brightness. He is in the circumstances of the blind man who is suddenly restored to sight. The innumerable objects which are at once presented to his view, do not permit him to look on any without confusion and pain. It is not only needful that the faculty of vision should be perfect; there must be time to apply it separately to the different objects which present themselves, before he can assure himself that he distinctly sees them in the lights and distances in which they are really placed.

These alternations of hope and fear will also be promoted by the *intensity* of the interest, where the mind is sincere in its inquiries. It is fixed earnestly on things of extreme, of infinite importance. To be interested in the Divine favor which it has forfeited, and to escape the wrath to come which it has deserved, are blessings on which it exhausts all its reflections, and which yet it cannot fully appreciate. It is anxious above all things to reach a favorable conclusion, but shudders at the thought of reaching it upon false premises. Its very intentness on a decision—so awful, so desirable—holds it frequently in trembling suspense. The man whose mind is balancing between supposed or real trifles, may preserve his indifference; but if he is pursuing an inquiry on the issue of which his property, his character, his life are to depend, what agitations of doubt and desire will necessarily possess him!—Who, then, shall doubt the reasonableness, or estimate the force of those anxieties, which are associated with all that eternity can reveal, all that an immortal spirit can suffer or enjoy?

Although these anxieties will naturally spring from the importance of the truths which are contemplated, and the freshness of the light which surrounds them, it must be admitted that they may be greatly prolonged or exaggerated by other circumstances. Martha was not so painfully affected by them as many; but she might probably have been less so, had her years allowed her to mark the influence of the body on the mind, and to discriminate between physical sensations and Christian principles.

Still less she might have suffered in this conflict of hope and fear, had she sought matured and sage counsel. But the young love to confide in the young; and she was content to have found a friend to whom she could freely unbosom herself. Her friend, similarly situated with herself, was well fitted to become a sympathetic companion; but she was not sufficiently advanced before her to be an experienced guide. In addition to the comforts of this friendship, had she sought the direction of her parents on the perplexities of her mind as they arose, she might have been sooner relieved. For the present, however, humility and respect threw undue restraints upon her; and she could only join generally in religious conversation, without alluding to any influence it exerted on her own spirit.

While these observations are thrown out as waymarks to others, it is pleasing to notice that these renewed perturbations of heart were overruled by a gracious Hand, to produce the best effects. The various views she took of her situation gave her deeper conviction of the impotence of her nature, and her liability to temptation and sin. Hope gathered resistance, like the elasticity of a spring, from the pressure of fear; her faith took the firmer grasp, because an enemy sought to shake it from its hold; and her love was ultimately borne more quickly to heaven by those winds which threatened to beat it down to earth. She yet more earnestly employed every instituted means of grace; she eagerly propounded to her parents questions of conscience, without noticing their relation to herself; and she diligently read, as she had opportunity, those books which were suited to her temper, and illustrative of her experience.

Among the books which were thus perused was the "Rise and Progress of Religion," by the truly

Christian Doddridge. From this work she received (who has not?) considerable assistance and benefit. It shed more light upon her way, and consequently gave more steadiness to her steps, and serenity to her heart. Here she met with a form of covenant, and with urgent exhortations to adopt it as her own. She was docile, and willing to be directed; but she was humble, and shrunk from so solemn and explicit a mode of engagement. Yet she felt that she had already virtually done what was here recommended, and she was disposed to construe her hesitancy in doing it more formally into ■ want of seriousness and sincerity. This jealousy of herself decided her in adopting it. It was readily embraced, as a means of satisfying herself that she had long been whole-hearted in the surrender she hoped she had already made to the Saviour of her body, soul, and spirit.

She was, however, too conscientious to employ any form of words, how excellent soever, with precipitancy. She passed over it sentence by sentence, and word by word; making every variation and omission which she found necessary to her full and cheerful acquiescence. Because it is thus varied, and because it is a hallowed and interesting document in her life, I shall not scruple to introduce it in closing this chapter, connected with her reflections upon it in a letter to her friend, who alone knew of the transaction.

I am aware that this practice has been condemned, on the one hand as enthusiastic, and on the other as pharisaical; and ■ writer of eminence has recently endeavored to fix upon it, somewhat inconsistently, the entire weight of this two-fold objection. If these censures are directed against the *abuses* of the thing *only* they will receive the sanction of every sober mind. There have undoubtedly, been extravagancies of expression, and modes of signature, and a high self-confiding temper manifested, which should be most seriously deprecated. But if these censures are meant, as is feared, to go beyond this, let it be remembered, that the practice which is so fully countenanced by Scripture, and has been so generally pursued by the wisest and most devoted of Christians, cannot be essentially wrong. And what is of infinitely greater moment, let it be distinctly felt that the *spirit* of the practice is the spirit of all religion. Self-dedication is of the very nature and essence of religion. If this is sincerely admitted, the mode of expressing it is comparatively of small importance, and the Christian may consult his individual benefit in coming to a decision. It is optional whether we "subscribe to the Lord with our *hand*;" but it is imperative that we subscribe to Him with the *heart*. "Circumcision," the mere sign of dedication, "is nothing;" and "uncircumcision," the want of that sign, "is nothing;" but "a new creature," the act of surrendering ourselves totally, and for ever, to God, against whom we have rebelled, *this is every thing!*

FORM OF SELF-DEDICATION.

"Eternal and unchangeable Jehovah! Thou great Creator of heaven and earth, and adorable Lord of angels and men! I desire, with the deepest humiliation and abasement of soul, to fall down at this time in thine awful presence; and I earnestly pray that thou wilt penetrate my very heart with a suitable sense of thine unutterable and inconceivable glories!

"Trembling may justly take hold upon me, when I, a sinful worm, presume to lift up my head to Thee, and to appear in thy majestic presence on such an occasion as this. Who am I, O Lord God, or what is my house! What is my nature or descent, my character and desert, that I should desire to be one party in a covenant, when thou, the King of kings and Lord of lords, art the other! I would blush and be confounded even to mention it before thee; but, O Lord, great as is thy majesty, so also is thy mercy. If thou wilt hold converse with any of thy creatures, thy superlatively exalted nature must stoop, must stoop infinitely low! And I know, that in and through Jesus, the Son of thy love, thou condescendest to visit sinful mortals, and to allow their approach unto Thee, that they may give themselves to Thee for ever.

"To Thee, therefore, do I now come, invited by the name of thy Son, and, I hope, wholly trusting in his perfect righteousness and grace. Laying myself at thy feet with shame and confusion of face, and smiting upon my breast, I say with the humble publican, God be merciful to me, a sinner! I acknowledge, O Lord, that I have been a great transgressor. My sins have reached to the heavens, and my iniquities are lifted up to the clouds. And if thou shouldst be strict to mark my offences, I must be silent under a load of guilt, and immediately sink into destruction. But thou hast graciously called me to return unto Thee, though I have been a backsliding and rebellious child. Behold, therefore, I am come unto Thee. I come convinced, not only of my sin, but of my folly. Receive, therefore, I beseech Thee, thy revolted creature, who is now convinced of thy right to her, and desires nothing so much as that she may be entirely thine. Permit me, O Lord, to bring back to Thee those powers and faculties which I have ungratefully and sacrilegiously alienated from thy service.

"Blessed God! it is with the utmost solemnity that I make this surrender of myself to Thee. Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: I avouch the Lord this day to be my God; and I avouch and declare myself to be one of his covenant children and people. Hear, O thou God of heaven, and record it in the book of thy remembrance, that henceforth I am thine, entirely thine! From this day do I solemnly renounce all the former lords which have had dominion over me, every sin, and every lust; and bid, in thy name, defiance to the powers of hell, which have, most unjustly, usurped the empire of my soul. All that I am, and all that I have, the faculties of my mind, and members of my body, my worldly possessions, my time, and my influence over others, I consecrate to Thee. In thy service I desire to spend all the remainder of my time upon earth; and I beg that thou wouldst instruct and influence me so, that whether my abode here be longer or shorter, every year and month, every day and hour, may be used in such a manner as shall most effectually promote thine honor, and subserve the design of thy wise and gracious Providence. O blessed God! I would steadily persevere in this course, to the very end of life; earnestly praying that every future day of it may supply the deficiencies and correct the errors of the former; and that I may, by Divine grace, be enabled, not only to hold on in this happy way, but to become more active in it!

"Use me, O Lord, I beseech thee, as an instrument of thy service. Number me among thy peculiar people. Let me be washed in the blood of thy dear Son. Transform me more and more into his image. Impart to me, through him, all the needful influences of thy purifying, cheering, and comforting Spirit: and let my life be spent under those influences, and in the light of thy gracious countenance, as my Father and my God.

"And when the solemn hour of death shall come, may I remember this covenant of thine, well ordered in all things and sure, as all my salvation and all my desire, though every other hope and enjoyment is perishing. And do thou, O Lord, remember it too! Look down with pity, O my heavenly Father,

on thy languishing, dying child. Embrace me in thy everlasting arms. Put strength and confidence in my departing spirit; and receive it to the abode of them who sleep in Jesus, to partake in all the blessings of thy covenant, through Him who is the great Mediator of it. To whom, with thee, O Father, and thy Holy Spirit, be ascribed everlasting praises. MARTHA.

"*December 24th*, 1809."

"*Dec.* 28.—Last night I read the chapter on self-dedication again, and with feelings which I cannot describe. I was tempted to think I was not sincere in wishing thus solemnly to give myself to the Lord; but with overflowing gratitude I may tell you, that these conflicts were overruled to make me more than ever willing to be entirely the Lord's."

"*Dec.* 29.—I tremble and rejoice! I have this night set my hand, that, from this time, I will be the Lord's. I know I need not say, pray for me; but let me beg you to pray, more earnestly than ever, that I may not openly and wilfully break my engagements! My mind, upon the whole, is calm."

CHAPTER V.

EXPANDING CHARACTER. 1810.

MARTHA, with every appearance of health, remained unwell through the early part of this year; and the mere continuance of unpleasant symptoms gave her friends the more alarm. As, in the summer, ministerial engagements called me to B———, I resolved to take her to the Hot Wells, hoping that the change of air, and the use of the waters might afford her permanent relief. In this expectation we left our home in a chaise, and became for some weeks each other's sole or principal companion.

In such circumstances there is something favorable to the formation of friendship and the promotion of intimacy. The absence of all other familiar countenances; the opportunity of uninterrupted communion; the invigorating power of the living air; the novelties of changing scenery; and the sense of fellowship in all that cheers and gratifies; have an imperceptible influence in opening the heart. Our hearts had never been closed to each other; but the channels of sympathy had been obstructed by separation; and they now sought to recompense themselves by the most free and unreserved intercourse. I still have distinctly the impression made by my sister's character, at this time, on my mind; and as it is consistent with my purpose, I shall endeavor to copy it into this narrative.

Nothing, at this period, was so immediately apparent as the lovely *simplicity* of her mind. This excellence had been always hers. With less sensibility, or a false education, it might have been alloyed by the debasing power of vanity. As it was, she had been rescued from this bindweed of the heart; and she was now presented, once for all, in the mirror of divine truth, with such a view of her character as furnished an effectual antidote to its influence. In her were no conceits so common to youthful inexperience; no affectation of qualities she did not possess; no confessions in which the heart did not sympathize; no hesitation of opinion and choice which perplexed and varied her steps.

Religion had placed one object, and one only, before her, as the one thing needful. Other things might be desirable; this alone was indispensable. She allowed nothing to stand in comparison with it; but pressed towards it with an undivided heart. Life was no longer in danger of being preyed upon by vacant listlessness, or frittered away by contrary and trivial claims. She had one single aim, one great pursuit before her, and it gave simplicity to her views, and steadiness to her course. She did not look at the things which are seen and temporal, but at the things which are unseen and eternal. She had entered on the race; the unwithering laurels were before her. The clearness with which she saw the prize, and the frailties which shook her frame, made her judge herself to be near the goal; and she did not allow herself to be retarded by the thorns of needless controversy, or diverted by the impertinences of an indolent curiosity. Her eye was single, and her whole body was full of light. Hers was not merely the simplicity of nature and of youth, which is charming; it was "the simplicity of Christ," which is divine.

Religion also had shed over her mind its own *seriousness*. Her disposition had never been frivolous; now it was not gloomy; but it was truly serious—a temper of mind which is the invariable companion of wisdom, and the germ of all moral excellence. So soon as the mind is engaged by any great and interesting objects, it necessarily becomes serious. Martha's thoughts had dwelt intently on the value of the soul, the solemnities of eternity, the grandeur of Deity, and the magnitude of the Saviour's redemption, and they diffused something of their own greatness and solemnity on her character. Every thing in this life was allied to immortality; nothing therefore was trivial. She had a race to run and a conflict to sustain, whose consequences would reach to eternity—she would win or lose for ever—she could not be otherwise than serious. She had stood in the light of divine truth, and had communed with all that is great and glorious in the invisible world, and she could no more trifle than could Moses on descending from the mount of Divine habitation. This seriousness of mind rested on her whole deportment, rather than showed itself in particular instances; yet her correspondence with her friend, which I have already noticed, supplies one illustration worthy of remark. All her letters, at this time, commence with such mottoes as the following—"Eternity!" "Think of Eternity!" "Act for Eternity!" "Prepare for Eternity!" "Prepare to meet your God!"—a circumstance sufficient of itself to show how vivid were her conceptions, how deep her impressions of objects, above all others calculated to exalt and solemnize the thoughts.

Equally conspicuous was her strict *conscientiousness*. She had early been affected by the ideas of the Divine omnipresence. These were become clearer and stronger; and were coupled with correct perceptions of the Divine authority. She now saw that the *reason* for every thing was to be found only in the will of God; and that this will was revealed exclusively in the Holy Scriptures. Her own partialities and desires, the opinions and examples of others, were not to regulate her. The word of God was to be her standard. She therefore sought to submit herself implicitly to it; desirous of believing all it revealed, of doing all it commanded, and of avoiding all it proscribed.

An authority thus recognized gave importance to every thing on which it rested. Nothing, however trifling in itself, could be insignificant which was accompanied by the command or prohibition of God. The Scriptures therefore were her habitual counsellor. They were not only the title to her inheritance, but the map which delineated her daily course. She tried by them, not merely her hopes and principles, but her thoughts and temper. Yea, in the allotment of her time, the use of her money, the mode of her dress, the nature of her recreations, and the selection of her friendships, their voice was earnestly solicited and obeyed. Frequently at this period, when discussing opinions or practices of the professing world, she would observe, with a conscientiousness softened by humility—"This is very strange!—How can they reconcile it?—It *seems* di-

rectly opposite to Scripture—They should surely either reject the word of God or act upon it."

Benevolence, which was so early indicated in my sister, may be supposed to take a prominent place in her present character. In her childhood, what had the appearance of benevolence, was very much the overflow of natural and instinctive feelings; but now these were moulded into an abiding and energetic principle. She had been taught to entertain the most lowly ideas of herself, which is an indispensable preparative to thinking kindly of others. She had sat at the feet of Him who is essential love, and His love constrained her to imitate his excellence. She had drunk into the spirit of that religion which breathes good-will to men, and peace over the face of the whole earth; and acting on a heart full of tender emotions, it produced the most humble devotedness to her Saviour, and enlightened anxiety for the welfare of all mankind.

The sincerity and strength of our benevolence are discovered, not by desiring great occasions for its exercise, but by diligently embracing those that offer. Martha had but small opportunities of doing good at present, but these she thankfully improved. She evinced a peculiar concern for the spiritual interests of her younger brother; she conversed freely with children and persons younger than herself, on the subject now nearest her thoughts; and she expended all her pocket-money in purposes of benevolence, principally in the purchase of religious tracts for distribution among the poor.

Those who are seeking occasions of usefulness shall not fail to find them. It happened, that soon after our arrival at the Wells, a lady with her daughter engaged apartments in the same house. We soon learned the mother's tale of wo. She had come hither as to a forlorn hope, with her beloved, her only daughter, who had the most fatal symptoms of decline upon her, and she herself was a widow. Martha was deeply interested in the state of the sufferer; and by making herself of some use to the strangers, quickly opened a channel of intercourse.

She found the daughter to be about twenty years of age, of very amiable mind and manners. She had but recently known her danger, and she was literally confounded at the idea of dying, while she thought herself in the very midst of life. Presuming on this life, she had not thought of that which is to come; and the very sense of neglect made it doubly unwelcome. Martha, however, by her kindness, made her way to her heart, and soon afterward won her attention to the things which belonged to her peace. She died; but not, I trust, until she had drunk of those medicated waters which bring life and healing to the wounded spirit.—Martha's name was among the last words that quivered on her lips; and it was one of those events to which my sister was accustomed to recur with eminent gratitude.

Nor must I omit to observe, that religion had awakened *tastes*, and opened sources of enjoyment, to which she had hitherto been nearly, if not entirely, insensible. She had never any relish for the common pleasures of the world. The glitter of the ball-room, the excitement of the card-table, the mimicry of the theatre, formed no temptation to her; her mind was above them. The theatre, especially she was led to despise by a trivial and ludicrous occurrence.

When we were children at Mitcham, we stole out into the fair which is held at that place; and I, as the best expression of my love, resolved to treat my sister to the most respectable of all the exhibitions. We entered. I know not the subject of the play; but of course it was about love. A scene opened towards the middle of the acting, which presented us with a garden, containing a splendid monument, in which it was supposed a murdered lover was enclosed; which lover, however, was concealed behind the monument, to discover himself in due time. The lady entered with her tears and lamentations; and, as if the painted marble had been moved by her noisy sorrows, it trembled and fell. A man was revealed crouching beside it, and looking incomparably silly, and the woman ceased her wailings, and reflected his confusion. The spectators were mostly, like ourselves, children; and we burst into a hearty fit of laughter. The performers made their retreat by dropping the curtain. Martha never lost the impression made by this mummery. A playhouse to her was always a puppet-show, only varied by the expense of its ornaments and the skill of its imitations. As she became aware of the moral character of our theatres, and of most who attend them, her indifference deepened into aversion. She thought that those who could be made better by the theatre must be something less, and that those who could not be injured must be something more than human.

While I knew that Martha's uniform simplicity and present seriousness, saved her from the pursuit of those factitious and turbulent pleasures which are so fascinating to youth, I was not prepared to find a relish created for those gratifications, which are as pure and exalted as they are beneficial. I knew that she had a feeling heart, and that her mind had been raised and enlarged by religion; but I was not expecting that already religion should extend its influence to objects beyond itself. Religion, however, is closely allied to all things good, beautiful, and noble; and in the heart she inhabits she wakens sympathies towards them more effectually, than can be done by any modes of moral or mental refinement, independent of her assistance.

Martha, though her attention had been confined chiefly to one object, though she had read but few books, and those mostly of one class, now discovered an attachment for whatever adorns the mind, or enlarges the capacities for real happiness. She had a taste, not indeed at present a cultivated one, for music, for painting, and for poetry, but especially for nature; whence, as from an inexhaustible treasury, we borrow, poorly borrow, all that is harmonious in sound, all that is lovely in picture, and all that is eloquent in poesy. Every thing in nature suited the simplicity of her mind and the piety of her thoughts. There she met with God; and all was interesting to her which was the work of his hand. She admired the lily and the rose, since His hand adorned them; she sympathized with the sparrow and the robin, since His hand protected them, as she had never done before; and her ravished eye dwelt on all things beautiful on earth, or bright in heaven, as formed by her Saviour's power, embellished by her Saviour's excellence, and continuing for her Saviour's glory.

Tastes thus quickly formed by religion and the Scriptures, I was anxious to exercise and strengthen; and our daily walks and rides in the charming vicinity of C——— and B———, afforded the most excellent opportunities. Martha had not been twenty miles from the metropolis before; and, what with the novelty of the scenes, the still-abiding freshness of religious enjoyment, and her first becoming fully conscious of extended capacities for happiness, her cup of joy was often full even to overflowing. I necessarily connect the finest points of scenery in that neighborhood with the thought of her, and the expressions of her countenance, varied as they were by wonder and delight; but there is one evening's walk stands out among the pictures of my imagination, as superior to the rest

in the interest it excited, and, I trust, in the good which it bestowed.

After taking a quiet tea, and reading a portion of some favorite volume, we went abroad to partake the coolness of the coming evening. I was secretly feeding on the pleasure of surprising Martha with the scenery on the banks of the A——. To accomplish this, I led her down by the zigzag path at the back of the pump-room, that the view might break upon her at once. I had chosen the hour and the evening with a reference to the general good effect of the whole; and when we reached the point of observation, I was not a little gratified to find every thing around and above us looking as well as I could desire.

The river, which flows in the lap of hills that seem to have been separated by some great convulsion in nature, was rising with a strong and rapid tide, and bearing on its bosom, in the distance, some vessels, which, with their sails dancing in the wind, were hastening to their port. The rock-work on one hand sprang so directly and abruptly from the path as to have an elevation to the eye, which the lofty mountain sometimes fails to possess. On the opposing side, with considerable boldness of contour, there were more sloping and undulating lines, so that the rifted surface was plentifully decorated with the beauties of vegetation; and where the rock itself appeared, it was enriched by those living hues which the touch of time can alone impart. On either hand, the rocks, with all their irregularities, inclined towards each other in beautiful perspective, and at length appeared to unite, enclosing the waters and vessels in their arms, and giving a compression and a consequent magnitude to the entire scene. The sun had once more travelled to the west; and his rays shot across this picture so as to give his brilliancy to one-half of it, while the remainder was clothed in shadows of a thousand shades. Above us was a fine blue sky, rendered finer by the dark lines of rock-work which conducted the eye to it; and in the far-ground, the clouds were resting on the hills, some shining in crimson glory, and some soft and gray, like aerial mountains.

Not only the scene itself, but the class of scenery, was altogether new to Martha; and it inspired her with greater admiration than any thing she had already seen. When her eye had dwelt on the whole in silent pleasure, we walked gently forward, remarking the characteristic beauty of the several parts, till, in the review, they composed an entirely different picture. The hills which were now around us went off in softer and radiated lines, so as to form a natural amphitheatre. The underwood shot up in these rising and expanding galleries with greater luxuriance, and was finely relieved by the aspiring heads of the oak and the elm; while the bolder rocks we had left, with their feet in the river, and their heads apparently in the clouds which hung over the distant horizon, constituted a noble back ground. Twilight had crept over the scene, and had shed its repose over every thing. All human objects had disappeared. The breeze had ceased to murmur, and the waters to ripple. Nothing was heard: nothing was in motion, except the river, which was still flowing, but flowing in silence. Our steps and conversation alone seemed to disturb the tranquillity. We sat down beneath some hazel branches, which sprang from the fissures of the rock; sank into meditation; and all—all was profoundly still.

In such a place, on such an evening, and at such a period of life, we might "have thought down hours to moments;" but I was fearful my sister would hazard too much in a lengthened continuance. I turned my eye upon her, designing to express my fears; but I did not catch her attention, and was unwilling to disturb it. She never appeared so interesting to me! The gentlest lights of the dying day dwelt on her countenance. That countenance, originally so full of vivacity, had been subdued by pain, and raised by piety; and it now was expressive of elevated intelligence and pensive delight, beyond, any thing I had observed. Her glistening eye, directed to heaven, told me that her spirit had ascended by things visible to those which are invisible; and her speaking lips seemed to say that her conversation was in other worlds. Her eye fell on mine. "Brother!" she exclaimed, with a sweet and blushing face, while the tear of joy and affection started and fell. I embraced her, and rejoiced in her, not merely as a sister, but as a saint. We had always found happiness in each other, yet never such happiness as now. In childhood, our joys, though complete in their kind, were animal and sensitive; now, I trust, they could claim kindred, however humbly, with those which are not only intellectual but spiritual.

We bent our steps towards home reluctantly, sometimes listening to the solemn stillness, and sometimes giving utterance to the prevalent emotion. I quoted part of Cowper's beautiful hymn on retirement, and Martha repeated some of the pastoral psalms of David. Before we quitted the spot, the young moon had risen, like a crescent, over the bold forehead of rock-work, illuminating our path, printing its own bright image on the sleeping waters, and casting its light on the opposite hills, so as to make them appear through the mist, which hung over them like a gauzy transparent veil. That was a blessed evening! And it was the more so, because we felt it derived all its blessedness from Him who is a well-spring of living joy to those who fear his name!

Digressive as some parts of this chapter may appear, I cannot leave this sketch of my sister's character without observing that religion, which had done so much for her, did not fail to create earnest desires *for mental and religious improvement.* It was not merely gratification she sought, it was advancement. She found herself to be a child in knowledge, and was not willing to remain so. She had drunk of the waters of life, and she longed to drink again. New worlds, the rational, the moral, the eternal, were open before her, and she was eager to explore them. The serious views she had taken of human life, made it a duty to seek the improvement of every talent she possessed; and the taste she had had of better things than worldly wisdom regards, made it her settled desire and purpose.

I had formerly endeavored to engage her in some studies which I considered would be of permanent advantage to her; but she commenced them rather from affection to me, than from any sense of their real value. The inward native relish was wanting; and her resolution failed to overcome the difficulties which clog the entrance to every new and serious pursuit. Now, I found her with an inquisitive mind, and keen appetite for the bread of knowledge. She was most desirous of becoming acquainted with whatever in science might render her useful to others; whatever in literature might correct and purify her taste; and whatever in religion might assist her in rightly conceiving of herself, of God, and of immortality. With such dispositions the work of instruction was easy and delightful. We had many desultory conversations on mental improvement, while together; and I engaged on our re-union in London, to become, as our mutual opportunities should allow, her teacher; thus adding one more tie to the many which bound us together.

On the whole, I think the intercourse of this period was as profitable as it was pleasing. It was beneficial to me to witness on another the holy and exalting power of religion; and I was unspeakably gratified to find that a beloved sister, was advancing with her growth in every thing lovely and excellent. My pleasure, too, was without a check, as I daily saw her health improving; and that it might be as fully confirmed as possible, it was determined that her stay should be prolonged beyond the original time, indefinitely. After introducing her, therefore, to a few kind friends, I left her, and returned to the metropolis.

CHAPTER VI.

EMBARRASSMENT. 1810

Unquestionably the most sacred duty of the biographer is *to state the truth*. I do not understand, however, that in the most conscientious discharge of this duty, it is necessary to state *all* that is true. Much that is trivial and detached may be suppressed, not only without injury, but with advantage; the character of the individual, in its formation and progress, may be the more completely exhibited, as the artist gives a more striking likeness by getting rid of useless habiliments. On the contrary, every thing may be told, and told with the utmost particularity, while the versimilitude of the person is lost, and the *general impression* arising from the narrative is substantially false. The leading concern, therefore, of the biographer, will be to give that place and that weight, to every event connected with the subject of his memoir, which shall leave on the mind the truest impression of the living character. Good taste will prevent him accumulating minutiæ, which, if they do not reveal, will encumber his portrait; and integrity will forbid him concealing any occurrences, how delicate soever in themselves, which are indispensable to its truth.

In this record of my sister I am certainly desirous of being, not her eulogist, but her biographer. And if the previous remarks are somewhat apologetical, it is because in attempting to support that appellation, I find it necessary to enter on difficult ground. Were it a mere question of feeling, I might possibly avoid it altogether; but as it forms an important passage in her life, and contributes largely to the progress of her mind, I have no option. While, however, I notice occurrences which are acknowledged to be delicate, I hope they will be treated delicately; and then I am convinced, in discharging the duties of the historian, I shall not violate those of the brother.

When I left Martha, at a distance from home, it was with every sentiment of satisfaction. Her health was advancing, her spirit was happy, and she was beneath the protection of Christian friendship. But, alas! where in this world shall we find perfect safety? Trial and snares cross the most secure and retired path, like the gossamer web in autumn, as quickly and as imperceptibly!

Among the persons to whom I had introduced Martha during my stay, was a young man, an acquaintance of mine. He had seen her twice or thrice in my presence, and I had no idea of his seeking her society on my departure. He did, however, call upon her; in the first instance, perhaps, from regard to me, but afterward for his own gratification. He introduced her to his family, and sought opportunities of meeting her elsewhere. He was of an open temper, and ardent passions. He had been lately interested in religious objects, and he talked of them with liberty and feeling. He was a professed admirer of the poets; some of his favorite passages he read to her, and others he extracted and put into her possession. In a word, he showed her most marked and particular attentions.

Martha was still in her seventeenth year. Her thoughts had been as little directed to matrimony, or the preliminary steps to it, as those of any, the most pure of her sex. On this subject, she had all the innocency of the dove, but without the sagacity of the serpent; she knew little of human character beyond what she read in her own heart. Her modesty had always restrained her young friends from making it the matter of conversation or merriment; and her imagination had not been inflamed, her mind perverted, by the perusal of extravagant and ill-principled fictions.

These attentions, therefore, while they were such as might be offered indiscriminately to any young person, were received with simplicity and gratitude, as a proof of respect for her beloved relative; and when they became an unequivocal expression of something more, she was anxious and disconcerted. She was most desirous of shunning them altogether; but the difficulties of her situation seemed to make it impossible.

It happened that a matronly person, who had recommended herself to Martha by her kindness and piety, had early noticed these attentions. By many hints she had dropped, Martha was aware of this, and she thought the best use to be made of it was to confess the sense of impropriety which possessed her, and to crave the advice of one who had been a mother and a wife, on the best means of meeting the difficulty.

But this good lady, with very slender capacity to give advice on such delicate subjects, was one of those persons who have an avowed pleasure in *bringing young people together*. She was not, therefore, in the least inclined to confine her counsel within the limits which Martha had prescribed to it. She assumed at once that Martha's uneasiness was quite unnecessary; and then descanted freely on the folly of discouraging an individual to whom, and to whose connections, she could allege no objections. Martha waived all remark in her reply on the person himself, and contented herself with objecting on account of her youth, but "it was a good thing for young people to be early attached;" her health, but "she was getting well every day;" her separation from her parents, "her parents certainly ought to know, but there was time enough for that."

From the spirit of this advice Martha's heart involuntarily shrunk; but it left her more irresolute what to do, and not less uneasy at remaining as she was. She pondered anxiously her situation; and the more it was the subject of reflection, the more she felt that the notice taken of her was such as, in her present circumstances, she ought not to sanction; while it was of such a character as to make it difficult to decline, without an assumption which modesty forbade her to make. She did not blame the cause of her secret perplexities; but she became increasingly embarrassed and unhappy.

No alternative seemed left to her except hastening her return to London. She therefore wrote to her parents, enlarging on the improved state of her health, and begging that, as the end of her visit was so well accomplished, she might be restored to the bosom of her family. The required permission was granted; and Martha, with a glad heart, fled like the wandering nestling, from a sense of exposure and solitariness, to the warm embraces of her family.

Martha had reached her home, but failed to find all that quiet happiness which till now was identified with the place. Her distress while at C——, and her eagerness to return to her friends, had con-

vinced her that her mind was perfectly free; alas! she was not prepared to see that this very eagerness gave alarming testimony to the contrary. She was therefore surprised and concerned to find, when she had realized the separation which was at once to deliver her from thought and feeling, till thought and feeling should be proper, her mind involuntarily reverted to the scenes she had quitted; and that occasionally the recollections it presented would raise a sigh or a tear, which she strove to repress and could not.

In her prospective return, too, it had been her spontaneous purpose to confer fully with her parents; but now she possessed the opportunity of doing so, she had no wish to employ it. Habit and conscience often urged her to it; yet when about to make the attempt, her tongue was locked, her lips were sealed; and she met their unwelcome pleadings with the best excuses the case could supply. She would urge upon herself that she had really nothing to say—that nothing might ever come of it—that if any thing should, it would necessarily first reach her father—and then would be the time to explain—and till then she would resolve not to think of it—and the only sure way to avoid thinking was to avoid speaking. Thus she sought to delay what it was so difficult to do. It was too late for her to see that her excuses were vain; that it would have been easy to confer with her friends had her thoughts been wholly uninterested; or that the very difficulty in now doing so was a powerful argument against further delay. Alas for us! how few are the precious moments of reason! They are only those in which passion is dormant; when this sorceress is awakened, she casts her illusive lights on all things—she blinds the sight of the weak, and discolors that of the strongest.

The act of separation, which is commonly such a touchstone of friendship, was operating very differently on another party. Martha had declined entering on any correspondence without the approbation of her parents; and of course it was the business of the person seeking such intercourse to make the application. She had abundant reason to think the event of such an application would quickly be tried; but, from whatever cause, weeks passed away, and nothing transpired.

The worst effect of this omission on Martha was, that it supplied her with an excuse for allowing her mind to return to the subject. She persuaded herself that she was indifferent what reply might be given to the question by her friends, if it were only fairly proposed. But while it was not put, and while she could not entertain a doubt of the honor of the person who was bound to put it, she thought herself at liberty to recur to the state of suspense; she did not ask herself whether she could distinguish between the *state* of suspense and the *subject* of it.

Martha had promised a correspondence with the lady to whom a reference has already been made; and she now looked to it as the likely means of delivering her from suspense. On her part, there was a careful avoidance of the subject; but on the side of her friend, this was not expected, nor, to say the truth, desired. Her letters were now received with an eagerness for which Martha was not anxious to account; and, if they did not contain some allusions to a nameless party, she was more disappointed than she was willing to admit.

This unacknowledged expectation, however, had not to suffer much of disappointment. Her friend always met the subject as a favorite one. She was the more earnest in it because Martha had, once for all, dismissed it, and begged that it might be forgotten. She contended, that if the step which it was honorable to take had not been taken, it must be ascribed to an adequate cause. She said every thing she knew, and imagined more, as likely to produce a delay. And she uniformly communicated whatever she could that was calculated to impress the mind favorably of the party and his connections.

This was sincerely and kindly done, but not wisely. It was giving stimulants where sedatives are required. It was keeping the attention awake to a subject on which it should have been induced to sleep. In this medium, too, she could dwell on it with more of self-deception—it was *her friend's letters* for which she was looking. And these letters occurring at short intervals, not only kept her thoughts alive, but imparted to them, from time to time, most dangerous nourishment.

Our passions, those enemies to our peace, assail us, like the Roman gladiator, with a sword in one hand and a snare in the other; and the sword is often brandished only to allure the attention from the snare which is to overthrow us. Martha might have been prepared, by her simplicity and delicacy, to resist any open attack; but her inexperience and susceptibility blinded her to the wiles of her foe. Her feet therefore had been from the first imperceptibly entangled; and what from uneasiness, suspense, disappointment, and the injudicious counsels of friendship, the nets were only gathered more inextricably about her.

As month after month rolled over her, Martha had power more clearly to watch the workings of her troubled bosom. Reflection was forced upon her; and as she reflected, she was carried unconsciously to the conclusion that she had been disposed to give a preference to one who was unworthy of it. Had this conclusion, heart-sickening as it was, been admitted, it might have roused every thing feminine in her character to a victorious struggle; but it was resisted and put down. It was too foreign to her heart readily to admit a suspicion of a character which had won her esteem by its show of piety, generosity, and feeling.

Yet, while she refused to recognise this conclusion, her conduct began to be regulated by its influence. The thought of her heart not only shrunk more decidedly from every other eye, but shunned instinctively her own observation. It breathed no sigh, shed no tear, preferred no complaint, uttered no reproach; but it preyed silently, constantly, upon her inmost spirit.

Martha strove, powerfully strove, to be to her friends what she had uniformly been; but her *choice* was to conceal herself from all mankind. Her solitude, however, was without restraints, and she could no longer fill it with useful pursuits. She would sit, with an introverted eye, from hour to hour, poring on the conflict of her feelings, till she sunk into revery and abstraction. Her bright morning of joy had been suddenly overcast; and all the gilded prospects which opened to the eye of youth in endless perspective, were enveloped in a thick gloom, that she thought would never more be dispersed!

Martha uttered no reproaches; nor is her brother disposed to employ the language of reproach; the subject is too sacred. But a *principal end* of introducing this chapter would be lost, if it were not rendered *cautionary* and *instructive*. Those, I trust, of Martha's sex and age, would be especially open to receive benefit from this portion of her history. Let them accept all common attentions with that unconstrained kindness which is their proper reward; but the moment these attentions would assume another character, let them pause and decide on the state of their mind. If the mind is averse to them, let them be steadily discouraged till they cease; and if there is no objection arising to them,

let the voice of parents, or, in the want of them, of some judicious friend, be solicited; and let them advance not a step further until they have the sanction of those whose authority they are bound to respect, and possess an exact understanding on the ground of their intercourse. If these proprieties of conduct are not thought of by the suitor, there is much the greater need that they should be regarded by the person solicited.

Where the judgment has once decided, be severely jealous of any after-pleading of feeling. From no loose ideas of honorable intentions—suitable connection—difficulty of resisting—sentiments of humanity—invincibility of passion—or a thousand other imaginings—allow yourself to hesitate or to trifle. You are on enchanted ground. The inclination that leads you there is likely to leave you there till you are fascinated and ensnared. In such temptation your safety is in flight, and the flight is for your life! "Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away." Let not the thoughts revert to the forbidden object. There are some objects, which, like the Geysers of Iceland, while we admire them, scald us.

It must be conceded, that the kindest parents, in the very exercise of their kindness, sometimes err in the treatment of this delicate subject. From the manner in which they have too often seen it held up to young and innocent minds, as the end and scope of all education, of all hope, and of all effort, they have turned away in disgust, and have not stopped till they arrived in the opposite extreme. They have wholly proscribed the subject in conversation; they have exercised a visible jealousy over every thing that led to it, without assigning their reasons; and if the feelings connected with it have, in general life, at any time, risen to their view, they have submitted them, at once, either to ridicule or to condemnation.

Now, there may be much more of good principle and feeling in the one case than the other; but it may be doubted whether, in their consequences, both are not equally injurious. Certainly the determined avoidance of the subject cannot prepare the young and unsuspicious to meet it with prudence and wisdom; and the slightest knowledge of the human heart will convince us that such a mode is not likely to exclude it from the thoughts. To our nature, alas! the forbidden fruit is ever the most inviting.

It will be well, too, if, when the hour of trial comes, such a method do not dispose our child to withhold her confidence. She would, no doubt, violate her duty in doing so; but if, with every thing to encourage her, there is so much to be overcome before she can commit her secret thoughts to her dearest friend, what must be the power of filial devotion to enable her to approach a subject which has always been made inaccessible, and to reveal sentiments which have never been regarded with sympathy? Is it wonderful if, under such circumstances, the young heart has shrunk from its duty for the first time; and thus lost, in its deepest need, the advice and confidence of the most natural and valuable of friends?

May not the better course be, in this case, as it is allowed to be in almost every other, that which is most direct and open? Since the thoughts will run in this direction, more or less, is it not better to provide them with a safe and proper channel, rather than, by vainly resisting their progress, to cause a most dangerous accumulation? Let not the subject become a topic of usual discourse; but let this be avoided, not by a formal prohibition, but by the general tone of parental authority and character. On the fit occasion, let it be met with candor and seriousness. Let it be stripped of all mystery, that curiosity may have no nourishment. Let it have its fair weight among the events of life. Balance against its fascinations, its responsibility, and against its promises of happiness the hazards to which it exposes that happiness. Let there be sufficient familiarity on the subject between the parent and child, that she may feel the way to it accessible whenever she may desire to use it. Let her just sentiments be approved, her extravagant ones qualified; and her every sentiment, how foolish and trivial soever, be sure of a patient hearing, and a sympathizing heart.

Particularly it is of moment that this confidential intercourse should not be postponed to too late a period; the young mind has often thought and felt much on the subject before the guiding hand has directed it to those reflections which may fortify it in the hour of attack. It is needless to say it has been premature; then its affectionate guardian must condescend to be premature likewise. Wisdom will always prefer the means of prevention to those of cure; but in this case they have a stronger claim to preference than in almost any other. The remedy may be applied to the wounded spirit with *hope;* but the lessons of wisdom, falling on a heart still at rest, shall distil as the dew, and reward the strongest *confidence.*

In conclusion, what shall be said of those young persons who, bounding fresh on the novel scenes of life, and intent only on their own gratification, trouble the peace of many a happy spirit, by successively offering such attentions as nothing could justify but their continuance and rightful consummation? The *least* that can be said is, that such a course begins without honor, and ends without satisfaction. Is it to be pleaded that the intentions were honorable, that no promise was violated, and that the most that can be censured is thoughtlessness? Let the plea have all the weight it deserves; but let it be remembered, however, that many a promise may be made, such as heaven will sanction, and every honest mind consider binding, where not a line is written—not a word uttered. If honorable intentions are to be urged, let it be understood that these only exist as they are sustained by honorable conduct; and that he who can pay flattering attentions to one person which he would not to any other person in like circumstances, and carelessly transfer them to a second, may indeed possess good principles, but in this instance is not actuated by them.

Can it be endured, that on so serious a subject utter thoughtlessness is to be pleaded in extenuation? Because I judge myself secure, am I to be careless of the danger of another? Because I can trifle, am I to trifle on, indifferent to the wounds I may probably inflict on a mind less gross and more susceptible than my own? Thoughtlessness! Inconsideration! Let him who, in reckless inconsideration, wantonly wounds a tender and innocent spirit, and eventually seeks his connubial happiness elsewhere, enjoy it as he may! There is a Hand above him that registers in fearful characters the deed of folly and of negligence. And O, if there be any sorrow natural to our suffering state that makes its way direct to heaven, it must be that pure, deep, unutterable sorrow of the virgin heart, which scorns to tarry on earth, and which arises from insincere professions and inconstant attachments!

CHAPTER VII.

MENTAL EXERCISES. 1810—1811.

Sensibility has had her honors done by a thousand hands, and her praises sung by a thousand voices. With her admiring votaries she is the substance of every virtue, and the soul of every grace.

Were such expressions simply extravagant, they might pass; but as they are hurtful, it is necessary to correct them. Let her young and fond admirers know, then, that sensibility is a gift, like some we read of in Arabian story, of doubtful character, and which will benefit or injure us *as it is used*. As the handmaid of an enlightened mind, she bears the key which commands the richest treasures of earth and heaven; as the mistress of a weak and enslaved judgment, she "shows the path and leads the way" to chambers of vexation, anguish, and despair. Without sensibility there can be no enjoyment; without something more and better, our very enjoyments are poisonous.

An excess of sensibility was the weakness of Martha's character; but she was not yet aware of it. Already we have seen something of its unfavorable and dangerous influence, and we must continue to trace it in more serious connections.

The distress of the heart is not limited to place or subject; wherever it may spring, it spreads itself over the whole soul, and all its engagements. Happy as Martha had recently been in her religious enjoyments, her happiness was deeply affected by the present state of her mind. She could no longer engage in the most sacred exercises with her accustomed pleasure. She had lost her earnestness in prayer, her quietude in meditation, her joy in the house of God, and her elasticity in performing the works of love and mercy. Her thoughts were distracted; her will was fluctuating; her imagination was wayward and rebellious; and her heart was restless. The restlessness of her spirit was communicated to every service of the closet and the sanctuary, and she became growingly weary of exercises which her conscience could not approve, and by which her mind was not tranquillized.

So painful a state of mind was dangerously aggravated by Martha's susceptibility. This temper obscured the lights that still remained on her path, and made the darkness such as could be felt. It exaggerated the dangers of her situation, and discouraged her from seeking deliverance. It magnified the character of her offences, and forbade her to lift her hands for pardon. It debilitated her resolutions, resisted her hopes, and multiplied her sorrows. It made what was perplexed, inexplicable; what was gloomy, terrible; what was bad, worse. This very temper, which in her happy moments had disposed her to dwell unduly on the Divine mercy, now, when its consolations were wanting, presented to her only distorted and hopeless images of the Divine justice.

In this dark and dreary day of the soul, ignorant she was of the Christian conflict, assailed by a condemning conscience, and weakened and depressed by her constitutional infirmity, Martha's hope had perished had it been of human mould, or sustained by human energy. But her hope was divine and Scriptural. It was cast down, but not destroyed. It was often conquered, but it continued to resist. The winds blew against it, the rains fell upon it, the floods swelled and raged about it; but it remained—for it was built upon a rock.

Martha, in the first reverse of her experience, was little disposed to favor the struggles of this living and irrepressible principle within her. She discredited its suggestions; she questioned its nature; and was inclined rather to yield herself to the calm of despondency, than continue in the agitations of conflict. Her heart had been paralyzed by fear which her sensibility had nurtured; it was worn and exhausted by ceaseless warfare; and she seemed resolved to seek rest somewhere, though it should be on the ground of an enemy. The utmost that hope could do for her was to make her state less dangerous, without making it more easy; it kept her unwillingly awake to a sense of her exposure and unhappiness.

Towards the close of the year, Martha revealed her distress to me, most carefully avoiding any remark which might have led me to what she was determined to conceal. We had not been much together since we parted at B——; and the contrast of her present with her former appearance struck me painfully. Her feverish hand, her flushed complexion, and her agitated frame told me that disease had renewed its influence; and that her mind was robbed of that serene joy which possessed it so fully, when it was our privilege to hold daily and free communion. I have no distinct recollections of our converse on this occasion; but the substance of it is on my memory, and as far as it is to my purpose, I shall bring it under notice.

It will immediately be seen, that in giving advice to my sister, I was in similar circumstances with the medical attendant prescribing for a patient who purposely withholds one-half of his case, and yet expects relief. I was likewise discouraged by my limited acquaintance with the changes and trials of Christian experience. The most I could do was, not to apply the *best remedies* with the greatest skill, but to apply, with a gentle hand, those remedies which I had lately found effectual to my own healing.

I soon perceived that Martha's chief sorrow arose from the serious doubts which possessed her on the reality of her religious professions. She had incautiously mingled her hopes with her enjoyments; and now that these were gone, she was tempted to think nothing was left; that she had been deceived herself, and had deceived others; and that her religion had been superficial and transitory as the morning cloud, which passes away and is seen no more.

Without offering any distinctions between the joys that are false and those that are real and Scriptural, which might have perplexed her, I attempted at once to show that her present desponding conclusions were not authorized by her existing state of mind. To accomplish this object, it was my concern to illustrate the Christian course as a course of inward warfare. I saw that, with most young disciples, Martha, while she admitted the doctrine of a continued conflict in the Christian life, had not fully realized it to herself. When, therefore, this portion of her creed was reduced to experimental certainty, her faith and hope were unsettled; she was led to imagine that some trial had happened to her which was not common to the saints.

I insisted that her case was not peculiar, but common to the people of God; that conflict was not an *accident* of Christian life, but essential to it; that it belonged not to the commencement of this life, but that it ran through every stage of it; that it was not a conflict merely with the world, with the powers of darkness, or with the disorderly appetites of the body, but that it was a deep inward, unceasing warfare against *ourselves*—our original and strongly-rooted principles, desires, and propensities. I supported my remarks by the masterly and admirable exposition of the subject in the 7th of Romans; and maintained, with the apostle, that a constant and decided conflict of the spirit against the flesh, of grace against sin, of the new nature against the old, painful as it may be, is both a more *safe* and *accessible* evidence of Christian character than the most assured hopes or abounding joys.

My next effort was to prevent her anxious search into the *past* for the proofs of her sincerity, when her thoughts might be profitably directed to her *present* duty. I urged that it was really of little moment whether she could or could not obtain this satisfaction, compared with *believing now* on the Son

of God. That what *we have been* is not to discourage the sinner, or to prevent the saint from making an immediate application to the Saviour. That religion in its very nature is a continued intercourse with him; it is living in him, moving in him, and deriving from him, habitually, sanctity and grace. That we are always to be "coming" unto him as though we had never come before, confessing our sins, reposing on his righteousness, and imploring his salvation.

I pointed out, with earnestness, that if these views were important in every state of the Christian life, they were particularly so to her under her present darkness of mind and perplexity of evidence. I enforced the necessity, without seeking for obscured evidences, without waiting for an improved experience, of her simply acknowledging her felt demerit and sin, and pleading the unfailing promises of mercy to the unworthy; and I assured her, with the confidence of proof, that this would greatly assist in baffling her adversaries, and breaking the spell which her distressing fears had cast upon her.

In conjunction with these observations, I referred her to some parts in Newton's Letters, Stafford's Sermons on the 7th of Romans, and Gurnall's Christian Armor, which I had recently read with advantage, that she might peruse them at leisure.

Martha's doubts, however, were not entirely confined to her *personal interest* in the blessings of revelation; they were sometimes extended to the truth and genuineness of revelation itself. When her enemies could not succeed in wholly driving her hopes from their hold, they sought to shake the very foundations on which they rested. Hitherto, Martha had given her faith to revelation on the force of its internal and experimental evidence. It had revealed her thoughts, and given her the express image of her character; she had tasted and felt its proposed blessedness. This was the most efficient of all evidence, and she had been satisfied with it. But now, when she was tempted to doubt the reality of all she had felt and enjoyed, she was led occasionally to ask, whether the very truths themselves on which she had built might not also be illusive and unauthorized.

A sense of ignorance produces timidity. Martha was aware that she had neglected the general evidences by which the Christian religion commends itself to our judgment; and the suggestions of doubt were the more frequent and troublesome. Her memory, too, took the color of her mind, and quickened into activity some common place objections of infidelity which had been uttered in her hearing at a considerable distance of time for her annoyance, but which had been so dormant, that she scarcely thought they had a place in her recollection.

It was of vital importance to her peace of mind that from this subject at least all doubt should be excluded; and as it was simply a sincere and just decision on the weight of testimony supplied that was necessary, nothing seemed required except a clear and combined exhibition of those external evidences by which revelation has been sustained against all attack, and has gathered confidence from examination, while human creeds and carnal religions have perished by the very hands that wove them.

As far as conversation would admit, I touched on the leading and most tangible proofs which the subject affords, carefully dwelling on those which had most impressed my own mind. I then put into her hands successively, Doddridge's Sermons on the subject; Halyburton on Natural and Revealed Religion; Skelton on Deism; with two or three anonymous articles on the truth of revelation, that her thoughts might continue some time in one line of reflection, and that the object to be contemplated might be studied in a variety of lights and aspects.

Martha was much interested in this intercourse. I did not expect her to be suddenly relieved; but her countenance was somewhat clearer, and her heart evidently lighter, than at the moment of our meeting. I had a stronger conviction than formerly, that an indulgence of excessive feeling was likely to be a snare to her; and indeed I could not avoid ascribing her present distress principally, if not entirely, to this undue sensibility, operated on by a growing perception of human frailty and sinfulness. It was a favorable opportunity, and I resolved to acquaint her with my impressions.

Martha had said she wished to know the worst of herself.

"The worst I know of you," I replied, "is that you have too much feeling."

"O brother, I wish it were!" she said, incredulously; "surely we cannot have too much feeling if it is right feeling."

"But my dear, if right feeling, as you term it, is *excessive*, it becomes *wrong* feeling."

"But one cannot always govern one's feelings," she continued: "and is it not better to have sometimes an excess of feeling and suffer for it, than to sink into indifference and selfishness?"

"Yet why," I replied, "should you determine on choosing one of two extremes, when there is a middle path of safety and comfort open to us? I do not commend indifference; I do not blame sensibility; I condemn the *excess* of it.

"I beseech you," I continued, with greater earnestness, in these words, or words to this effect; "I beseech you, my dear, not to trifle with this evil. I consider it to be your natural infirmity; and if you nurture and indulge it, innocent as it appears in your eyes, it will be as a viper in your bosom. I cannot help ascribing all your present uneasiness and sorrow to this source—indeed I cannot!"

Martha heard a voice in these words which I could not hear; they sank into her heart, and she became thoughtful. I knew not that they bore so large an application as she was making; but I considered that her reflections, once fixed on the subject, would be of abundantly more advantage to her than any additional remarks I could offer. That her thoughts might not be prematurely disturbed, I left her to the meditations she evidently courted.

Martha's reflections were not those of an evening; they ran through several days and weeks of this period. All our conversations had been interesting to her; but her attention was especially arrested by the closing one, which, from her peculiar situation, fell like a sudden gleam of light, on a weakness of character which, until then, she had considered an excellence. She found it difficult to receive the unpleasant truth; and her pampered feelings had innumerable specious pleas to urge in their own favor. But Martha was always ingenuous with herself; and her indulgence passed into jealousy, her jealousy led to watchfulness, and her watchfulness to detection. She saw how easily an ungoverned sensibility might mislead the judgment, betray the heart, and undo the character which, in all things else, may be truly admirable. More than this, she saw that a sensibility, refined and noble as it may appear, which is not under the rule and direction of high religious principle, is only another name for that gross selfishness which it professes to scorn and reprobate.

With this discovery arose a sense of duty. A disposition which was evil in itself and injurious in its consequences was not to be tolerated in a mind set against all known sin. Martha therefore declared hostility to it in all its excesses. But, on a review of her conduct, or rather want of conduct

and activity in carrying out this resolution immediately, she was induced to fear she had mistaken a *declaration* of warfare for war itself.

However, the highest elevation is to be gained step by step. Martha had made one important step in detecting her weakness; another not less important in resolving to overcome it; the next step was to be taken unconsciously.

Few habits are more difficult of conquest than that of listless revery. Though contrary to her natural disposition, Martha had indulged in it so long as an opiate to her sorrows, that it nearly assumed the force of habit. This habit was to be imperceptibly weakened. The books I had put into her hand for perusal could only be read in the hours of retirement. As her progress would be the subject of inquiry, she was obliged to read them; and as their contents would be brought into conversation, she must give her best attention to them. These considerations, united with her sisterly affection and the weight of the questions to be discussed, brought her mind to the work.

The exercise, once begun, became easier and frequently pleasant. The authors she was daily consulting were treating the most serious subjects in the most serious manner; and gradually their spirit was diffused over hers. Her mind became calm and reflective. When not engaged in reading, she no longer resigned herself to a wandering imagination: but endeavored so to engage her thoughts on the past as to become better acquainted with herself and the dangers of her situation.

The agitation of the passions affords a valuable opportunity for self-knowledge. The heart at ease, like a fountain at rest, appears pure, transparent, and lovely in reflecting the loveliness of heaven; but let it be violently disturbed, and its turbid waters will throw up to our sight nothing but mire and dirt. Martha had now sufficient command of herself to dwell on the painful, but subsiding exercises of her mind, and they afforded her some new and deeper perceptions of her religious character. She saw much more of the natural unbelief, ingratitude, and selfishness of the heart than formerly. She saw how little submission she had to the will of God, when that submission was actually tried; and how little reliance on the Divine goodness, when that goodness ceased to be apparent to the eye of flesh. Now that all this was so evident, she wondered that it had not been seen before. Her blindness and folly seemed equalled only by her other iniquities; and her spirit sank into the nothingness of deep and genuine humility.

Meanwhile, the year waned away to its close. To Martha it brought, not only those impressions of which every reflective mind is conscious, but the sacred recollections of her covenant dedication at the termination of a former year. The period was sanctified to her profit. Her mind was touched by the frailty of life, and awed by the approach of eternity. She was reminded of all her follies and sins, and confessed them in all the tenderness of grief. As she sank in penitence she rose in confidence. She remembered the years of the Most High, and encouraged herself in her God. Her thoughts dwelt on the sacrifice and merit of her Saviour, with a most vivid sense of their unspeakable value; and she once more gave herself up to Him whom she was bound to serve. Hope, like the bow of promise, gleamed on the darkness of the retiring storm, and told of brighter days to come.

The following extracts of this date may serve further to illustrate what she felt, and how she was rising above her feelings; how she was abased under an increased conviction of her sinfulness, and possessed of higher sentiments of the Redeemer's excellence and grace.

—"I thought this letter would have been composed of the language of despair; but through the rich mercy of God, hope is again lifting up her head. O for a heart to love and praise Him, who has given us the valley of Achor for a door of hope!

—"I seem like the Israelites on their coming up from Egypt. If they looked behind them, there was Pharaoh with his host—if before them, there was the Red Sea; there was no way of deliverance. Instead of crying to the Lord, they began to murmur: but the Lord did not deal with them as they deserved; and I would hope he will not with me. O Lord, return, return, and take possession of our hearts, and enable us to live and die in thy service and to thy glory!

—"This morning my distracted mind was much supported by the sweet promise—'With every temptation He will make a way for our escape, that we may be *able to bear it.*' It was a beam of hope when my mind was sinking. I had before thought there was no passage in the word of God exactly suited to my present state of trial.

—"What a sweet prayer is that of Peter's when ready to sink—'Lord, save, or I perish!' I never saw so much beauty in it before! But when, in trying to avoid one danger, we find ourselves falling into another, it will make us cry *in earnest*, Lord, save or we perish!—O to lie low, *very low*, at the feet of Jesus, *deeply* sensible of our own weakness!

—"When I look within, I find—what shall I say? Ingratitude is too cold a name for the baseness of our conduct towards God. I feel what I deserve; but this leads me to Calvary. There the mystery of the Divine forbearance is unveiled. Yes! God hears our advocate on high, and will for ever hear. Herein is love!

"Not to be thought of but with tides of joy,
Not to be mentioned but with shouts of praise."

—"My mind is dark and carnal. But what a mercy to have a desire (though a very faint one) for *complete* deliverance from sin!

—"My mind is, as usual, dark and indifferent. O that it were with me as in months that are past! Yet is not the winter necessary as well as the summer? But I am ready to say, it is winter all the year with me. O that spring-time and harvest may come to me! Hope beams while I am writing, and I am ready to affirm that the summer will return.

—"I feel not only lukewarm, cold, and indifferent, but full of rebellion, pride, perverseness, and ingratitude. I am weary of myself; but is it from hatred to sin, or the accusations of conscience? You are ready to say, is there *no* balm in Gilead? is there *no* physician there? Yes, there is! And if I did not hope that that balm would one day be applied to my heart, I should be *quite* in despair. But when I attempt to pray for it, a lethargy seems to hang on me and prevent me. I doubt not the willingness of Jesus to save, but I doubt my willingness to be saved in *his way*. O blessed Saviour, have mercy on a wretched sinner, who feels her weakness, but who is too proud to own it—who does not like to stoop to come to Thee, as possessing nothing but sin. Take away my pride, my selfishness, my sin!

—"I cannot help taking up my pen to invite you to praise the Lord with me and for me. I do hope the Lord is again reviving his work; but I rejoice with trembling, because of this body of sin and death. I have felt the perverseness of my will subdued; I have been enabled to bless God for my trials. I have had more pleasure in reading the Scriptures, and I hope more love to the Saviour. O the goodness of God! Will he yet be gracious? Will he again grant me the smile of his counte-

nance, after all my abuse of his mercies? O for deepest humility! O that redeeming love may henceforth be my theme!"

CHAPTER VIII.

RESOLUTION. 1811.

THE mind is like the rocking-stone—a baby-hand may set it in motion, but the might of the mightiest cannot readily bring it to rest. Martha's peaceful spirit had been agitated by what was in itself a trivial occurrence; yet the master-hand of religion was necessary to rectify the judgment, and allay the pertubation of the passions. Even in the application of this power, *time* is generally to be brought into the account; for the passion will often remain in motion after the cause is removed, as the sea is seen to roll and break when the winds have ceased.

The fulness of Martha's distress had arisen from religious causes. She had lost all pleasure in those duties which were so delightful. She had prayed without life, worshipped without composure. Her thoughts had been confused and distracted. Distraction had brought darkness, darkness had brought guilt, guilt had brought doubt. She had questioned her whole profession; and, to use her own words, had concluded that her iniquities had separated between her and her God. Under such impressions, she was not aware of the influence of any *secondary* sorrow; but no sooner were her fears appeased on this principal subject than her mind was alive to meaner anxieties.

Her thoughts involuntarily reverted to those circumstances which had originated all her sorrows. Accustomed to run in this channel, they could not at once be completely diverted, and there were peculiarities in the case which invited them in this direction; particularly the continued representations of her friend at C——— had this tendency. She always touched on the subject, more or less, in her correspondence, and always with the same confidence. She was sure that all was right—that a declaration would be made—and she assigned specious reasons for its delay, some of which, indeed, would have had considerable weight on the most impartial judgment.

It was impossible that her mind should remain uninfluenced by such assurances. Martha was desirous of believing them, not on her own account, but for the sake of another. She thought that she cared not for the result of the affair; she was only anxious that her opinion of the party should not be changed. In defiance, however, of her gentle and unsuspecting nature, that opinion was insensibly altering. If, indeed, any unwelcome suggestions arose to her mind, she would repress them, and exclaim, "It cannot be—it cannot be;" yet her thoughts shrunk from the confidence which these negatives implied; they hung in doubt—in doubt of the truth and honor of one whose conduct seemed to affect her estimation of human nature generally. "This suspense!" she would say—"this suspense—any thing is better than this suspense!"

These were only the occasional wanderings of a mind not as yet fully controlled. But Martha now possessed as clear a perception of her state as any one can pretend to, where the feelings have been at all engaged. She acknowledged to herself the weakness of her character, and pursued it in all its most dangerous tendencies. In the trial which still entangled her straying thoughts, she saw and felt distinctly what was to be done; that to banish suspense, she must destroy expectation; and that expectation was to be destroyed, not by balancing powerful reasons against the weaker, but by the exclusion of the subject altogether from thought. Religion, which had made her way plain before her face, gave her strength to enter on it, thorny and rough as it was to fleshly sensations.

The first step in this course led her to dispose of her C——— correspondence. She had valued it for its own sake, and it was difficult for her to abandon it, associated as it had been with many marks of Christian friendship. But it had injured her, and it would still injure her. The very sense of her weakness was her strength; for it would not allow her, in this struggle, to leave any known advantage in the hands of her enemy. Her resolution was taken, painfully taken; and though not avowed, was soon accomplished. That correspondence quickly expires to which one of the parties becomes indifferent.

The next measure was strictly to forbid herself the perusal of any book which should have a tendency to feed those thoughts she was seeking to subdue. Happily, Martha did not see, in all its extent, the importance of this resolution; for she had no acquaintance with that class of books which abounds with an exuberant and vicious sentimentality. But she had found, in her present state of mind, works that were not only unexceptionable but truly excellent, dangerous to her. She considered her mind as diseased. What others might feed on with ease and advantage would do her an injury; and therefore it was her duty to abstain. In this conviction she experienced a jealousy towards all works of imagination, whether in prose or rhyme; and avoided every thing that might excite sensibilities already too quick and pungent.

Finally, as a means of peculiar value, she resolved on keeping her attention fully engaged and preoccupied. She had already felt the efficacy of this remedy, and sensible benefit urged her to a complete and persevering trial. Her salutary purpose was confirmed by a sentence in the letters of Henry Kirke White. He expresses it as his conviction, "that a life of full and constant employment is the only safe and happy one." Martha had a strong sympathy with the character and sufferings of this young and amiable martyr to ambitious excitation; his opinion fastened on her memory, and frequently arose to her thoughts in the moment of need.

Let it not be supposed that this moment of need never came, or came but seldom—that having once taken her resolution, it was without difficulty fulfilled. No—it cost her many and sharp encounters with herself. While she kept to the *letter* of her purpose, the *spirit* was not always attainable. If the hands were busily pressing the needle on its progress, the mind would wander from so mechanical a task. If she turned to the page of knowledge, it was often necessary to review, and review, the same few sentences she had read, to possess their meaning. If she thought, her thoughts would frequently make their way, by a most circuitous course, to the borders of forbidden ground; and her mutinous imagination would find resemblances in present objects to things that were to be forgotten, where really nothing but disparity existed.

Amid these discouragements, however, Martha remained steady to her purpose. Her mind was differently affected to what it had been in her former conflict. She was now satisfied that there was no collusion between her and her enemy. If she could not always forget, she always strove to forget. If she could not do all she desired, she desired to do all she ought. "To will was present with her:" and if she could not secure success, she was yet determined, in a strength above her own, to exercise resistance to the last. She had therefore for her companion an approving conscience, which shed joy and confidence on her spirit. She partook of the blessedness of the man who resisteth temptation—almost the exclusive blessedness of this frail

state. For all are exposed to temptation; the only difference is between those who yield and those who resist. Martha was enabled to resist; and she found that there is unspeakably more gratification in conquest than in compliance.

But the body will sometimes sink under a conflict for which the mind is adequate. The complicated distress and depression of Martha's spirit, during several months, operating on a frame naturally delicate, had brought her health once more into a hazardous state. Medical advice was again sought, and again she was ordered into the country. At her especial desire, she was to go to Cheshunt; and arrangements were made for her and her young friend of that place to reside together.

Our parents allowed no great domestic event to transpire without an extraordinary act of domestic worship. As Martha's separation from her family was likely to be permanent, it would have been sufficient to authorize this service; but as their younger son was about to change his home for the business and temptation of the world, and as I was now looking to a settlement in some part of the church of God, the situation of the family appeared eminently eventful; and it excited a proportionate degree of parental anxiety.

This anxiety and care they sought, by prayer and supplication, to cast on Him who had so often shown that he cared for them. An evening was set apart for the solemn and delightful purpose. Doctor Winter, my mother's pastor, presided. He read and paraphrased the affecting passage which records Jacob's departure from his father's house. He presented a most earnest and appropriate prayer, acknowledging the mercies of the family, and particularly noticing the circumstances of each of its members. The service, in its own nature, was interesting: and there was an unction upon our worship. The heart seemed enlarged to pray, the lips to sing praise, and the thoughts to meditate. The feeling of one was the feeling of all; it was the communion of saints, the communion of heaven. Our parents wept from gratitude, anxiety, and love; and their children wept in sympathy with their sentiments. Those tears were among the happiest shed by mortals! Martha and I frequently alluded to the prayers and pleasures of that night; it was marked by one of those monumental pillars erected and ascribed to the Divine goodness, in the way of our pilgrimage, which it did the heart good to look back upon.

With the blessings of her family on her head, Martha went to Cheshunt, and took up her proposed residence with her friend. They were now alone, and had nothing to annoy their intercourse. The change was decidedly advantageous to my sister. She was not in solitude either by day or night; and this assisted her greatly in controlling her thoughts. Her friend, too, was as judicious as she was kind in her conduct. She diverted Martha's attention when it was sinking into herself; soothed her spirit beneath the occasional weight of nervous depression, and engaged her mind by a variety of nameless light and pleasing female occupations. In every thing she watched over her peace of mind, and conversed freely on those religious topics which were most likely to promote it. These attentions were medicinal. They worked insensibly, but daily and effectually. Martha, who could not underrate an expression of kindness, often spoke of them as invaluable to her at this period.

According to her ability, and beyond her ability, Martha strove to make her daily walks, walks of usefulness. She could not be happy in seeking her own benefit, unless it was connected with that of others. She reproached herself for having cooled in the works of benevolence, and anxiously sought to redeem the time. She introduced herself into the neighboring cottages; and soon made friends to herself of the old and young. Many of the children she undertook to instruct; and pressed on the attention of the parents, in an easy and familiar way, the most important subjects of temporal and eternal interest. The sick of her own sex were objects of especial sympathy; and to all, and everywhere, she sought to distribute tracts, a favorite mode with her of endeavoring to do good. Much may be done by these means at a very small expense: but Martha cheerfully consecrated to them her entire pocket money.

An undue ardor in accomplishing an important object will sometimes endanger it. Martha had so sedulously improved the advantages of her situation as almost to exclude herself from her beloved retirement. She was not aware that by violent restraints she might produce a revulsion of mind; that society might be rendered most wearisome, and retirement become an object of unappeasable solicitude.

Circumstances, however, supplied the place of experience. The season of the year advanced; her strength was considerably increased; and she felt herself able to go a sufficient distance from home to retrace those quiet paths of which she had so pleasant a recollection. She thought that retirement in this mode, as it was most inviting, so it would be harmless. She had found that, in the presence of nature, she was "never less alone than when most alone;" her mind had objects to dwell upon; objects that could not injure it, and in which it delighted. She listened therefore to the yearnings of her spirit; and many a summer's evening she strolled away from human intercourse, to intercourse more safe and refined.

In communing with objects that led to reflection, it was not possible that her reflections should always preserve the character she desired. They would sometimes sink into gloom; sometimes start aside to interdicted things; but they were more commonly obedient to her will, and of a profitable tendency.

Martha looked on nature with an altered eye; but there was nothing in her aspect to offend the sight. Nature had heightened her gladness in her most happy days, and now she soothed a spirit struggling with its own weaknesses and the sufferings of this mortal state. Her very pensiveness of mind, far from being an impediment, gave her a deeper relish for her charms. Her pent sensibilities flowed strongly into this channel; the more they were indulged, the more they asked indulgence: till, in the idea of the exercise being safe and salutary, it was likely to become excessive, and therefore hurtful. How difficult is it to say how far the passions of the heart may go! How much more difficult, when they have reached the admitted boundary, to say—Thus far, but no farther!

Martha must be forgiven, if occasionally she lost all idea of hazard, in the fulness of enjoyments which were so congenial to her newly-awakened tastes, and so calculated to raise her above worldly sorrow, or soften down its rough realities. The cup of joy had been too much alienated from her lips, and she drank of it with proportionate eagerness. Nature, in the glowing splendors of morning; nature, in the solemn infinitude of night; nature, rocked by convulsive storms; nature, reposing on the bosom of silence; nature, shrouded in folded clouds; nature, smiling under the blessed light of heaven; nature, in all the freshness, bloom, and beauty of youth; nature, dishevelled, decrepit, and dying with age; nature, in all her endless varieties of form, of color, and of aspect, was still familiar, still delightful.

Martha at this period did not think of delineating her feelings. It was enough for her to see, to feel, and to enjoy. She did not deceive herself into enjoyment that she might *record* it, and record it that she might *exhibit* it. It was enough that she was happy; and if in this respect she could think herself happier than many, she considered herself, not the superior person, but the more privileged.

The following lines, therefore, were written at a later date; but as they are evidently recollections of pleasures very much associated with this time, they find their proper place in this chapter. As a preface to these, and any other verses that may follow in the progress of the narrative, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that they are by no means introduced to claim for the subject of this memoir "all sorts of talent." Many lives have been so written, as if, whatever excellence might be proved to belong to the individuals, all would be vain, unless it could be shown that they *made verses;* and such contemptible specimens have sometimes been brought as evidence on this important particular, that the eye can scarcely meet measured lines in such connection without ridicule.

In exposing myself to this danger, I have simply to state, that nothing of the kind is brought forward to prove that Martha had talent of any order or degree. It is brought forward, and with reluctance, to illustrate her *moral character;* and if the introduction of the pieces that appear were not thought necessary to the development of moral tastes and pleasures, they would certainly have been omitted, rather than risk a charge which in too many cases has been justly preferred.

Oft to these wond'ring eyes hast thou reveal'd
Such finish'd beauty, that, in rapture lost,
My soul has seem'd inebriate with joy.
O, I have gazed upon the dewy morn,
Distilling fragrance from each shrub and flower,
All various, all harmonious, till I felt
New life within!—Exulting, I have watch'd
The golden radiance of the setting sun
Tinging the meads with glory—striking deep
Into the thickest shade, until my heart
Has glow'd beneath its beams. And I have watch'd
The evening star rise slowly; trac'd its course,
And felt as if I follow'd in its train.
Nor yet unfrequent by the lake's cool brink
I've sat sequester'd, panting for that peace
Of which it seem'd the emblem. Nothing there
Incongruous seem'd: around, the waving trees
Reflected in the stream; the distant bells
Just heard at intervals; and then the hum
Of the lone beetle, or the plaintive note
Of some sad songstress, spoiled of her young.
In such a scene, so tranquil, so retired,
Scarce has the pulse of life appear'd to beat
And e'en the clock ofttimes has been so still,
As if it dare not vibrate. I have stood
Gazing on thee, sweet nature, till my soul
Has been uplifted with devoutest love
And holy admiration. I have long'd
For other powers to celebrate the praise
Of that infinite Wisdom, perfect Love,
And pow'r omnipotent, which could devise,
Create, and then maintain the wondrous whole!
Thou dost proclaim His glory; yet art thou,
In all thy beauty, but the passing shade
Of that bright world where He himself resides!
Yet will I meditate upon thy charms—
With thee converse in all thy hidden grace,
Let me still see thy features, and direct
My heart beyond thyself, the fairest type,
To that celestial Eden, where my soul
Shall range at large, and see the great Supreme!

CHAPTER IX.

MENTAL IMPROVEMENT. 1812—14.

The wheel of Providence is constantly making its revolutions, and throwing up the most unexpected events. At the close of the year 1811, I accepted of a pastoral charge in London, and designed making a temporary residence with my parents. Martha could not allow herself to be out of the way. She forgot nature; contended that her health fully admitted of her return; flew to the arms of her friends; joined in the solemnities of ordination; and became an inhabitant with me of the same dwelling. Thus the arrangement for her at Cheshunt, which was considered permanent, was comparatively of slight continuance.

I remained with my sister in these circumstances upwards of two years. Instead of passing through this period week after week, or month after month, I shall endeavor to give a miniature sketch of the whole under a few leading particulars, not scrupling to carry an occasional remark into future life, if it will prevent the awkwardness of repetition. By this method I expect the reader will command a clearer and more compressed view of my sister's occupations and progress.

After our mutual rejoicings at being thus brought together, the first thing that occurred to us was, that a fine opportunity was furnished for superintending Martha's mental improvement. I soon found that the pupil had calculated upon this even more than her teacher, and I was prepared to enter on the pleasing task with greater alacrity. No instructer ever had a fairer field to cultivate. There were no perversities of will, no vexations of temper, to contend with; and her powers of mind, without being extraordinary, were good. The soil needed the hand of cultivation, and it would reward it bountifully.

As in husbandry the ruling principle is to adapt the seed to the soil, so in education the great secret is to accommodate the lessons to the dispositions and capacities of the pupil. Education cannot be carried to a successful issue but as this principle is recognized and respected. If two young persons, the one with a searching understanding but dormant invention, the other with a luxuriant imagination but feeble judgment, are submitted to exactly the same process of education, it is obvious that, whichever plan be adopted, it will, in *one case*, be rather an injury than a boon. The elements of knowledge may be given to two, to twenty, or, such are our mechanical improvements, to hundreds in class; but *education*, in the complete sense of the term—that education which consists in forming right principles, just tastes, and benevolent dispositions—can only be given by bringing the person taught into immediate and familiar contact with a teacher who has a penetrating eye to seize on the points of natural character, and a steady hand to prune what is excessive, and to nurse and strengthen what is feeble.

Into these simple views Martha was fully prepared to enter. She was just as ready to admit the weak parts of her character, and most desirous of adding to the means already used to fortify them. The object, of course, was to exercise, expand, and invigorate her mental powers, as distinguished from the affections of the heart. To accomplish this, it did not appear desirable or necessary to bind down her attention to a dry and abstruse study which should answer this end *only;* it was rather wished to keep the mind actively engaged on those subjects which, apart from the *discipline* they brought with them, would be useful to her in future life. The plan, therefore, was of the most simple character.

We began at the beginning. As an introduction, Martha read Watts's Improvement of the Mind, twice over; and, as a text book for her future studies, she made herself familiar with the contents and arrangement of Millard's Cyclopædia, with slight variations. She then went through Murray's Grammar, for which an abridgment had already prepared her, not merely committing its rules to memory, but understanding and applying them. With the grammar we united geography; the outline was supplied by Turner and Goldsmith, the detail by Pinkerton.

When these were made easy, she proceeded to history, and read Prideaux's Connection of Sacred and Profane History; Rollin's Ancient History; selections from The Ancient Universal History on the Jewish, Grecian, and Roman Empires; accompanied with an abridgment of Spence's Polymetis, and the occasional use of Bryant's Mythology. On modern history she studied Goldsmith's abridgment of the History of England, with large selections from Rapin; Adolphus's History of the Reign of George III.; Custance's Constitution of England; Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth; Russell's Modern Europe; with references to the Modern Universal History, and some historical articles in the Encyclopædia.

With history we soon associated natural philosophy. On this subject she studied Adams's Lectures, Rowning's Natural Philosophy, Parke's Chymical Catechism, and some articles in the Encyclopædia. To natural philosophy we attached natural history, and made use of an abridgment of Buffon in three volumes, with Durham's Physico and Astro-Theology.

To these succeeded philosophy, properly so called. The authors studied were, Enfield's History of Philosophy; Locke on the Understanding; Reid's Essays; Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind; Watts's Logic, &c.

In directing Martha's course of self-instruction, it was not designed to bring down her sensibilities to the present tone of her mind, but to raise her mind to a decided pre-eminence over her feelings; and while her thoughts, her judgment, and her memory were kept in exercise with evident advantage, there did not appear to be danger in cultivating those tastes which feed on whatever is beautiful or sublime in the works of man and of God. If, in the act of cultivation, those tastes should be strengthened, they would also be corrected, and would become more safe by being more discriminative. I fear, indeed, I must not say that inclination gave no additional weight to this argument; for I could not willingly see her excluded from a world of rich and pure enjoyment. The effort was not to expel her from her paradise, but to extract the sting of that serpent which made it hazardous to dwell there.

Connected, therefore, with the course already specified, Martha read Burke on the Sublime, Alison on Taste, Kaim's Elements, and Blair's Lectures, united with the unexceptionable productions of some of our best poets, the essays of the Spectator, Rambler, and Idler, and a select few of that very small class of prose fictions which have a tendency, in the most attractive manner, to expose the fallacies of passion, to brace the mind to firmness and perseverance, and to acquaint us with the ensnarements and unhappiness of a most alluring world.

It cannot be supposed that in these pursuits *religion* was forgotten. When Martha had made herself mistress of those religious treatises named in a former chapter, she continued her studies through this period by reading successively, but perhaps not exactly in the following order: Paley's Natural Theology, and Moral and Political Philosophy; Butler's Analogy; Beattie on Truth; Gregory's Evidences; Gisborne's Duties of Men and Women; with some of the most valuable pieces of Witsius, Owen, Baxter, Watts, and Edwards. To these should be added, apart from the miscellaneous books of the day, by some of which she was much edified, Mosheim's Ecclesiastic History, and many volumes of religious biography, a line of reading in which she found great pleasure.*

It is not to be concluded that Martha always brought to these pursuits the same temper of mind. Sometimes, with an unexplored library before her, she would be tempted in her eagerness to drink down all knowledge at once, to run promiscuously from book to book, without acquainting herself with any one of them. It was then necessary to remind her that a superficial acquaintance with books is not knowledge; that there is no path to knowledge but that of patient industry. Frequently I repeated to her the maxim of Locke—that to learn much we must learn a little at a time, and learn it well; and as often the maxim of Lord Burleigh—that to do any thing well, we must do one thing at a time.

Occasionally, this ardor would subside into discouragement. The new world opened to her sight was so spacious and unwieldy that she should never be able to traverse it—so much was to be done, it was in vain to attempt any thing; and she was sometimes in danger, from the conviction that she had too much to do, of really doing nothing. Generally, one kind word from her teacher would dissipate this depression; and her mind was fortified against its return by making her sensible of her progress, and by assurances that, however small it may at first appear, it would be effectual if continued; that the world before her, like the material one we inhabit, was to be compassed by resolute perseverance, in adding one poor short step to another; and that those who had explored the most of it were at least as remarkable for their irrepressible activity as for their native genius.

It might sometimes occur that Martha's attention would linger so long on a work which filled her imagination and interested her feelings, as to consume the time allotted to some drier study; but it admitted of an easy remedy. There was a tacit acknowledgment between us of Martha's deficiencies, and of the adaptation of her present pursuits to overcome them; and an exchange of looks was always sufficient to correct the irregularity. Her expression was that of gentle affection, and seemed to say, "Yes, brother, I thank you—I have been foolish, but I will avoid it in future."

These, however, were only exceptions from a general rule. Martha, on the whole, gave herself to these pursuits with an energy which surprised and delighted me; and which would have afforded greater surprise, had I then known how powerful an exercise of self-denial it involved. Her diligence was even greater than I was aware. Since her papers have fallen into my hands, I have met with several abridgments of books she perused beyond what I knew to exist, and which evince as much skill in the selections as industry in the performance.—They are now sad memorials of a hand that slumbers in dust.

Altogether, these exercises were highly beneficial.

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* Martha's course of reading is here traced, because the writer knows the youthful and inquiring eye will pass over it with gratification; but, at the same time, he does not wish it to be considered altogether unexceptionable. Some books may not stand where he should now place them. Some works that are not named would be introduced; and a few of those which are named require to be read with caution, and praised with qualification.

They occupied her thoughts and fed her understanding. They refined her tastes, and gave her confidence in her own judgment. They raised the tone of her conversation, and spread abroad the concealed excellences of her character. They multiplied her sources of gratification, and taught her to partake of them without injury—with abundant advantage. Her profiting, which appeared to all, became, in some degree, sensible to herself.—She always referred to these studies as, considering all the circumstances, fraught with singular and indefinite importance.

Lest it should be supposed that Martha necessarily gave all her time to these attainments, I subjoin a table for the allotment of her hours at this period, which I have found in her memoranda. It will show how much may be done by a regular appropriation of a comparatively small portion of time to our object, and that Martha was conscientiously concerned to have all her time rightly occupied.—It of course applies only to the time spent at home—we shall have occasion to see how it was devoted when abroad :—

"REDEEMING THE TIME.

Rise at six, when my health allows.
Read till family prayer.
Breakfast, eight o'clock.
Retire for private devotion.
Read a hymn and Scriptures in order.
Go to market.
Attend to domestic concerns, and work till twelve.
Read till one.
Work till two.
Dress—Dinner—Read till four.
Tea.
Read and work till eight.
Devotion.
Supper.
Family prayer.
Work and converse till retire."

I find, in the same connection, the following notices; and as they are congenial with the subject of this chapter I introduce them:—

"Dr. Hartley advises his sister to seek cheerfulness in constant employment. Let me remember this.

"In the company of my superiors let me be generally silent, and ready to receive instruction, that I may be able to impart knowledge to my equals.

"Is my mind inactive? Let me read the lives of eminent young persons—mark their attainments in piety and knowledge—Blush!—And let not another day of my life pass away without having done something towards the cultivation of my understanding.—Am I disposed to be vain of a little knowledge? Let me go to the same school, and there learn that I know nothing, and that in proportion as I know any thing as I ought to know it, I shall be humble."

CHAPTER X.

DOMESTIC CHARACTER. 1812—13.

THE proper sphere of woman is so strongly delineated by a Divine finger, that it must be apparent to every eye which is not wilfully blind. Those who question or deny it start aside from their orbit, and by their irregularities give and receive a disastrous influence; while those who contentedly move in the circle assigned them, not only fulfil the pleasure of their Creator, but, in silence and without observation, like the moon in heaven, are shedding around them a refreshing sympathy that shall gladden many a heart, and a gentle light that shall guide and confirm many a hesitating footstep.

Martha, on her return home, had the domestic management of the household put entirely into her hands. This arrangement was made very much at my solicitation, as I was unwilling that her attention should be engrossed by mental pursuits, and very desirous that she should be trained to the exercise of those domestic virtues, which are indispensable to the excellence of female character.—Hitherto her thoughts had not been occupied in this direction; I had sometimes concluded that she was indifferent to the "study of household good;" and it was with some anxiety, that I paused to observe how she would occupy an untried situation.

It was with proportionate satisfaction I saw her enter on the proposed duties with the greatest readiness of mind. Her attention, I found, had been lately brought to the subject of domestic economy, as a study of high importance to young females, by some admirable observations from the pen of Mrs. More; and now that the subject was fairly under her notice, her good sense at once suggested what was due to it, and what due to herself. She was moreover influenced, as I afterwards learned by the resolution she had formed of keeping herself fully employed. A *change* of engagement was necessary to accomplish this purpose, as the mind cannot dwell continuously and always on the same object.

Having accepted of her new duties, Martha did not choose to meet them with petty expedients, planless bustle, and culpable ignorance. She had too much spirit to give occasion to those who were to obey her orders, for questioning her competency to command; and too much conscience to permit herself to be a party in transactions, while her ignorance prevented her deciding on their equity or injustice. She determined to acquaint herself with whatever it was proper for her to know. She therefore thankfully received the lessons of experience which a kind parent could supply; carefully minuted any valuable hints which she could otherwise obtain; and as carefully read over a few select treatises on the subject, which might enlarge or confirm her information.

Martha's first concern was, to lay down a plan of expenditure adapted to her means, that she might not be embarrassed in the appropriation of her money. To accomplish this, she entered into calculations of the average expenses for the week, month, and quarter, taking care to keep within the line of possibility. She knew, therefore, how the expenses of a week would affect those of the year; and was not liable to be surprised, at the end of a considerable period, into arrears for which she had failed to provide.

Martha soon found that arithmetic is the handmaid of economy, and resolved to improve herself in this neglected branch of female education. Her daily duties insensibly assisted her in effecting this resolution. She kept a correct journal of her current expenses, preserved in order her bills of charges, and was prompt and punctual in settling with her tradesmen, that they might never be tempted to seek illegitimate profits. She took much pains to acquaint herself with the real value of things; and as a great means of realizing the object, she generally made her own purchases. It was a practice with her, not of option, but of uniform obligation, to satisfy herself of the quality and quantity of articles delivered before they were used; that what was an affair of *business* might never become one of frequent and unwholesome suspicion.

It was soon ascertained by Martha that comfort is not proportioned to expense; and, indeed, that often no two things are farther apart. Here then was room for skill and taste to operate; and so successfully were they employed, that I believe few young persons, with an equal cost, could have prepared a table of such pleasing and simple combina-

tions, or could have given to a family habitation more the air of comfort.

The detail of domestic service was made easy by being reduced to *order*. Every thing had its place; every event had its time; and each servant had her respective duties. Hurry was avoided by avoiding delay; confusion was prevented by observing rule. Something was always done, and with so little inconvenience that one wondered when it was accomplished.

Martha endeavored to support her authority with her servants by reason and justice. She knew what could be done, and how it was to be effected. She did not, therefore, make impracticable demands; and she was aware when to praise and when to blame. She never allowed herself to be governed in her conduct towards them by humor or caprice. They could calculate on her approval or disapprobation before it was expressed. It was never in their power to say, "My mistress is out of humor, and do what I will, I cannot please her;" a declaration which, if made with truth, will sap the basis of all authority.

If Martha, at this early age, scrupled to assert her authority in all its naked strictness, she more than supplied the deficiency by her steady conciliating kindness. With her servants she was not familiar, she was not distant, but uniformly discovered, without effort, a concern in their welfare. She read to them; she conversed with them; she assisted them in getting up any articles of apparel; she noticed any slight indisposition with sympathy; and gave many spontaneous proofs, such as a kind heart will often suggest, of her regard to their comfort. Her interest in their welfare inspired them with a desire to please her; and the desire to please made even drudgery a lightsome burthen. She taught them to love her, and this taught them to love their duty.

In her utmost frugality there was not a particle of niggardliness. Her economy was exercised on things rather than persons; and she would go as far as fidelity to her trust would allow, in subduing ill-will and unthankfulness. She never grudged what was *necessary*, because she never permitted what was superfluous. Every thing was done "without envyings and without ostentation." She took a share cheerfully in entertaining visiters to the family; and her whole manner, rather than any set words, expressed "a kindly welcome," which put the heart at rest in her society.

Every important attainment is made progressively. It is scarcely necessary, therefore, to remark, that Martha did not make herself mistress of her arrangements by any sudden effort, or that she had in her progress to contend with numerous difficulties. Domestic comfort, more than any thing besides, springs from the happy organization of a surprising multitude of small parts. In a machine of so many and such minute divisions, something will get wrong, and will threaten to interrupt the movement of the whole. Martha was made fully sensible of this; and observed upon it, with a truth which the best read in human nature will confirm, "That a number of small vexations always occurring, are more trying to the temper and resolution than one serious calamity."

In harmony with this just remark, I cannot avoid uttering a conviction, that those females who shun and dislike the duties of domestic life, as *below* them, would really find, on candid inquiry, that they are *far above them;* that they have not a mind strong enough, or motives pure enough, to discharge them. The detail must be seen; but if it is exclusively seen, it will appear trivial, perhaps revolting; there must be mind enough to comprehend the *total*, and to perceive how it bears on human life and happiness. There must be a perseverance that will steadily travel to this result, and a patience that will endure the numerous petty interruptions to its progression.

Exalted *motive* is equally necessary to these duties. In the retirement of home there is nothing to feed vanity, and but little aliment for selfishness. The theatre is too small for display, and the spectators are too homely to afford excitation. There is much to be done that is not seen; and a thousand little provocations to be borne without sympathy, as they are too trifling to be repeated. If every thing moves well, it is perhaps without observation; if any thing fails, it is sure to be discovered: as a watch may go correctly the whole day unnoticed, but should it stop for five minutes it will certainly be detected. It is evident, that a person who meets such engagements as these, with no higher motives than vanity and self-love, will disregard and despise them. She will neither be happy nor bestow happiness. She may, by necessity, remain in the centre of her family, but her mind will be "not at home." She will be sighing and vaporing for some other pursuits, either worldly or religious, in which she can do something that shall be applauded, and can receive her applause from a larger circle of admirers.

If Martha's spirits were ever in danger of yielding to the discouragements of her domestic employ, she was supplied with an effectual remedy in her *benevolence*. She was not thinking of herself, but of others; and if occasionally her strength was exhausted, her mind chafed, and care was creeping over her countenance, she would instantly become herself again, under the cordial conviction that she was promoting the comfort of those dearest to her. Their acknowledgment was an ample reward for her largest exertions. How often have I seen her features brightened with heartfelt joy, on receiving the caress of the father, the kind word of the mother, the approving glance of the brother, which expressed gratification in her attentions!

We are often more impressed by the *manner* of doing a thing than by the act itself; and after all that has been stated, it was rather by Martha's manner than her services that her family were delighted. She did not "do her best," and then carelessly wait for its effect. She did not spread her table, and then depress its attendants with a saddened aspect and ill-humored complaint. She considered the hour of meals as the hour of recreation; and she was anxious to connect with it higher gratification than the animal palate can partake. She looked to it as a season of pleasure, and she therefore met it with smiles. There was an interest and earnestness in her manner, which gave a charm to the simplest food and the slightest attention. Nature had not, perhaps, given her that quick observation of trifling circumstances, on which so much of domestic urbanity and comfort depend; but benevolence more than supplied the deficiency; for love has a superior sight to sagacity. Her affectionate eye would run in a moment over the well-known features of her family, and catch as quickly their several expressions. An unerring sympathy would prompt her deportment. It would tell her when to speak, when to be silent. It suggested what attentions would be acceptable, and what oppressive. It would dwell on her countenance with most fascinating power; and would not fail to bring its object under its genial influence. Few, very few knew so well how to heighten joy, or diminish grief; or have had such benevolent pleasure in reducing their knowledge to practice. It was difficult, if not impossible, to remain sad in her presence. The thought of her, in the mind of the family, was identified with cheerfulness; and I have often

marked with surprise, how her influence would insensibly chase away anxiety and fatigue from the countenance, as the morning mist is dissipated by the smiling and gentle approach of the blessed light.

But the most pleasing recollections I have of this period are connected with the winter's evening. Many a time, when the course of daily duty has been run, when the world, with its noise and turmoil, has been shut out, when the frugal repast has been shared, has Martha wheeled back the table, and pressed us to form our chairs round the lively fire which she always took care to provide for us. This was her opportunity. In this magic circle there was no resisting her influence. She had often tried it, and as often found it successful. Frequently, in the consciousness of her power, as we settled down snugly in our seats, she would say, "There now we are happy;" assured that if we were not already so, we were in the way to be so. And if she could once see her assertion confirmed by her winning kindness, she herself was more than happy—happy in bestowing, happy in receiving.

Conversation usually began with her, and always in the most easy, generally in the most playful manner. When she had won attention, she had some anecdote to narrate, or some striking portion from an author to read, or some question to start, which had occurred to her in her day's pursuits. Frequently she would report to me her progress in the books she was studying; and this would often lead to discussions on their style or their subject. Whether these discussions were serious or sportive, she was always intent on making them interesting to her parents; and wherever the conversations commenced, they commonly ended in religion, an element in which we were all peculiarly at home.

If religion became the theme, it was not because the tone of conversation was sinking, but because it was rising above ordinary things. Religion did not depress our cheerfulness, it refined it. How often has the hour of "sweet domestic converse" been imperceptibly prolonged, when this has been our subject! How often has it been dwelt upon, till life's tumult was forgotten, or heard only murmuring in the distance; till, alive to our present state of pilgrimage, we greeted each other as citizens of a better country; till our hopes blended with our meditations, and our meditations were lost amid the harps, the joys, the society of that blessed world!

Then followed the evening hymn and the apostolic prayer—and the unanimous, fervent Amen. Then came the parting words, the kind wishes.—Martha's heart always overflowed with them. The softness of her voice, the beaming of her eye, the gladness of her smile, the happiness of those hours, they are with me still—they will never depart!

The feeling attached to these enjoyments, and the value set upon those domestic attentions which have been briefly illustrated in this chapter, may, by those occupying the earlier period of youth, be considered somewhat overcharged. This, however, is not the *season* in which they are generally secure of a just estimate. In the first heyday of youth, when the heart is hurried with the anticipation of novel enjoyment, when the illusions of hope rest on every object, and promise a day without clouds, a life without fear, and pleasures without end, happiness cannot be recognized in the simple guise, the retiring habits, and quiet tenor of domestic life. It is only as these spells are broken by the rod of experience, as disappointment treads in the footsteps of hope, as vexation mingles with pleasure, as the bleak winds of worldly adversity chill and depress the undue ardor of the spirit, that it is disposed to return to those humble scenes which it had scorned. *Then* home is charming; and the tongue that knows no guile, and the heart that yearns with sympathy, and the thousand attentions and thousand decencies which flow through domestic life, all unpretending as they are, are sure to be rightly appreciated. Happy is he who, in such a state of mind, can still find in the mother, the wife, the sister, these real consolations! thrice happy he who, early taught to form a just estimate of happiness, has *always* drunk of these peaceful waters, and has only found their sweetness increased by the bitter draughts which a vain and insincere world has forced upon him!

CHAPTER XI.

DEVOTEDNESS. 1812—13.

No sooner had I accepted of a charge in London, than Martha determined on uniting herself to it; and on the 3d of January, 1812, she was admitted into my fold, and I became her pastor. The solemnity of the act, and the period of the year, caused her mind to revert, with peculiar seriousness, to her former exercises of dedication; and giving herself again to the Lord, she gave herself to his people, desirous of continuing in the apostle's doctrine, in breaking of bread, in fellowship, and in prayers.

Martha regarded this sacred connection, as not merely bestowing privileges, but as imposing obligations. She thought of herself as of the least of all saints; yet she considered that the least and the poorest was possessed of some one talent; and that there was the same proportionate responsibility resting on the application of one talent as of many. She was aware, too, that her situation brought with it peculiar claims. She was not only a voluntary member of a Christian church, which had a right to demand of each member a devotedness to the common prosperity; she was the relative of its minister; and if she was previously intrusted with the talents of example and influence, she felt that they were now increased in their weight and value ten-fold. She had been faithful over a few things; Providence now committed to her many; and it was her anxious desire so to keep and employ them as in the sight of her helper and her judge.

The instruction of the young first engaged Martha's attention; that labor of love in which she had always delighted. I was at this time organizing the Sabbath-school, and she became a most valuable assistant. She conferred with me on the arrangement of the female department; awakened feeling towards the object, as one of eminent importance; and proposed herself as a teacher. Her example was quickly emulated; and she became the centre of an excellent band of serious young persons, who were ready to communicate what they had freely received.

Not so much from the whispers of prudence as from her characteristic humility, Martha resolved on taking the *youngest* class. To the interests of this class she cheerfully devoted herself. She kept a list of the children who composed it, with their addresses; and if any of them were absent without reason, she visited them. She carefully put down any simple questions or remarks which occurred to her, as suited to the capacity of her little charge; and she made a selection of tracts and books for their perusal in the intervals of the Sabbath, which were lent to the children as rewards for attention and industry. In adopting such rewards, her eye was directed to the improvement of the parent through the child; and that she might be satisfied the means were adapted to the end, it was an esta-

blished rule with her, not to lend any book which she had not read, and could not fully approve.

Martha was uniformly desirous, in these exercises, of preserving on her own mind, and of infusing into the minds of her children, the *spirit* of the day. She thought she had seen the Sabbath profaned, by giving too much of a secular character to the instructions and manœuvrings of the school. She governed her conduct by the *necessity* of the case. It was necessary that a child should read, that it might become acquainted with the Scriptures; and to read, it was needful to spell.—To these, therefore, she confined herself; and if more, belonging to the elements of general education, was to be taught, it must be on a day, and with associations, less sacred. Over those common lessons which conscience approved, Martha sought to spread a religious character. It never appeared to herself or her children that the principal end of their meeting was to read, or to spell, or to repeat: the acknowledged end which was pressed on the attention of the youngest was, to become acquainted with the holy Scriptures; to keep holy, by the service of the school, and the worship of the sanctuary, the Sabbath-day; and to anticipate, by prayer and hope, that better and happier life of which the Sabbath was both the emblem and the pledge. It has been for the want of such serious views, that many a child has learned to undervalue the Sabbath, in the very bosom of a Sunday-school; and that many a teacher has lost that sanctity of feeling, which once put him at a distance from worldly and daily pursuits.

To the eye of a visiter, Martha would seem to have been benefiting twelve or twenty poor children. This would more than have satisfied her for her exertions; but in reality she was blessing ten times that number. Her spirit diffused itself through the room. Her young companions in the good work copied her plans, and followed in her track. They would not be late when she was punctual to the minute; they would not be harsh when her manners were so affectionate; they would not be dilatory while they were admonished by her persevering assiduities. Such was the efficacy of her gentle influence, that they all speedily became as one hand and one heart. The school became conspicuous for its order and improvement; and it yielded those rich and pleasant fruits which, as a method of instructing the poor of the land, it is adapted to produce beyond any other imagined plan.

There are, undoubtedly, existing plans which have more of ostentation and of promise about them; and it is well if we are not dazzled by them. The trained and officer-like master, who marshals his five hundred children with a word, or, if he please, with a nod, is a much more imposing figure than the humble Sabbath-school teacher, almost concealed in the midst of the dozen children, which he is endeavoring to instruct; yet, on a close comparison, he may appear in better circumstances to answer the great purposes of education. In both cases a competent portion of knowledge may be given; but knowledge, although it is power, is a power in itself of dubious character. It may explode the whole fabric of civilized society; or it may consolidate, and heighten, and beautify it. To be a power as *safe* as it is great, it must be combined with *principle*. He who is the sole instructer of multitudes cannot hope, should he desire it, to effect this combination; while he who, in the centre of a few, with a serious mind, seeks to familiarize moral and religious truth to the consciences of his pupils, is making knowledge, valuable as it is, a secondary and subordinate thing to what is infinitely more valuable.

The field of benevolence enlarges as we advance upon it. Martha soon perceived that the labors of the Sabbath, might be extended with advantage in some portion of the week. She therefore originated a working-school, which met on one afternoon in the week; and was to be composed of the poorer and elder children, as a reward for their regularity and attention. The design was, to employ them in making simple articles of dress, some of which they were to enjoy, and the remainder were to be given to the poor. While their fingers were thus engaged, an instructive book was read, or a conversation started, which had a tendency to illustrate some duty of domestic life, or impress on the mind the importance of the life to come. The children discovered their relish for this exercise, by a most punctual and eager attendance; and the congregation so fully sympathized in the plan, that neither money nor materials were ever wanting; and, in the end, all the children composing this school appeared in a uniform exterior dress, the mixed fruit of their industry and Christian kindness.

This labor of love operated admirably beyond expectation. The working-school became a sort of honorary and beneficial appointment, to which the other children were aspiring by exertion and good behavior; while the senior children, who from time to time composed it, were brought into closer and more endearing contact with their steadiest and kindest instructers. It was this intimate and personal intercourse, which Martha always valued so greatly, as a means of promoting the ends of moral and religious education; and she was affectionately concerned to make the very best use of it. Frequently she would talk apart with the children, on their respective failings or duties; many of them she encouraged to write to her, that their minds might be improved, and that she might have an opportunity of imparting the most important lessons in a less perishable form; and most of them, in turn, were trained to the work of benevolence by attending her to the habitations of sickness or of poverty.

It was delightful to see her, when the duties of the school were closed, going forth with one or two of her pupils, like an angel of mercy, in search of wretchedness, which she might remove or mitigate. Her children always bore some article of clothing, which their own hands had formed, and which their own hands were to bestow, that the difficult lessons of charity, might be nourished by sympathy and established by habit. Happy was she if, in thus relieving existing distress, she could see the first young tear of generous compassion, glisten in the eye which had never before dwelt on want or sorrow, in which it was not concerned. And this happiness was often hers. Many a time, to me has she spoken of these instances of kindly sensibility, with correspondent feeling; and now her scholars, some of whom have risen to maturity, and are walking in the truth, speak of these visits as making, more than any thing, a deep and favorable impression on their hearts.

The circle of her charitable ministrations still expanded. Her connection with the Sabbath-school necessarily brought to her knowledge much of poverty and sickness; and her connection with me and the congregation, which, from being greatly identified with the port of London, is subject to trying and sudden reverses, gave her the opportunity of becoming acquainted with a yet greater proportion. The opportunity was well and gratefully employed. She was eager in ascertaining the existence of distress, and as forward in concerting measures for its relief.

The will is every thing. Martha had rather a fixed devotedness to the work of charity than ample means for its promotion; but it is surprising what

this accomplished. It gave her energy to strike upon a multitude of devices for advancing the ease, comfort, and friendships of the poor, the sick, and the dying, which would not have occurred to any mind little affected by the object; and it supplied her with confidence in drawing upon the resources of others to assist her in their execution. Frequently, when I have seen her involved in these services, or exhausted by them, I have been disposed to say, "How much can be done if we have the will to do it! How much is to be done without money, or at small expense! How little do they do who merely give *money!* Theirs is only a *fine* to the undeniable claims of charity—hers is the '*labor of love.*'" The example that is insensibly exciting such reflections as these is as great a blessing to those who behold it as to those who are the direct objects of its compassionate exertions.

These solitary visits to the habitations of mourning were decidedly her favorites. She met with her own sex, met with them alone, met with them in the season of helplessness, of want, perhaps of desertion. There was no eye from which modesty might teach her to shrink; no restraint thrown on her intercourse; no fear of having occupied ground which others might possess to more advantage; nothing to feed vanity, to produce observation, or create embarrassment. She felt herself at liberty to confer with the individual as a fellow-pilgrim through the wilderness of this life to another; as subject to the same fears and foes, the same wants and weaknesses, the same hopes and destinies. She entered entirely by sympathy into the state of the sufferer; and all her sensibilities were alive to do, to say something that might lighten the burthens she had to bear, or smooth the path she had to tread, or brighten those coming scenes which, to most of our race, are overhung with ominous and impenetrable gloom.

Even the act of blessing has its disappointments. Martha did not find all her efforts for the poor and afflicted successful. Some were indifferent; some were ungrateful; some were promising as the morning dew, but as deceitful too. These dispositions would distress her, but they never impeded her in her ardent course of benevolence. Neither gratitude nor success was the standard of her duty. She had learned of Him who is kind to the evil and unthankful as well as the good and gentle. Unworthiness did not kindle her into anger; it melted her to pity. She looked on the subject of it as the more miserably diseased; and was under the greater concern to apply those remedies which alone can rectify the perverse mind, and heal the depraved heart.

These instances, however, were exceptions from a general rule. Martha confidently relied on Him who has said, our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord, and the average of her success was beyond her expectations. Many a stubborn mind was softened by her kindliness, and many an ignorant one enlightened by her teachings. The withered heart was revived by the unction of her sympathy, and the deserted spirit comforted by the possession of her friendship. The orphan would clap his little hands for very gladness at sight of her; the widow's lorn heart would sing for joy at her coming, and the blessing of those who were ready to perish came upon her. I am happy that my memory supplies me with one or two illustrations of the good which she did, and the gratitude with which it was received.

Among the many persons visited by my sister was an aged female, who had seen better days. She was now the inhabitant of a garret. She had survived her relatives and connections, and was confined to her bed by a chronic disease, which required attentions she could neither find in friendship nor afford to obtain from hired hands. Happily, for many years she had lived under the influence of religious sentiment, and it furnished her with her only consolation. But she was of a social nature, and had much delighted in the exercises of public worship; and now she was not merely deprived of these privileges, her very hold on the notice and regard of humanity seemed feeble and precarious. Day after day passed over her, with scarcely any interruption to her solitude. The idea of her loneliness preyed upon her: she might want, and languish, and die alone! Her spirit yearned for some kind hand to help her, some Christian voice to cheer.

What she desired she found in Martha, and was satisfied. She was visited once, and commonly twice in the week, during the short residue of her life. Attentions were paid to her bodily comfort; and her mind was relieved by expressing itself to a friend on those hopes to which it was so earnestly clinging. Martha soon formed a strong affection for this excellent person. Her contentment in penury, her patience in tribulation, her serene confidence in the prospect of death, were lessons which she valued, and which she was anxious to lay to heart. Her visits became quite a thing of anticipation; and while conferring an invaluable good on the last days of an aged pilgrim, she felt herself to be rather receiving than bestowing benefit.

I had heard so much of this good lady that I determined to visit her. I found her in a low, arched room, containing but few articles of furniture, which had nothing to commend them, except that they were clean and in their places. She herself was sitting on the skeleton of a bedstead, supported by pillows. She was evidently eighty years of age or upwards. Time had traced many a wrinkle on her countenance; but there was an expression of intelligence and good-nature shed over them. Her eye asked my name or my errand.

"My name," I said, "is Reed."

"What, sir!" she exclaimed, with a countenance glowing into pleasure, "do you belong to Miss Reed?"

"Yes," I replied, glad to claim relationship with a name which excited such emotions, and amused at the quaintness of the expression, "I do belong to Miss Reed."

"Sit down, sir—please to sit down." I took my seat beside her.

She was too happy for the moment to speak. "You seem," said I, willing to prolong conversation on a name so dear to us both, "very partial to Miss Reed."

"I have reason to be, sir—I have reason. I was so lonely—I was, as David says, like a sparrow on the house-top; and it was fearful to think of having no one to care for one, let what would happen. But Providence sent Miss Reed to me, and she brought other friends; and she is so kind and so considerate, you know, sir. Now I want for nothing; I have, as St. Paul says, all, and abound, sir."

"Want for nothing!" I thought to myself. "Here is an individual who has outlived her husband, her children, her friends; who is feeble with age, and uneasy with pain; whose pain and weakness are the harbingers of a dissolution which cannot be long postponed; who has sunk from better circumstances to humblest poverty; whose whole property would not provide her body with a decent passage to the grave; who says she wants for nothing! This is indeed religion!"

I looked on her with livelier interest. The happy contentment of her features confirmed the expression of her lips. On one side of her was a little waiter, bearing a glass of toast and water, and a cup of jelly; on the other side lay her well worn Bi-

ble. "Yes," thought I, "excellent woman, you are right; you have all, and abound. The warm hand of sympathy supplies you with little niceties for the bodily appetite, and the book of God is your title-deed to a rich and everlasting inheritance. What could the mightiest, the wealthiest, enjoy more in your situation? We must all come to this! Though the universe were our own, a draught of water, a little sweetmeat, or something as simple and as common, would be all we could derive from it!"

I had a pleasing conversation with her, the impression of which is still on my mind, though the particulars have escaped my memory. I commended her to the Divine keeping, in an act of worship, and rose to leave her.

She pressed my hand, and acknowledged my attention; "And pray," said she, "give my best love to Miss Reed; I can never forget her goodness: if I had a child of my own, she could not be kinder."

I left her, delighted with reflecting what an advantage and assistance a young minister derived from possessing such a sister.

The remaining instance arose to our notice by a paper which was presented on the Lord's day, entreating the prayers of the congregation in behalf of a family under peculiar distress. On the ensuing day, some inquiries were made, which ascertained the residence of this family; and Martha went to obtain the particulars.

She found the family the tenants of one room, which was dirty and miserable. The mother was sitting over a few dying coals, with several young children about her, without heart, apparently, to make the best of her own situation or theirs. The father lay in bed, with despondency on his countenance, and a nervous fever preying on his blood. It appeared that he had been master of a merchant-vessel, but that, from the failure of the firm which employed him, he had lost his appointment. That, week after week, he had been applying for a fresh appointment, and had failed in procuring one. That, in this interval, it had been necessary to dispose of almost every decent article of furniture and clothing, till they wanted even these expedients to procure their daily bread. That, at length, suspense, disappointment, and the approach of absolute want had overcome his spirits, and brought on his frame a debilitating and dangerous illness.

The family, at this time, were literally without bread, and incapable of seeking it. Martha took up their case with all the promptitude it demanded. She provided for the present calls of appetite; showed, through a considerable period, a thousand kind attentions, and succeeded in collecting a considerable sum, to assist the mother in commencing some little trade, while the father was seeking an engagement in his proper vocation.

But the difficulty of such an engagement was becoming greater; and the wife, instead of supporting her husband in his endeavors, fell into negligent and intemperate habits, and not only expended what had been charitably bestowed, but ran him into the embarrassments of debt. At last, however, he obtained an actual appointment to a vessel, and his prospects brightened. But an individual who had expected this nomination wreaked his disappointment on this innocent man, by inducing a creditor to arrest him for about twenty pounds, and he was thrown into the ——— of the borough.

I heard of his imprisonment and went to see him. The poor man was almost desperate. He had looked to his appointment as the only means of redeeming himself and family from wretchedness, and now it appeared to be lost as soon as gained. The high charges for most miserable accommodations in this prison, by increasing his debt, made his escape every day more impossible; the promises which had been made to him, and which had been broken; the cruelty of a creditor, who cut him off from an opportunity of making payment; the treachery of a professed friend, who would throw him out of a situation with the hope of getting in; the want of confidence in his wife, and the misery of his children—seemed to have alienated his mind from human sympathy, and to have rendered him an outcast from mankind.

I endeavored to meliorate his views, and assuage his feelings, by reminding him of what the afflicted are so apt to forget, that we must not judge unfavorably of all men from the unkindness and infidelity of a few, or even of many. He received the observation in silence. I thought if I could refer to particular instances it would more affect him.

I remarked, "You found many friends when you were in our neighborhood."

"Oh yes, sir," he replied, "many."

"And you remember the kind attention of a relative of mine to your family?"

"Miss Reed, sir! Miss Reed!" he exclaimed, with more animation and a quickened voice. "Oh yes, she was a friend indeed; I can never forget when first she came into our room; she was sent from heaven to save us!"

He became more free and composed. I endeavored to present him with the religious grounds of consolation which were adapted to his trying circumstances, and to direct his mind calmly to the means most likely to effect his liberation.

I left him, rejoicing afresh in that beloved relative whose very name seemed to charm away the demon of desperation from the heart of man, and to restore the alien to his inheritance in the sympathies and hopes of the great human family.

But these recollections, pleasing as they are to me, will not of themselves do justice to the benevolence of Martha's character. Her affections were not localized; they were not influenced by place or party, by name or kindred, by color or clime. The emotions of her heart, like the circles from the centre of a fountain, were strongest nearest home; but they expanded freely to the utmost boundary of human sympathy. Man was her neighbor, her brother, her father; she could not be indifferent to his welfare, though oceans rolled, or empires rose, between them.

She looked at man through those lights which Scripture supplies—as endowed with capacities by which he might rise to heaven, but as sinking down into sensuality, selfishness, and sin; as living without reliance on the Divine providence, or submission to the Divine authority; as the framer of his own wretchedness, and as contributing to the wretchedness of all around him; as shedding the influence of his crime over the fair face of earth, and the fairer aspect of heaven. She mingled her groans with those of "the whole creation," for the burthens and the bondage which sin has imposed; and she sincerely and deeply deplored the state of a world so full of the Creator's mercy, and so void of his praise!

Martha turned her eye from this heart-sickening sight, to dwell on the light and life of the gospel. She contemplated it as rising above the accidents of human character, and the various forms of social and artificial life, and as admirably adapted, by its unity and simplicity of principle, to make its way to the wants of man as man, whether the inhabitant of Christendom or Barbary, of Iceland or Hindostan. She dwelt often, and with sacred delight, on those prophecies and promises which are as highly poetical as they are strictly true and morally important, and which seem to pass over a slain world like the breath of the all-creating Spirit, for its renovation and recovery. In the visions of faith

and imagination, she sought to forget the present disordered state of human existence while anticipating the glorious future. In the devout contemplation of this predicted period she found every thing to fill and gratify the mind; a period in which friendship shall fear no treachery, kindness no ingratitude, simplicity no foe; a period which shall be as free from tears as from wretchedness, and from wretchedness as from sin; a period which shall bring with it a day without night, joy without alloy, and life without disease and without end. Then shall the heavens rest in their own eternal light and tranquillity, and the earth rejoice in their favor. Then shall the wilderness blossom as the rose, and the desert be as a land which the Lord hath blessed. Then shall princes rule in righteousness, and the people live in peace. Then shall names and denominations become the mere landmarks of geography or the lights of history, and no more designate the degrading antipathies of the human heart. Then mankind shall become one brotherhood; the world their one blest habitation; and God, the living Jehovah, their guide, their protector, their father!

Feeding on these blessed hopes, Martha was eminently thankful that she lived in the present day, a day in which so many things are moving forward simultaneously to one grand event. Her spirit went entirely with those divinely originated societies which, if not the dawn of a millennial day, were the bright and morning star which foretold its brilliant and quick approach. She, therefore, did her utmost by prayer, by contribution, and by influence to support their noble exertions; and she reposed in the conviction that, earlier or later, by giving unity of aim and effort to the scattered energies of the good and godly, they would ultimately form one great moral power, which shall move and restore a fallen world to its lost orbit of light and glory.

Perhaps, however, the following lines may be the best exposition of her feelings on this subject:—

THE MISSIONARY.

Bless'd be the man whose heart, expanding wide
With love of human kind, and fired with zeal,
Caught from the sacred cross, forsakes for this
His native land, and all his soul holds dear!
Bless'd be that pilgrim! Wheresoe'er he goes,
The barren desert smiles; the savage heart
Is melted into tenderness and love.
The captive exile, bounding from his chain,
Exults in liberty, and pours his praise
In lowly homage to the King of heaven!
If aught I envy, it is not the crown
Bedeck'd with jewels on the monarch's brow;
'Tis not the laurel which the hero wears,
All steep'd in blood; nor, far surpassing these,
The meed of him who, by the midnight oil,
Explores the depths of science, searches out
Nature's unfathom'd mine, intent to gain
His country's honor, and increase her stores.
Ah! 'tis the feelings of that man I crave
Who spreads the triumphs of redeeming love:
Who listens to the heathen's melting song,
Himself the instrument of all their joy:
O happy man! already overpaid
For all his sacrifice, his care, his toil.
God, in the present life, vouchsafes him more
Than houses, lands, and friends, or all combined
And in the life to come he shall receive—
But how can words express, or heart conceive,
What Providence reserves for those bless'd souls
Whom it delights to honor! This we know—
He shall shine forth for ever as a star
Of no mean magnitude; and while he strays
Across the field of light, methinks his ear
Will oft be greeted by the welcome sound
Of Father! Father! O with what delight,
In lowest attitude, will he present
These children of the day to God and heaven,
And all that heaven contains. Ye holy men
Muse on this happiness, so pure, so high,
And be encouraged in your deeds of love!
Arise, ye sons of Albion, arise!
O be not prodigal of time! behold,
The day of your exertion closes fast,
And the still night advances. Myriads die
For lack of knowledge! Shall they thus expire,
Unwept, untaught, while you have pow'r to teach?
Shall they in anguish *die* ere you make known
The balm in Gilead—the Physician there?
Do ye then bear a Christian's hallow'd name,
And so forget to emulate the zeal
Of Him you worship?—O remember Him!
He left the courts of bliss, the highest heav'n,
And condescended, for our sakes, to dwell
In humble clay! A pilgrim and unknown,
He was a man of sorrows, versed in grief,
A spectacle to angels and to men.
When did he shrink from trials? when complain?
See from the cradle to the cross he goes
A weary way, rejected, and alone.
No covert for his head, no want supplied—
No friend to share his sorrows! Like a lamb
Led forth to slaughter and to death he goes!
But to the last, and e'en when Justice pours
The tide of wrath on his devoted head—
E'en then, and for his enemies, he prays!
Well, if ye will not rise to tell his love
Sit still, and take your ease! But there will come
A time, not distant, when your hearts shall grieve
Because you went not up unto the help
Of the Most High! But ah, ye will arise!
I see ye going forth like to a host.
There is a shout within the camp! I hear
The Captain of salvation call you on,
And not in vain the summons! Mighty grace
Has won your hearts and fired them! Your whole life
Shall henceforth bear the signature of Heaven;
For Christ you live, and in his cause you die.
Peace, peace be with you! Holy men, go forth,
Strong in the Lord, rejoicing in his might.
O faint not, ye his husbandmen, who plant
The harden'd soil! The sun, the rain, are His!
He will command the blessing! When you lie
Forgotten in the dust, the seed will spring
Thirty, and sixty, and a hundred fold.
'Tis for the generations yet unborn
To bless your labors and repay the toil;
Your monument, their hearts—their lives, your praise!
God will himself be with you, even *He*,
Who speaks, and it is done! Yes, He will try
Your graces, to confirm them. You may feel
His searching hand within your very breasts;
The gourd in which you boast, he too may smite;
But his own love he will not take away;
Nor shall his promise fail; for he hath said,
The word of life shall not return again
Unbless'd by Him who sent it. He will work;
And *who* shall let? The kingdoms are the Lord's;
The universe his temple! Distant lands,
With one accord, shall celebrate his praise;
The Jew shall worship, and Messiah reign
The King of kings, the everlasting King.

CHAPTER XII.

DISCRETION. 1812—13.

"THERE are some members of a community," said the sagacious and witty Thomas Bradbury, "that are like a crumb in the throat; if they go the *right way*, they afford but little nourishment; but if

they happen to go the *wrong way*, they give a great deal of trouble." There are others, it may be added, who have the inclination and ability to do much good, who yet, by their rashness or ill-humor, produce such a fearful proportion of mischief as to make it at least doubtful whether we are better with or without their exertions. Those are the truly estimable characters in every community of every scale who, in doing good, do no evil; who have energy, but whose energy is reined and regulated by discretion.

Martha, as the sister of an unmarried minister, became a centre to the female portion of a considerable congregation. This was a situation of usefulness, but it was also one of difficulty; and, at her age, and with her susceptibilities, it was not so surprising that she should be zealous to do good herself, and promote good works in others, as that her zeal should be attempered by prudence, and according to knowledge. Yet this excellence was hers in a high degree. She was the friend of the young, the comforter of the aged, a favorite with all. The fresh and kindly impressions formed by her first introduction to new connections were never effaced; they were improved and strengthened by increasing intercourse. It may be said of her, through the whole term of her communion with a circle made up of such different ages, habits, and tempers, that she never lost a friend or made an enemy. Now, though undoubtedly friends may be lost, and enemies formed, not only without the fault, but by the very excellences of an individual; yet, in the absence of these evils, there may surely be found a presumptive argument in favor of discreet deportment. As no subject enters more completely into the happiness of every-day existence, it may be profitable to descend to particulars.

Martha was guided in forming her friendships by *the perception of real piety*. This arose not merely from a persuasion that the heart which is not true to God, could not be true to her, but chiefly from her inability to participate in a mutual sympathy where piety was wanting. Pious herself, she could not have free and intimate communion with those who were otherwise minded. With all her young companions she was kind, courteous, and communicative, hoping to win them to better thoughts and feelings; but it was only with those who were under a powerful religious influence that she could feel entirely happy, because they only were prepared to understand and value the predominant desires, hopes, and fears of her spirit.

In other society, too, she was jealous of her safety. She had seen many hopeful young characters fatally blighted by vain, trifling, ill-chosen companions; and she had too lowly an opinion of herself to suppose that she might stand securely where others had fallen. She always considered that, with such persons, there was even more likelihood of her receiving an injury than bestowing a benefit; and this made her circumspect over herself in the very act of doing good to others, while she sought repose only on the bosom of those who, with herself, were seeking and exercising confidence beneath the shadow of the Almighty's wings.

Martha always entered into society *with the serious desire of promoting her own and others' improvement*. Friendship with her was not a selfish compact, by which she sought the gratification of selfish passions, without pausing to inquire whether it was right or delicate to do so; it was a talent put into her hand, which was to be justly appreciated and used, lest the trust should be violated. Her intercourse, therefore, never degenerated into idle gossiping or mysterious confidence. She never attempted to bind others to herself by tempting them to foolish confessions, which would never have been imagined if they had not been suggested; and which, if they had passed through the mind, ought never to have been adopted by the lips.

Yet Martha's youthful friendships were any thing rather than dull. In her presence, the trifling titter, the vacant giggle, and the noisy rattle, were not found; but the smile of benevolence, the look of innocence, and those elevated and beautiful expressions which beam on the countenance of youth, when raised by great and serious objects, richly supplied their place. She was cheerful without lightness, and serious without sadness. She was not always talking of religion in a few set threadbare phrases; but religion always influenced her conversation, whatever might be its object; and her deep reverence and love of religion was rather perceived in the temper with which she treated of common and temporal things, than by any wordy declarations of its pre-eminent excellence.

She was *slow to take offence*. She never made a friend an offender for a hasty word, or a dubious expression of countenance or conduct. She was not ready to misconstrue motive, or to watch for the frailties of others. She was sensible of the variations of friendly feeling, but she did not allow herself to be governed by them. Trifles light as air were never allowed to come between her and her companions, to distress her by feverish jealousies, and her friend by endless explanations. She looked not to the single word, or look, or act, but to the uniform character; she dwelt not on the momentary feeling, which the individual might regret as deeply as herself; she considered the acknowledged and ruling principles of conduct. She always put the best construction on doubtful actions; and became the apologist of an accused party, where it was not evident that the conduct had been *intentionally* and *morally wrong*. So far as she was personally concerned, it may truly be said that she never took offence except where offence was intended; and then, while she retired from one who was unfit for friendship, it was done with reluctance and pity, not with resentment.

If cause for offence arose, as more or less it will, Martha always sought a *prompt and candid explanation*. If, on the one hand, she did not permit her friendship to be affected by those infirmities which are discovered by the best and wisest; on the other hand, she would not allow her affections to canker and decline under wounds which, though not acknowledged, were deeply felt. If she could conquer an unfavorable impression, she did; if she could not, she revealed her thoughts to her friend. In this delicate act she was entirely governed by the scriptural directions—she spoke to the *person concerned—alone*—and *in confidence*. Her opinion of the impropriety of another never reached the individual second-hand; she never debilitated the best motives to candid acknowledgment by exposing the wrong before witnesses; and the party knew that what was said would not be afterward ungenerously repeated to uninterested auditors.

In these exercises of the heart, the *spirit* was in harmony with the act itself. It was most kind, and meek, and modest. She was the most gentle of reprovers. If ever any had occasion feelingly to adopt the words of the Psalmist on the subject, it must have been those who received admonition from her lips:—"Let the righteous smite me, and it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me, and it shall be an excellent oil which shall not break my head."

Scarcely need it be remarked that such a person *was ready, most ready to forgive*. She not only expressed herself to be so, but she took care to throw no obstacles in the way of acknowledgment, when it was necessary. There was no assumption—no

sense of superiority—no supposed license to tell a friend a thousand unwelcome truths. She prescribed no terms—insisted on no severe and humbling conditions. She never put the high-minded question, "How many times a day shall I forgive my brother?" She disliked the very name of forgiveness, as it necessarily involved somewhat of superiority. But with the name almost never on her lips, the disposition was always awake in her heart; and, had occasion required it, she could have as readily exercised it seventy as seven times a day. It was invariably enough if the conduct or expression *implied* sorrow, without the formal utterance of it; and even in such indications, she was so sincerely distressed, that it would have been difficult to ascertain from appearances, who had done and who received an injury.

The act of forgiveness was as *complete* as it was delicate. She allowed no subsequent event to revive any thing which had been submitted to explanation, and on which she had expressed satisfaction. She could not always act up to the letter of the maxim, "Forgive and forget;" but she did more, she conformed to its *spirit*. She strove not to remember; and she never suffered what might remain on her memory to influence her temper, or to become matter of allusion, in any present misunderstanding.

Where character was at all concerned, it was a rule with Martha *not to listen to rumor and report*. She knew that Rumor had a hundred tongues, and that at least fifty of them were false. Character with her was a sacred thing, and she could not allow herself to alter the good opinion she had formed of any one, without the strongest and best established reasons. She knew that many actions could not be judged of rightly without knowing more than she could possibly know of attending circumstances; and that envy and malignity were ever too ready to give a coloring to such actions, till what was innocent appeared to be inconsistent, and what was merely inconsistent to be sinful. She shrunk from the whisperer, the tale-bearer, the slanderer, and the flatterer, as from beings unfit for friendship, and most injurious to social happiness and religious confidence. The hint, the insinuation, the proffered secret against the character of another, which contribute so much to begin or cement the friendships of half the world, were never well received by her; and those who offered them were pitied for a meanness and degradation, of which they were too little conscious.

As she would not credit report, so *she would not assist its circulation*, even when too truly founded. She could find no pleasure in feeding on the defects of others; they were always seen with pain. If she might, she would close her eyes upon them; and happy was she if she could draw a veil over them from the eyes of others. It was a rule with her, that if she could say no good of an individual, she would not unnecessarily speak evil. She also admired the rule of Bishop Beveridge, which is as delicate as it is generous—"never to praise any one in his presence, nor to blame any one in his absence." That she might the more fully act upon these and similar maxims, she generally sought to converse rather of *things* than of *persons*—an excellent precaution, though less needed, perhaps, in her case than that of most other persons. No one offended less in word than she. I believe she never designedly uttered one sentence for which any human being was the worse. A considerable proof of this assertion is, that throughout a very extensive and entirely confidential correspondence, continued for many years, and treating of many persons and vicissitudes, there is not to be found one passionate, resentful, or uncharitable observation.

I cannot induce myself to bring these remarks to a close without making a brief quotation from her most intimate friend at this period. They apply not so much to her particular friendships as to her general acquaintances; and may serve to show how far she was from limiting her anxieties and regard to a select and favorite few of her own age and sentiments.

"In your sister, even at the early age of sixteen, I noticed what I have found in very few of any age or standing in the Christian profession—a tenderness of the character of others, and an affectionate manner of administering reproof when necessary.

"She would often observe to me, 'Some say that love is blind; but I think real love opens the eyes. If I love a person, I desire others to love her too. I am therefore apt to watch closely the conduct of my friend; and when I discover the appearance of any thing wrong, I wish it to be seen and avoided: for I consider that others, who know less of my friend's good qualities than I do, may not be disposed to put so favorable a construction on the opposite ones.'

"When sometimes noticing the improprieties of professing characters, she would feel most keenly on the subject, and would devise a number of little expedients by which they might be led to see their error, without putting them to needless pain and embarrassment. 'Many,' she would remark, 'do not know what they occasion the world to say of them and of religion. If we could let them know what others are so ready to say of them, I am sure they would alter their conduct. But wisdom and tenderness must be exercised, especially by young persons towards older ones, or we shall lose the end at which we were aiming, and dishonor Him whom we meant to serve. One thing we can *always* do—we can pray for them.'

"This act she was never backward to perform. I have often witnessed the fervor of her prayers for those who did not in all things adorn the doctrine of the gospel. Whenever she heard an individual spoken against, however unknown to her, she was ever prepared to offer some supposition in favor of the accused; either 'the party accusing might be misinformed,' or 'there might be many things in extenuation,' or 'at least, it should be mentioned to the individual, that an opportunity might be given for explanation.'

"Sometimes she would take this duty upon herself, if others would not. Her concern was in this case to convince the parties that she had a sincere interest in their welfare, and a deep sense of their excellences. 'Perhaps,' she would say, 'I am too scrupulous;' or 'I am not sufficiently acquainted with the motives which actuate you;' or 'I have been misinformed;' or 'I am really too young to be capable of forming a right judgment. But I was afraid that others might think the worse of you for it; and I should be grieved to hear any one speak of you with disrespect.' She had often the joy of seeing that her efforts were not in vain; and even where the admonition was despised, I scarcely know an instance in which they were displeased with the admonisher."

In the pursuit of this simple but too unusual line of conduct, it is not to be told what good she effected, what evil she prevented; what fires of anger and ill-will she extinguished, which might otherwise have preyed on the comfort and harmony of many a household; what jealousies, and envyings, and heart-burnings, and strifes, she contributed to destroy in the very birth, which otherwise might have lived to roam over the fair enclosures of civilized society, seeking whom they might devour.

Those will best conceive of the effect of her quiet exertions, who are best acquainted with human life, and have soberly considered, with the most reflective of men, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth." If the whisperer and the calumniator, those plausible but noxious reptiles in the garden of social intercourse, are able to "separate between chief friends," and to break up their mutual and happy connections into two opposing and conflicting parties; what shall be said of the advantages conferred by the individual, who in one instance succeeds in neutralizing the poison which would work so disastrously, and by a steady example teaches others, less wary of the consequences, so to do?

In seeking to advance social happiness, Martha insensibly promoted her own. The blessing of the peace-maker came upon her. She was cherishing a habit most favorable to her own peace and enjoyment. By accustoming herself to dwell on what is bright, and generous, and pitiful, and kind in human life, she was preparing numerous and inexhaustible sources of satisfaction and delight; while those who habituate themselves to watch for what is bad in human character, and to feed on it with secret and envious appetite, are fostering a demon in their bosom, which shall eventually seal their eyes to the loveliness they would not see, and haunt their imaginations with pictures of evil, only evil, and evil continually!

Good arose to her not simply from those acts of mental discipline; she ultimately found herself surrounded by friends, who reflected upon her something of her own kindly feeling. She was amiable, and therefore beloved; she was discreet, and therefore trusted; she was modest, and therefore praised; she was pious, and therefore esteemed. Indeed she had a remarkable power to excite and engage attachment; and was as remarkably successful in the use of it. There seemed to be nothing about her to awaken the fears of the jealous, or to agitate the bile of the malignant. The rough and the gentle, the sensitive and the reflective, all thought well of her, and spoke as they thought; and those who intimately knew her had but one sentiment—it was the uniform, abiding, progressive sentiment of sincere affection.

It is of importance to remark, that the conduct in social life described throughout this chapter was dictated rather by the *heart* than the *head*. Martha owed nothing in her friendships to artful policy, wordy professions, or violent protestations; yet she did not neglect the voice of sober judgment or the maxims of tried prudence. On the contrary, she always deferred to them; she was in the habit of consulting the Proverbs of Solomon on her relative deportment; and she constantly spoke of them as unfolding invaluable principles of moral conduct, mixed with such rich and sagacious views of human nature as to make them an indispensable manual to those who would "cleanse their way" through a polluted and polluting world.

But it was the qualities of the heart which attracted the hearts of others towards her; and so far as I can venture on distinguishing them, it was eminently effected by her *humility* and *love*.

Humility was not merely admitted to be a cardinal virtue in her creed; it was a disposition she diligently sought to cultivate; and it was the influence of this grace that produced so much of gentleness, candor and forbearance. She always strove to think of others as better than herself; of herself as the least of all saints, and the most ungrateful of offenders. She could not be severe on the frailties of another, for she was frail. She could not declaim against the mote in her brother's eye, for a beam was in her own. She could not refuse to forgive her debtor his fifty pence, for she had been forgiven her five hundred; nor, though she was always offending, could she with confidence ask for pardon, but as she was prepared to pardon those who had trespassed against her.

Charity was the companion of her humility, and they reciprocally strengthened each other. This was indeed the paramount excellence of her character, and it subdued all things to itself. It had cast out fear and enabled her "to lay aside all malice, and all pride and hypocrisy and envy, and all evil-speaking," that she might have her conversation in the world in simplicity, and without offence. It never allowed her to wait, in her social intercourse, for the recurrence of the cold, half-forgotten rule of conduct; it spontaneously suggested all that was forgiving, candid, and compassionate. The incomparable sketch of this grace in its excellence, nature, and importance by the hand of the apostle Paul, was with her a most favorite portion of Scripture. It was, in fact, a study to her. If her charity was ever in danger of failing through manifold trials, she studied it, that the feeble grace might be confirmed; if she was ever subject to the world's ridicule for what it might consider the tameness of her spirit, she had recourse to it and was justified; and, at all times, her admiration of it would dispose her to dwell on this lovely picture with insatiable pleasure. Indeed she dwelt upon it till she was greatly changed into the same image. She suffered long and was kind; she envied not; she vaunted not herself, and was not puffed up. She did not behave herself unseemly; sought not her own; was not easily provoked; thought no evil; rejoiced not in iniquity, but rejoiced in the truth. She bore all things; believed all things; hoped all things; endured all things. She had faith, hope, and charity; but the greatest of these three was CHARITY.

It is easy to imagine how well these admirable dispositions are adapted to work the effects which are here ascribed to them; how powerful they are in exciting esteem, conciliating affection, and creating influence—the influence of genuine goodness. Without these, the most acute sagacity will fail to weave the ties of a disinterested and imperishable friendship; and with them, and with little else, we shall find in our utmost need, if not many friends, at least some one friend, whose heart has answered to our heart, and who shall be as "a brother born for adversity, and a friend who loveth at all times."

CHAPTER XIII.

TRIALS. 1812—13.

WHERE is the one point in human existence on which any child of Adam can place his finger and say, Then I was happy? When the stream of life is gliding most pleasantly along, there will still be found some under-current crossing its progress; and which, if not seen foaming on the surface, is too surely felt troubling its inward tranquillity.

The period on which we are pausing might be considered a most happy one in the life of Martha. She was esteemed by her connections, beloved by her friends, the delight of her relations; she dwelt among those she loved, and made them the happier by her presence; she was pursuing with success her own improvement, and promoting to her uttermost the good of others; she was free from what are usually denominated worldly cares, and living in blessed sympathy with things unseen and eternal: what then could now arise to give her uneasiness and vexation?

Apart from those sources of painful reflection which were previously open to her, she suffered much during this period from an unexpected termination of her earliest and most intimate friendship.

The intercourse was closed at the request of her parents; and that request originated in a conviction that the two young friends were not exactly suited to each other.

In acting on such a conviction, it is scarcely necessary to say that blame is not to be imputed to any one of the parties. It is readily understood that two young persons may be of excellent character and principles, and yet not be so adapted to each other as to produce their common benefit and felicity. There may be a difference of age, or of temper, or of habit, or of taste; there may be too much susceptibility or too little; they may both run into one extreme, and so increase their mutual hazard, or they may run each to opposite extremes, and so chafe each other's disposition. Any of these variations, trifling as they seem, may be so exercised as to render an intimacy injurious which would otherwise be most advantageous; and it must be admitted that, though parents may sometimes err in forming a judgment of these, they are, generally speaking, best qualified to make a candid and kind opinion; and that they are discharging some of the highest trusts to their offspring in interposing a mild authority, on the suggestions of their best and calmest discretion.

Supposing this measure to be as wise and salutary as it was meant to be, it did not affect Martha the less severely. It was her first friendship; and it was formed at a time when her susceptible heart knew no disappointment, was checked by no control; it had been cemented by a thousand mutual acts of love, of piety, and of confidence. No later friendship had power to weaken her interest in this original one; it stood out in her view as chief of them all. It was now also regarded with particular tenderness, as her friend was exposed to great relative afflictions. The idea of relinquishing her at all was opposed to her earliest and strongest attachments; but the thought of appearing to give her up when she most needed the proofs of sympathy and fidelity deeply wounded her generosity.

The difficulty of this service was not at all diminished by any perception of its propriety. For the present, Martha could not view the subject through the same medium as her parents; and the most, therefore, she could do was to obey a command the reason for which she could not rightly appreciate. This was a great trial to her submission, and she sustained it worthily, but not without very sore affliction. Throughout her correspondence nothing of the kind seems to have given her equal distress; while her distress is unmixed with one word of complaint.

The keen edge of our sufferings is often given by our own hand. Martha thought she could not bring others to perceive how valuable this friendship was to her, and therefore she scarcely tried. Had she fully communicated the amount of her feelings on the subject, her parents, in balancing one thing against another, might have reconsidered their decision; or had her attachment not been, as it undoubtedly was, excessive, she might have felt there was some weight in their conclusion: but as it was, she had to drink her cup in all its bitterness, while none but herself knew that it was so bitter. She afterwards reviewed the subject in truer and calmer lights, and employed the errors of her experience for the right conduct of others.

The spirit is frequently willing when the flesh is weak. Martha's mind readily submitted to the yoke of parental authority, but her physical powers were not so adequate to the effort. Those powers had been much shaken before, and this event once more unsettled them. It not only affected her by the real loss of an endeared friendship, but by its imaginary influence in strengthening her mind to endure other and secret sorrows. It was by this friendship alone that she could seek relief under those anxieties of the heart which, in defiance of her, would occasionally oppress her spirits; and in earlier days it had been eminently useful. She had insensibly weaned herself from making any allusions to the subject with her friend, on which she had forbidden herself to think; and probably had the opportunity for free intercourse been continued, it would not again have been so employed. But, such is the waywardness of human nature, immediately the opportunity appeared to be lost, it was imagined to be indispensable; the foolish heart, which with liberty to speak would have had nothing to tell, seemed ready to burst for utterance the moment utterance was denied.

About this time I was going to C——— for a few weeks; and finding Martha more indisposed than usual, which we all ascribed to exertion rather than anxiety, I determined to separate her from her engagements by taking her with me. We again, therefore, started as fellow-travellers to a place which, I considered, was interesting to her only by pleasing associations.

When we are sincerely desirous of administering to the comfort of a friend, how little are we able! what we present as balm may work as poison! I was now unconsciously conveying my sister to a spot which, in any circumstances, must have awakened painful recollections, and which, in existing circumstances, was likely to nourish them in a dangerous degree: recollections which, had I known of their being, I should have sought to wither and eradicate.

However, we journeyed on, refreshed in our progress; and seeking, by a good word or a good book, to cast some profitable seed by the way. Martha was evidently out of spirits, but I considered they would improve daily. They however sensibly diminished as we approached towards our destination. She lost her pleasure in conversation; if it was continued, it was with a constraint the more visible to me as I had seldom observed it. When she was not actually directing her looks to me, the light of cheerfulness forsook her features, and they settled down into dejection. I was induced to think something pressed on her mind, and yet I could not imagine what; nor could I bring myself to put the question lest, she should be embarrassed in refusing a reply. My thoughts took the complexion of hers, and I became somewhat moody and silent.

When the clouds of heaven are predisposed to weep, the mere firing of a gun, or ringing of a bell, will supply the occasion. I happened to break one of our intervals of pensiveness, by making some remark on the uncertainty of human hopes. Martha made no answer; and on turning my eye upon her, I saw the big and heavy tears falling from her lids. As they were thus detected, she lost her motive for suppressing them, and they flowed long and freely.

A tear is sometimes the very best introduction we can have to a delicate subject. Martha found her tears had prepared me to hear of something of which I was ignorant, and she therefore hastened to unbosom herself of her secret. Every thing it was needful to know, in order to form a correct judgment, she told in brief and modest words; and then alluded to the anxieties and conflicts which had arisen from it, and the pain she had felt in not finding resolution to name it before.

"And why," I exclaimed, "did you not name this before?"

"Because I feared I should lose your good opinion—I feared you would despise me."

"Despise you!" I replied hastily; "no—I despise him who—"

Her countenance checked my speech; no anger was visible there, and I felt I was in danger of wounding whom I desired to heal.

"And why," I continued, "did you consent to come with me to this place? We would have gone in another direction had I known it."

"I thought in your company I could bear it, and I wished to try. And so I can. It is all over now," said she, compressing the muscles of the face, and brushing away the pendent tear.

But the tears were rebuked too soon, and another, and another, and another came. Need I be ashamed to say that mine too were started, and that we wept silently together on our solitary way?

The effect of this communication was altogether beneficial to my sister's mind. It provided vent to her feelings at a time when circumstances had made it peculiarly desirable; and it allowed her to communicate generally without fear or restraint. She had now no point of reserve which insensibly fettered her intercourse on other subjects, lest they might unawares open a passage to it. Her spirit was free, her heart was open and at ease. She felt she had again one friend with whom she could confer, if conference should be necessary: and this destroyed the power of imagination on her mind. Strict and close as our intercourse had been, it became more dear and intimate than ever. Pruned and mortified in other directions, her affections seemed to gather more fondly round her brother; and the living and heartfelt intercourse of this short period, with the manifest complacency she had in it, are among those simple but touching occurrences in the life of our friendships which are not to be forgotten.

For myself, I believe the very first impression on this disclosure was that of alarm. I could not in a moment look at the affair as a thing of months and years; I could not distinguish time. The danger of which I had just heard I could hardly conceive of as past; it was like hearing of a friend's decease in a foreign land: one cannot at once think of it as occurring six months since. I had lived long enough to observe many a young heart, too young and too confiding to suspect danger, entangled, abused, disappointed, and withering away beneath the preying sense of unuttered wrong. I was aware that if ever Martha were likely to prove weak in trial, it would be in such a one, from a disposition so guileless, affectionate, and almost impenetrable to any kind of suspicion. It had therefore been my desire to give more vigor to her mind by cultivation, that it might balance the strength of her affections before she should be exposed to any of those snares which too surely await the unwary, from the hand of folly, of inconsideration, or of wickedness. What, then, was my surprise and misgiving, when I found she had been exposed to the very dangers I deprecated, while I thought her perfectly secure; and that she had been called to make her defence, all unprepared, as I conceived her to be, for the conflict!

These emotions, however, were transitory, and gave place to those of wonder and admiration. I was now furnished with a true key to her deportment. I saw that she had been exposed to the very trials I most dreaded; that they had come on her in so specious a form as to authorise her hope and confidence; that she had suffered from them most severely; but that she had not been subdued or carried away by her distress; that alone she had struggled with the difficulty of her situation; that she had not sunk into selfish despondency, but looked round for the means of deliverance; and that she had actually adopted the best which wisdom itself could suggest. I perceived that those pursuits which I had considered as preventive she was employing as remedial; and that though temporary feeling would be excited, they were working to a most successful issue. And when I reflected that all this was done alone, and in youth, and against warm passions, injured nerves, and occasional fits of depression; that she had resolutely preferred exercise and occupation to a seducing retirement and listless revery; that she had listened to the claims of the understanding, and resisted the clamors of the heart; that she had overcome her own sorrows, and had exerted herself to mitigate and heal those of others; that at the very time she was the life and joy of her family, her heart was often full unto breaking; and that from her cheerful labors of love often retired to gather up her tears, and then returned to smile again benevolently on all around her; I was filled with admiration, and even with astonishment! It gave me new views of my sister's character. "Can it be possible?" I was ready to say; "can there be such irrepressible energy with such tenderness of heart?" I was prepared to believe Martha might be trained to this, but could hardly conceive of it as already existing. Those only who have been enabled to bear up against the *ennui* of disappointed hope, the bitterness of deceived confidence, and the temptations of a wounded spirit, to feed luxuriously and in solitude on its own griefs, and to do this in a steady course of disinterested exertions for the happiness of others, can rightly judge of the sacrifices that were made, or of the power necessary to make them.

But the lessons we learn in the school of affliction are generally quickly and well learned. The heart is softened, and it receives easily, and retains indelibly, the proposed impression. Martha had not merely been exposed to affliction, but to affliction of peculiar pungency and power. It had placed her in a most trying and critical situation; but a situation which was made subservient to her improvement. Her attention was carried more closely to herself; she watched the workings of her heart; she witnessed some of those tempestuous conflicts of passion which reveal in a glance more of the depths of human character than an age of common feeling. She saw her weakness, felt her danger, and detected more clearly her constitutional infirmities. She became more jealous of herself, and resolved to resist the pleadings of selfishness. She commenced the struggle; she persevered, and she was now rising from it, not merely to comparative peace and security, but attended with the richest spoils of conquest.

There was an addition made to her *confidence*. She felt, not as he who resolves to fight, but as he who returns from the battle won. Her armor had been tried, and it had been found adequate to her protection. She was inspired with more of *independence*. She had leaned on herself, and had been deceived; had leaned on others, and they had failed her; and now, like some tender plant denied the support natural to them, her character shot out the more vigorously, and asked nourishment of the skies. Her habits of *self-control* were exercised and strengthened. The sensibilities which she was tempted to indulge, and which she could scarcely think so dangerous as in fact they were, had appeared before her in new forms. She deeply felt the necessity of subduing and regulating them.—The effort was made, and it was successful. It was the ascendency of principle over passion. It brought with it not only the good I am noticing, but gave a tone and coloring to the entire character.

The moment in which the claims of principle are triumphant over those of passion is a point of time in the history of character the most interesting and auspicious. It contributes largely to the formation or settlement of the mind, and brings with it the elements of all that is good or exalted. Passion

relaxes and enfeebles the spirit; principle braces and invigorates it. Passion is dark, stormy, and vexatious, like the troubled sea which cannot rest; principle, like the rocks of our shore, stands out the bulwark of the soul in the night of adversity. Passion is the voice of that old serpent, ever the most dangerous when most beguiling; principle is the voice of God in the soul of man, calling him off from the enchantments of earth and sense to communion and confidence in Him, without whom the strongest are weak, and the best protected insecure in the hour of trial!

CHAPTER XIV.

PIETY. 1813—14.

I CANNOT persuade myself to close a period so strikingly developing the moral energies of my sister's character, without distinctly remarking that they were created and sustained by the influence of genuine piety. As religion had refined her mind and exalted her tastes in the day of peaceful enjoyment, so it had fortified her heart in the time of calamity. She was enabled to resolve on a line of conduct best adapted to her deliverance by the power of principle; and principle derived its existence and force from the higher power of godliness. Indeed, these two are inseparable; and there would be little necessity for insisting on their union, were it not that an attempt is constantly made to divide them, by many who would fain be thought to admire the offspring while they repudiate the parent.

It is readily admitted that, without the presence of piety, an individual might recover herself from similar circumstances of trial. The temptation might not fix on the peculiar weaknesses of her nature; and vanity, pride, resentment, or insensibility might raise her above it; and she would be safe, till exposed to that ensnarement which better accorded with the special frailties of her nature.—But Martha was assailed at once where she was weakest. There was no contrary reigning passion to oppose evil to the invading evil; and yet she overcame. Now, though a person may conquer some one sin without giving any evidence of real piety, because that sin may be subdued by a stronger corruption; yet if he is enabled to conquer his constitutional infirmities and "easily besetting sins," he furnishes, not merely proof, but the very highest proof of piety. It is not one selfish propensity overcoming another; it is every selfish propensity, the mightiest and the dearest, vanquished and led captive by a principle proves one's self, and distinct from one's self. This is *self-denial;* and this is the very essence of all religion.

Independently on what is possible, it is certain in Martha's case that the progress and triumph of principle is to be referred entirely to religious influence. This might be fairly inferred from every thing in her history and character; but it was also the subject of her frequent, explicit, and grateful acknowledgment. Religion gave her light to see the extent of her dangers; and courage to contend with them; and hope to anticipate brighter prospects; and benevolence to turn from her own anxieties, and interest herself in the good of others.—Religion brought her feeble and erring spirit into communion with Deity, and taught her to lean on the arm of Omnipotence, to submit to the will of a wise and infinite Sovereignty, and to lay hold of that righteousness and those promises which are "unto all and upon all them that believe." She believed; and "this was the victory that overcame even her faith." "By faith," which is essentially a disposition to serve God, and trust in him under all circumstances, "she endured as seeing him who is invisible." By faith she waxed valiant in fight, and out of weakness was made strong. By faith she confessed she was not her own, but that she was bought with a price; and that it became her not to please herself, but to please Him who had graciously accomplished her redemption. And what is there may not be effected by such sentiments and principles, not merely acknowledged to be true, but framed in the heart as the motives of action?

If it is of importance to trace these victorious exercises of mind, to the energy of real piety, it is at least of equal practical importance to inquire by what means, piety itself, was nourished to so much energy. This inquiry will necessarily lead to a brief but, it may be hoped, profitable notice of Martha's devotional habits, as they were particularly connected with this period, and generally with the previous and subsequent periods of her life.

Martha sought to cherish the work of personal piety by *frequent and secret prayer.* She knew whence every good thought and every holy desire proceeded; and that prayer was only applying for them at their proper source. If prayer was regarded as a medium of communicating her wants, it was likewise considered as an important means of grace, for the promotion of every devout affection. It brought her into audience with the Being she most revered and loved; and lifted her spirit above earthly anxieties. It sweetened her mercies, lightened her burthens, and sanctified to her the various allotments of life.

Apart from the share she had in domestic worship, she was accustomed to engage in prayer twice in the course of the day. Usually, these exercises were observed as early in the morning and evening as was compatible with other duties; that, in the one case, her first thought might be rightly engaged, and in the other, her devotions might not be postponed to an hour, in which the body and mind would be too fatigued and heavy properly to regard them. In these devotions, her prayers were not only mental, they were oral likewise; she chose to give a regular and distinct utterance to her desires, as she thought it assisted the clearness of her conceptions, and prevented her from running into a loose and careless manner in so solemn an engagement.

But although Martha found it desirable to mark her devotions by time and form, her spirit was not limited by the one or the other. Prayer was not to her a cold duty, to which conscience occasionally drove her; it was not local, it was not verbal, it was not a painful and artificial act; it was the breath of her soul habitually and imperceptibly ascending towards Him who inspired it. It may be said of her as the Psalmist said of himself—she gave herself unto prayer. The spirit of prayer attended, and fed upon, every thing in which she was engaged. Seldom did she give away a tract, or relieve a want, or discharge a common duty, without inward and almost unconscious prayer; and if serious engagements were before her, they were made the subject of especial supplication.

The life of piety and prayer was sustained by *reading and meditation.* The kind of reading adopted was in harmony with the end proposed—it was strictly devotional. The Scriptures were read in their connection; and their impression was supported by some of our best pieces of experimental divinity, and the biography of eminently pious persons.

This reading was digested and made effectual by meditation, an exercise in which she had great delight. It was conducted in the same spirit; and her reflections were not allowed to become discursive

or speculative. She did not seek, at these seasons, to make fresh acquisitions to her knowledge; but to apply what she already knew with more force to her conscience, and to entertain it with greater warmth in her heart. Her thoughts dwelt, therefore, on the elements and first principles of divine truth; on her sinfulness and demerit; on her privileges and obligations; on the excellence of the gospel, and the unspeakable love of her Redeemer; on the vanity of time, and the awfulness of an approaching eternity. That these and similar sentiments might never be absent from her, she usually charged her memory, at the opening of each day, with some short passages from an inspired or other writer, which accorded with them, as a motto for her thoughts in the intervals of occupation which might arise. She considered herself to have derived great advantage, and redeemed much time, by this plan; and there can be no doubt that it contributed to save her from treating with levity, as many do, the first and simple lessons of religion, which indeed, like our common and daily bread, are by far the most valuable portion of whatever knowledge we may afterward attain.

Prayer and meditation were sustained by *self-examination.* She could not meditate without looking further into her own heart; nor could she pray without the guilt of hypocrisy, unless she inquired into her present wants. More or less she habituated herself to this at the close of each day; she "communed with her own heart, and was still." She calmly reviewed the motives, the temper, the actions of the day, that she might make sincere confession, and exercise future watchfulness.

The object she endeavored to keep distinctly before her in these examinations, was the *reality* and the *progress* of *personal piety.* She thought that the temptation of the present time is to neglect it; that if our forefathers erred in preferring the enjoyments of the closet to the claims of the world, we were exposed to the more dangerous error of losing all relish for the quiet duties of retirement, in the excitement and bustle of our numerous public religious engagements. She therefore was jealous over herself, lest in attempting to keep the vineyard of others she should be found to have neglected her own.

To assist her in preventing all self-deception on this most vital subject, she formed her judgment of the state of piety from what it was in *retirement alone.* She considered that all spiritual declensions began in the closet; and that, therefore, they might be earlier detected by seeking them there. She knew that, in social religious services, manifold considerations—novelty, taste, vanity, party-spirit, worldly interest—might create a factitious relish for them; but that in the closet, where the world was shut out, where there was no eye to see, no ear to listen but God's, the heart was liable to no such deception. Whatever, therefore, might be the strength of her emotion, or the height of her joy in public engagements, she allowed them to plead nothing in favor of her real state of mind, if they left her to carry to her closet a heart cold and indifferent, without humility and without gratitude.

But although Martha would not derive the test of her progress from her regard to the more social services of religion, she was far from undervaluing them; and her *devotedness to these public means of grace*, must be named as contributing instrumentally to her advancement in piety. Indeed, her uniform and lively attachment to the ordinances of religion was strikingly discovered in her whole deportment. I believe it may most truly be said, that throughout her Christian walk, she did not lose by negligence, or the want of properly economizing her time, one opportunity of attending divine worship, which she could consistently embrace. To go into the house of God, to mingle with the people of God, to worship the perfections of God, and to listen to the word of God, these were among her highest pleasures—pleasures which never cloyed—pleasures which increased the appetite for them by enjoyment.

The Sabbath was to her a delight; honorable, and she honored it. She entered on it with an air of serene cheerfulness, which is not only compatible with, but the fruit of, seriousness. Every thing of a worldly nature, that could be done previously to its arrival was done; there was no bustle, no confusion, no needless provision for the flesh. In attending the public services of the day, it was a point with her to be in time. She considered that it was a duty she owed to herself, to her fellow-worshippers, and to the Being she professed to honor and worship; and that she might not fail in it, she generally arranged to arrive a few minutes before the service commenced, a practice which she often named as highly beneficial to herself.

Her manner and temper were equally exemplary. There was no irreverent posture, no vacant countenance, no eye wandering from pew to pew, person to person, and dress to dress. She did not attend these public exercises to see and be seen, or to hear and criticise, or to trifle and be amused. On entering the temple, she considered herself at once engaged with adorable and omniscient Deity, who had promised his presence to his humble worshippers: she was anxious to sit at the feet of her divine Instructer, and to carry on a large and profitable commerce with the heavenly world.*

In this elevation of mind, the minister in word and doctrine was not slighted or forgotten; his office and character were appreciated, as every faithful pastor would desire his charge to think of them. He was not in danger of being idolized as a novelty, and finally cast away as a worn-out toy. She did not look at him as a performer, nor listen to him as an orator. She wanted not to be delighted, but to be edified; not to be made acute, but to be made holy by his ministrations. She sought by his offices, to be introduced to his Master; to be fed on the bread of life, and the water of life, and to know more of the will of her Saviour, in its testamentary bequests and sacred obligations. If the minister was proposing the same objects to himself, she "esteemed him very highly in love for his work's sake;" and in proportion as that work filled his heart and influenced his labors, she was concerned to confide in his instructions, to pray for his succor, to sympathize in his trials, and, by any means in her power, to promote his honor, comfort, and usefulness.

If such conduct as is here briefly specified sprang from piety, it will be seen, by a re-action common to good and bad principles, it also greatly advanced the work of piety. If a loose and partial attendance on public ordinances has its advantages, what must be their influence when attended in the spirit and the punctuality now described! And one cannot avoid the reflection, that if every member of our congregations were thus to fill his *proper place* in

* These and some subsequent remarks might seem needless in connection with such a character as the writer is describing, were it not that one is called, so frequently called, to observe habits grow on persons of acknowledged piety and conscientiousness, which disfigure their profession, and which, if they could rightly perceive, they would not in the least approve. The young should be strictly cautious of sliding imperceptibly into habits and compliances which, if they should be harmless to themselves, are indecorous in the eyes of others.

the *proper time*, and with a *becoming temper*, our assemblies would present a very different picture of order and quiet loveliness. One might hope then, that the spirit of solemnity would pervade our sanctuaries, and assist our devotions at the footstool of the Eternal; and that the spirit of conviction would more frequently seize the casual visiter, and constrain him "to fall down and worship God!"

Martha's pious dispositions were increased by her *constant endeavor to improve all events so as to strengthen them.* To those who look for them, such events are commonly to be found. Martha, although her circumstances were happily appointed, was always meeting with something, which she thought might be consecrated to these purposes. If disappointment arose, she impressed on her mind the lessons of resignation; if success, she urged herself to additional gratitude. When eminent piety stood out before her, she tasked herself to copy it; and the evils she saw daily arising from unholy and ungoverned tempers, set her especially to watch over, and seek the subduction of her own.

She was particularly affected, during the period which it is my object to illustrate, by the evident declension of some young persons from the ways of godliness, of whom she had cherished the best expectations. They had started nearly with herself in the profession; they had run well; she had hoped to pass with them to the goal: but they were hindered; they were drawn aside by the ensnarements of error, or by the love of the present world. She was very deeply affected by such occurrences. She humbled herself on account of them, confessing that she was as liable to err and to fall, and praying not only for them, but for herself, that she might never be seduced by Satan, or any of his devices, by the world, or any thing that is in the world. Thus it was, that the failings of others promoted her dependance and security, as we see a man urged to a timely repair of his mansion, from witnessing the ruinous effects of dilapidation in the dwelling of his neighbor.

In connection with these remarks it should be observed, that Martha sought the advance of piety in her heart by the *jealous avoidance of whatever was injurious to its interests.* I speak not now of worldly amusements and worldly fellowship; these are forbidden; and the allusion is not to what is expressly *forbidden*, but to what is *uncongenial and inexpedient.* And in judging of these qualities, she was not governed by the opinion of others so much as by her own experience. If any thing was found prejudicial to *her*, that was reason enough for avoiding it, though to others it should be wholesome and nutritive. Of course her judgment was called to pronounce on things innumerable as they arose; but it may be desirable to state, that she was convinced, from observing their effects on others, that *anger, levity, and Sabbath-day visiting; idle gossiping, wordy disputation*, and *party spirit; excess of foreign engagements*, and *a desultory occupation of time*; association with those who held their profession in a *formal* and *worldly spirit;* and the perusal of *books of light and trifling character, professedly moral*, but not in accordance with the *pure morality* of revelation, were eminently unfriendly to the exercise and growth of sterling piety, and had commonly led to serious defection from the paths of godliness.

Martha was not even content in shunning these; it was her concern to avoid whatever might *possibly* affect her, as she concluded these would. She never desired to occupy *debatable* ground, or to dwell on the borders of good and evil. That worldly question, How far may I go and be safe? never arose to her lips; she rather inquired, How far may I retire, and be consistent? She shunned the very appearance or shadow of evil. To resist her enemy, she fled from him, well knowing that to parley was to be fascinated and overcome. Thus it was that the flame of piety lived and brightened in its own element, and was not rashly exposed to every counteracting influence. It was not the flower of the field, unprotected from every rude foot or ravenous animal; it was the flower of the garden, hedged about with thorns, screened from the biting blast, cherished by a watchful hand, and living under the most genial heat and gentlest dews of Heaven.

Nor can this chapter be dismissed without observing *that affliction was undoubtedly among the means which promoted the work of piety.* If Martha was supported beneath her afflictions of body and mind by the hand of piety, piety, in return, was advanced by her afflictions. Trial and suffering are to the spirit what exercise is to the corporeal frame; none are healthy or vigorous without them. Affliction, of some class or other, is indispensable to our welfare in the present state; and the Christian is "chosen in affliction," preserved by affliction, purified by affliction, "perfected by suffering."

Martha was now becoming a powerful instance of the happy effects of sanctified affliction. It enabled her to form a juster estimate of life, of herself, and of all things. It called into early exercise her submission and patience. It gave increased energy to acts of faith, and reality to its existence. She had trusted in the Lord, and had been delivered; she had rested on him, and had been supported; she had looked to him, and had been enlightened; she had rejoiced in him, and had been happy; and she now felt towards him as a friend, who is not only believed to be faithful, but who has been tried, and *found to be so.* Prayer was the dearer, from its having so often given vent, and brought relief to her sorrows; and meditation the more inviting, since it had frequently borne her on its wings above sublunary vexation. The world was the more vain, from her experience of its utter insufficiency in the hour of need; and Heaven the more charming, from its having stood in direct contrast with the deceitful and fleeting and shadowy forms of this present life. She could say emphatically, that "it was good for her that she had been afflicted." Tribulation had wrought patience, and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope made her not ashamed, because the love of God was shed abroad on her heart by the Holy Ghost, which was given unto her.

CHAPTER XV.

RELAXATION. 1814.

MARTHA returned with me from C——— to her home, very much at ease in her mind, and considerably invigorated in bodily health. She cheerfully renewed her attention to those pursuits which have been described, and continued, through this winter, the life and joy of her relatives and connections.

But the flame of life and love burnt too ardently for the frail vessel which contained it. Amid so many opportunities of showing kindness, of mitigating wo, and instructing ignorance, it was nearly impossible to prevent her doing too much, and, what is even more prejudicial to a weakly frame, sympathizing too much. It was the only subject upon which her family held a serious controversy with her, and often was it revived by the evening fireside. Frequently she would see serious concern settle in her father's countenance on detecting her real exhaustion under assumed sprightliness, and, touched by it, would embrace him affectionately.

"Ah, my dear child," he would say, sighing, and

returning the embrace, "this is wrong—very wrong!"

"Wrong, pa'!"

He would shake his head.

"I have been doing very little to-day, pa'—very little indeed. You know you say, it is better to *wear* out than to *rust* out."

"Yes, my love *fairly to wear* out, but not to *tear* out."

"No, dear pa'; but one ought to do all one possibly can in a good cause, ought we not?" turning to her mother, whose warmth of devotedness she knew favorable to the reply she wished.

"Oh, do not make your appeal to me," her mother would say playfully; "ask your brother."

"Ah, she will not ask me," her brother would remark.

"Yes, but indeed I will, brother! I know you think we ought to do all we can do."

"I think, with our good king, *that we ought never to do so much as we can.*"

"Brother!"

"I mean by it just what he did, that we are not to press our energies, either of body or mind, to the *very uttermost.* By doing *more* than our strength permits to-day, we shall do *less* than we might to-morrow. Besides, there is the danger of overstraining the *bow*, which may never recover its elasticity."

"And you remember," her father would continue, "what Mr. Romaine said when he heard of the incessant preaching of Mr. Whitefield—'I shall, perhaps, preach *more sermons*, only I shall be *longer about* it.'"

Such conversations, however, did not produce all the conviction that was desirable. In youth, it is difficult to conceive of injury being done to the health till it is felt, and the blessing of health is seldom valued but in proportion as it is lost. Yet Martha did place restraints occasionally on herself, in compliance with the known desires of her friends, and under a sense of duty; but possibly when a *partial* relaxation was adopted, a *total* one was necessary, and her spirits uniformly rose above her strength. Added to this, her indifference to herself, the precariousness of life, her love to her Redeemer, and her concern to express it in labors of self-denial and benevolence towards his members on earth, formed in her so powerful a motive of action as greatly to raise her above *temporal* considerations. Nothing is more difficult than, in the midst of much to be done, which it is most important to do, patiently to wait and to do but little, or even to do nothing, as Providence shall direct; and it is not strange if Martha was yet imperfect in the lesson.

As Martha could not have all the rest from excitement necessary to the fragility of her health while in town, her friends sought to accomplish the end by inducing her to change the scene occasionally. In pursuance of this plan, she went in the summer of this year to Broadstairs with a young friend, and she received considerable benefit from the comparative quiet it imposed on her. It must be termed *comparative only*, for the circumstance of being separated from those she most loved gave her uneasiness; and although in a place ever so strange, she could not be satisfied without seeking some opportunities of doing good. Those opportunities, in such a situation, might be few and small; but there might often be more real exhaustion of spirits in seeking them and not finding them, than in finding and improving them. Perhaps I cannot do better than to allow her to speak for herself.

"Wishing, my dear ———, to supply as much as possible our absence from each other, I mean to keep, more or less, a journal for you. After some suspense and disappointment, we left town for Margate. We slept at this place, and then went over to Broadstairs, where we have procured lodgings. Here we shall enjoy all the pleasures of the country and the sea, without the bustle and parade of the town. I need not say this is what pleases me."

"Went to Kingsgate and Reading-street, two small villages. It was a pleasant walk. I believe I have been to five villages this week, all of which are near either Ramsgate or Margate, and none of them has a Sunday school! Oh, my dear, let every instance we see, either of activity or lukewarmness in others, stimulate us to renewed devotedness!

"I take up my pen under the influence of headache and low spirits, hoping to mitigate the one and remove the other. I feel much the absence from my friends. It is almost three weeks since I saw my dear brother; and though I see so little of you, I feel being at this distance. How strange that we should be so strongly attached to a state whose pleasures are mixed with pain. Let us look at those things which change not—perish not—with the using."

"I feel very poorly to-day. I should be glad of your company for half an hour; it would rouse my spirits. I suppose you are at C———, and enjoying, I hope, much temporal and spiritual good, and not only blessed yourself, but rendered a blessing to others. Never may we take a journey, pay a visit, or enter on a day without asking what we can do to show our love to the Saviour! And, that we may have it in our power to do all our circumstances will admit, never let us expend a *single penny* needlessly."

"Went last evening to Northdown, a small but pretty village. There are some sweet green lanes, which show the ocean at the end of them; it has a beautiful effect. The cottages are neat, and the gardens indicate industry and comfort. But there is no Sunday school! The villagers were amusing themselves with rural sports: and it delighted me to see so many youths blooming with health and gayety, and engaged in healthful recreations. I could not fail, however, to be deeply affected, that they were destitute of all instruction. I offered one a tract; he said, 'I cannot read.' I offered it to another; but instead of accepting it, he pointed to a third lad, who, it was understood, could read it. How is it that Christians can let all these poor villagers grow up and live in ignorance!"

"*Nine o'clock.* Just returned from Deal.—When upon the swelling ocean in a little boat, what helpless creatures we seem! I thought I understood more than ever the force of that beautiful expression, 'He holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand.' But after the sacred writers have employed the boldest figures, and we have formed the noblest conceptions of which we are capable, how very short they fall of what they ere long shall be! When the spirit is relieved of its encumbrances, it will possess in a moment more consistent views of the divine Majesty than in all the efforts of this mortal life!

"Went this evening to meet Miss P. at St. Peter's. Walked about the churchyard, and thought on that solemn period which my own feelings, and the ground over which I was treading, united to bring to my remembrance."

"My appetite is more than good, and this evening I feel uncommonly well. I walked to Northdown. The fields we passed through seemed to invite the husbandman to reap the fruits of his labor, and in some places he has accepted the invitation. When last in the country I saw them sowing the seed. How very soon will the great harvest come! Who can view such scenes as these, and not raise the

eye of gratitude to that Being who fills the mouths of his creatures with food, and their hearts with gladness! O how insensible is man!—how insensible am I! Awake, my soul, and bless Him who sends his early and latter rain, and causes his sun to shine on the earth. Remember, too, that these blessings are conferred on sinners; and that if God so care for the body of his unworthy creatures, he will much more grant to our prayers all spiritual mercies!"

"I hope in spending a few moments with you to compose my mind. I received a letter to-day containing unpleasant news; I afterward read a portion of history which painfully affected me; and just as I laid down my book, a trifling circumstance arose which hurt me. O for that meekness which is of great price! How often a trifle reveals to us much of ourselves! My feelings need constantly to be controlled. This I consider my weakest part; they too often sway my judgment, when my judgment ought to sway them. This lays me open to many snares. It is something to discover where we are most likely to be surprised by the enemy; but this is of little use, except we take care to keep those passes well guarded. Let us, my dear, *study ourselves;* this will afford us fresh matter for prayer. Especially let us look to the Strong for strength on the *first rise* of an improper feeling, and cease not to crave his Holy Spirit to subdue every thing that is contrary to the divine image."

"After tea we walked to Pagwell Bay. There is a very extensive opening both by sea and land. The valleys, the hills, the waters, rejoiced together. I was so delighted with the beauty of this scenery, gilded with the setting sun, that I could scarcely take my eyes from it; but it was soon hidden by the shades of night. If this world is so lovely, what must the next be! And if the next is so glorious, what must the Creator be!

'These are thy works, Parent of good,
Almighty! thine this universal frame!
Thus wondrous fair—Thyself how wondrous then.'

"It is the contemplation of this wondrous and infinite Being which will be the employment of a future state. Let us, then, habituate ourselves to the exercise; and that our weak sight may not be oppressed by the majesty of the object, let us behold it in the face of Jesus Christ.

"The quietness and leisure I now enjoy are calculated to promote my self-knowledge and mental improvement. I am bending all my attention to history; it is a profitable study. How astonishing it is that young persons should be tempted to waste their time in useless accomplishments, and often in vulgar decorations of the body, and entirely neglect the cultivation of the mind, not to say the salvation of the soul.

"I have only a day or two longer to stay. It is natural to ask, What good I have done since I came here? I wish I could return a proper answer to this question. I am very anxious to return, under the blessing of Jehovah, that I may prove a blessing to my family and the church of God. *I must make up lost time.* Soon the scene of action will be past. O that I could always act for eternity! The very color of my apparel teaches me not to depend on earth, and yet I am always prone to do it."

The remainder of this year passed away without any occurrence of importance, except the change of family residence. Her parents, after long, industrious, and honorable exertions in their secular engagements, were induced to seek the comforts of retirement for their advancing years. Providence had kindly put the means of realizing their desires within their power; and they now determined to use them.

Nothing could more fully accord with Martha's wishes, as far as her parents were concerned. She had seen, with no careless eye, the labors they had endured, the sacrifices they had made, for their beloved family; and she was far from willing that these should be unnecessarily continued, for the sake of accumulating superfluous gains. One of the simplest and strongest wishes of her heart was to see them enjoy the fruit of their exertions, exchanging worldly bustle for peaceful content, bodily fatigue for quiet repose, and earthly care for the calm anticipation of a heavenly state. Her parents were quickened in their steps by the affectionate desires of their children; and, before the autumn expired, they removed to a comfortable habitation on Bethnal Green.

Light and shade are mingled in every scene of life. Delightful as this arrangement was to Martha's filial affections, it was attended by regret, for it involved a separation of the family. Her brother could not be included in it. It gave her deep concern to be put at a comparative distance from one whom she now knew so intimately, and around whom her fondest reliances were clustering. However, we were not unmindful of the privilege already enjoyed in the three happy years we had spent beneath the same roof; and our present separation was of such a nature as not to forbid our seeing more or less of each other most days of every week.

CHAPTER XVI.

DOING GOOD. 1815—1817.

In the spring of one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, Martha's complaints assumed new and threatening appearances. During three months she passed through a course of medicine, and sought afterward to confirm the benefit she had received from it, by spending some weeks at Frampton, Gloucestershire. To this place she had been invited by some young and valued friends, who had recently removed to it from our congregation in London.

On this visit, therefore, she separated from her connections with less than her usual reluctance, and was received with most open-hearted kindness. Her friends, who welcomed her to their habitation, introduced her to a most pleasing circle of Christian society, in which she found, and assisted to communicate, real happiness. In the company of some of them she saw much of the beauties of this fine and picturesque country; and what from her delight in the scenery she was daily tempted to explore, what from the congeniality of the intercourse with which she was privileged, and what from the genuine sympathy every where shown towards her, which on a spirit tender and generous as hers always works medicinally, her languor and her pains subsided, and her countenance became again florid with health. Martha often referred to this visit with pleasure and gratitude. It had not only enlarged the sphere of enjoyment, and brought her into acquaintance with several excellent Christians and ministers; it had given rise to some close and valuable friendships, which she afterwards cherished by correspondence.

Soon after her return from Gloucestershire, Martha became the superintendent of a domestic establishment on which I was then just entering. We were thus brought, for a period, to dwell again in one habitation; and the six months so spent stand out to my sight like the little verdant spots which occasionally meet us by the wayside, on the otherwise worn and dusty path of life.

The greater part of this time her brother was the subject of indisposition, and Martha had an opportunity for showing those small and manifold attentions which contribute so powerfully to endear the members of relative life to each other. The many arrangements necessary on the settlement of a little household were made without disturbance. She did every thing to relieve me as much as possible from the burden of pastoral duty, and uniformly sought to report something that might gratify, while she withheld the trifles that might irritate. So much was this her practice, that her very presence seemed to be the herald of some good tidings, and to operate as a charm in dissipating the melancholy which too frequently attends a state of nervous excitation. No one ever studied another more than she studied her brother; no one, in doing this, ever more completely forgot herself.

Her attentions, too, were as delicate as they were assiduous. She knew when to act, when to be still. She entered by the power of sympathy into the case of the sufferer; every want was commonly anticipated, every desire generally known without the intervention of speech. How often of an evening, in seeking rest from labor discharged under pain and weakness, on the sofa, have I traced the variations of my own feeling in her faithful and varying countenance; and how often, when she was conscious of it, have I seen them in a moment suppressed, and her features lighted up with a soft benevolence, which spoke only of the gentlest love! It is particularly touching, too, in going over her papers, to find, that while her sympathy was so quiet and silent in my society, it was enabled to be so by the frequent utterance of the most tender desires and prayers in her closet. Would that I could record her excellence and my gratitude in a less perishable form!

Affliction is often as beneficial to social as to Christian life. It gives simplicity to the character, levels the differences of mind and situation, and facilitates the mutual flow of affection. This alone seemed to be necessary to make Martha's attachment to her brother as strong and perfect as human nature can be conceived to exercise. Accustomed as she was to think most lowly of herself, and to estimate her brother much too highly, affliction appeared needful to place us more on an equality in her partial opinion. Under such visitations she was constrained to perceive that she could really be of service to one whom she was disposed to think of as only serving her. Affliction made him more sensibly dependant on her. Her hand could supply his wants, could lighten his burdens, could direct his affairs; and that arm on which she was habituated to lean could be well content in seeking support from hers. How tenderly would she press it to her side, and give it more relief than it sought! In such circumstances, her love was invigorated by her pity; the currents of mutual sympathy were put more completely on a level, and they flowed into each other more readily and yet more peacefully. These occasional sufferings are brightened in the recollection that they brought us nearer together, and gave me a yet larger share in my sister's heart than I might otherwise have possessed.

With a strong affection, the poisonous plants of jealousy often grow up. But there was nothing *exclusive* in Martha's attachments; had there been, it would have been detected at this period. I was now anticipating a relationship which would necessarily interfere with the situation she was so pleased to hold in my family, and which she might be tempted to conclude would greatly affect even her place in my heart. Such a trial as this has often been found too powerful for the mother, the sister, or the friend, whose devotedness could have overcome every other. On this hazardous ground, however, Martha stood as a conqueror, and without a conflict. There was no meanness, no selfishness in her love. She simply desired the object of it to possess the utmost possible degree of happiness, without making it a condition that she must be either its source or its medium. She knew that her brother would still have all the happiness which his sister could impart, and she looked at a more intimate connection as multiplying the means of securing to him a full and overflowing cup of gladness.

Her sister, therefore, was received with expanded arms. She freely conferred with her on the requisite arrangements, and made every possible preparation for her comfort on becoming a member of the family. She gave her at once the place to which she considered her entitled, in her thoughts and attentions. She facilitated her introduction to our connections; and she did every thing that presence of mind and delicacy of feeling could suggest, to remove the awkwardness arising from a sudden entrance on untried relationships and novel society. Her sister retains the most grateful impressions of this early and disinterested kindness; and I should not do justice to the subject, did I not take occasion to couple her expression of them with my own. Such, indeed, is the temper in which a young person, content, for one she loves, to leave her beloved and familiar home, and to dwell with strangers, should ever be received.—But, for the want of this, how often are those events which we denominate a union of families, the prolific root of corroding jealousies, bitter contentions, and chilling antipathies.

In the years sixteen and seventeen, Martha's duties and pleasures in town were several times interrupted by the state of her health. With two or three exceptions, she retired to Cheshunt, a place already pleasing to her by many remembrances. Her young friend had, indeed, left the neighborhood; but many persons were familiar to her, and especially a widow, with whom she took up her quiet residence. This worthy woman had seen better and worse days than those which were now passing over her. She had walked in the sunshine, and contended with the storm; and she now sought only an humble shelter from life's changes, that she might peacefully pass the remaining months of her pilgrimage in waiting for the consolation of Israel. With such a person Martha's spirit was completely at home. A most sincere friendship grew up between them; and her friend, in the very loneliness of her widowhood, learned to rejoice afresh in the Goodness which had directed to her an individual who was even as a daughter.

In the visits of this period Martha possessed a more equal and happy state of mind than formerly, and she determined to enter on more vigorous plans of doing good. Freed from the usual claims on her time, she gave a limited portion of it to her own edification, and the large remainder to continuous efforts for benefiting others. Parts of every day in each week, and frequently the whole day, were consecrated to these exertions; the objects of them may be best explained in the following memoranda, which I find written in the commencement of her pocket book for the year sixteen:—

"*Prayer—Distribution of tracts—Conversation—Instruction of the young—Visitation of the poor.*"

The efficacy of means of usefulness depends, not on their imposing and expensive character, but on their skilful and earnest application. These simple means were employed by Martha zealously and effectually. She knew not the restraints which she necessarily felt in the metropolis. The cottagers she visited were generally known in their neighbor-

hood; and she could commonly learn enough to direct her conduct. The father of the family was usually absent, and the mother and children were at home; to these she could easily win her way, by the most unassuming and sympathetic manners; and the impressions of her presence and lessons were, in most cases, so successful, as to induce them to beg a repetition of the kindness.

The limits of these efforts were only bounded by strength and time, and scarcely by these. She laid the whole surrounding country under this moral cultivation, beginning nearer home, and so passing outward, to the utmost line of labor. I have found private minutes, in the same little pocket-book, of the division of her labors. They occur as follows:

"Cheshunt—Waltham—The Common—Berkhamstead—Newgate-street—Wormley;" allowing one place to a day, or part of a day.

The following are courses for the entire day:—

"Wormly West End—Over the Common—Easingham—Bayfield, &c.—Home through Hertford."

"To Enfield Over the Common."

"Take the road through Nasing to Epping."

"To Hatfield by Northaw—Hadley."

When the apostle Paul says he preached the gospel "from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum," it is impossible to judge of the extent of his labors without a reference to the map; nor can these Christian visits to the poor be appreciated without an allusion to the relative distances of the places. And when it is stated that the nearer ones embrace a circuit of from six to eight miles, and the farther ones a circuit of fourteen, eighteen, twenty, and even two-and-twenty miles from the point of residence, it will, undoubtedly, create a sentiment of astonishment. I confess I had never known that a female, in such circumstances, solitary, feeble, contending with a high degree of bodily suffering, and without any facilities to her exertions, could ever have ventured on them with perseverance, had they not been actually accomplished in the life of my sister.

If any are anxious clearly to mark the springs of action, where the act itself is so sustained and powerful, I am happy in being able to assist the inquiry. I find in the same pocket-book, and at the foot of these circuits, as if to keep them under the eye whenever the effort was to be made, the following minutes:—

"*A soul is of infinitely more value than a world! Think not, then, that any effort for its salvation is too difficult to be attempted!*"

"*The glory of Jehovah should be your* CONSTANT, *your* ONLY *aim!*"

Thus it may be seen, that her motives were as simple as her means, and it was their simplicity which constituted their power and their glory.

After this elucidation of motive, it may yet be desirable to ascertain how Martha economized so small a portion of bodily strength as she possessed, to endure such lengthened and apparently severe exercises.

Whenever she was about to visit a more distant neighborhood, she devoted the whole day to the object. After taking an early breakfast, and particularly imploring a divine blessing on the engagements of the day, she quitted her dwelling, usually with a reticule in her hand, in which were commonly deposited a hard boiled egg, a pencil and paper, her Testament, and a good assortment of tracts. She started in a slow pace, and, in reaching the farthest point of destination, she relieved herself by many rests and calls. She considered that the moment she entered on her walk her work began; and her eye was eagerly in search of some object which she might assist to make wiser and happier. If any little incident gave her favorable access to an individual or a cottage, she embraced the present opportunity without scruple. She could never think that cottage out of the way, or that time lost, in which she was endeavoring to do good.

When she arrived more immediately in the scene of the day's exertions, if visiting the neighborhood for the first time, she generally made her way to some worthy person, of whom she had learned a few particulars, or to some one dwelling which appeared more inviting than the rest, and sought "a cup of cold water." For this she returned a trifling acknowledgment, and this disposed the individual to more kindly conversation. After regarding the claims of the inhabitants here, she sought some information of those in the vicinity, and thus procured a key to most of the surrounding dwellings. She now proceeded in her course, entering every cottage where she found a welcome, in the spirit of the primitive disciples, breathing peace around her, and bequeathing it as a sacred legacy behind her.

Having passed through her work here, she turned her face homeward, making the same pauses on her road, seldom caring to reach her habitation till the day began to close. It was solely by these alternations of repose and progress, that Martha, with little strength and slight refreshments, was enabled to travel over so large a portion of ground as must, without explanation, approach to the incredible.

On one of these exploring excursions, following the current incidents of the morning, she arrived at a place called Newgate-street. The name which describes it, however, is not likely to suggest a just idea of it. It is a small hamlet, resting on the verdant bosom of a gentle eminence, which springs from the surrounding pastures. The cottages fringe the edges of this somewhat circular elevation, without assuming any thing of a set and artificial appearance. They are detached and diversified in form and position; yet all are simple and chaste. Their base is relieved by the aspiring flowers, and their soft brown hoofs half hidden in the overhanging and nodding foliage. The eye is carried to them by "the merry green," which, animated with rustic figures, forms a beautiful foreground; while pretty vistas are often breaking on the sight between the cottages, revealing the descending glade, softened by shadows, and bounded by swelling hills crowned with wood, and basking in the warm and blessed light of heaven. There is a completeness about this humble spot which satisfies the eye; there is a freshness which invigorates the taste; there is a quietude which soothes the soul. It speaks of separation from the world; of ignorance of the hackneyed ways of life; and exemption from its vices and its snares. And of how many spots in our picturesque and happy land may all this, and more than this, be said!

Martha, coming unexpectedly on this scene, fed on it with a relish which ever afterward made it sweet to her memory; but no illusions of taste could induce her to conclude that the inhabitants were as pure and as happy as their situation suggested. She knew that man, in his best estate, is still ignorant, vain, and sinful; and here she dreamed of no exception. She made her visits; distributed her counsels and her tracts; and acquainted herself with their moral condition. She found that these people were five miles from their parish church, and that they had no means of instruction within their reach. That the fathers, from having no employment for their time, acquired the habit of passing most of the Sabbath at the village pot-house; and that this wretched habit had opened the entrance to others, injurious to their character and the comfort of their families. The mothers, indeed, remained true to their domestic duties; but neither

father nor mother nor child had the attention directed, from year to year, to any thing beyond life's transitory concerns. Yet many expressed a concern to observe the worship of the Sabbath, if the means were within their power; and were desirous that their children should receive a better education than had been granted to themselves.

This information affected Martha most deeply. Here were a people surrounded with the light of truth, and yet sitting in darkness; in the midst of a Christian land, and yet without a school, without a sanctuary, without any one to care for their soul; living like the brute in their pastures, alive only to sensitive enjoyment, and dying also like the brute, as ignorantly, though not as safe. The external signs of their happiness only rendered their spiritual wretchedness the more deplorable. Martha looked on the lovely spot as her Saviour looked on the outward magnificence of Jerusalem, and wept; and her sympathy settled down into a resolution often to visit this place, particularly to notice it in her prayers, and to use her best efforts to put its inhabitants nearer the means of religious improvement.

The days spent in these benevolent exercises were, in the review, some of the most pleasant and important of her life. It is little to say that she never met with insult or molestation of any kind; she seldom met with neglect; and, in most cases, she was received with undissembled gratitude and kindness. As she became known in some of her favorite circuits, she would be welcomed on her way by smiling faces and simple courtesies; groups of happy children would often be gathered round her resting-place, reposing on her knee, and hanging on her lips, attracted by her winsome manners and tempting rewards; and, though far from seeking such offerings, the thankful tear would sometimes fall in her presence, and the blessing that would not be refused an utterance, would sometimes descend on her head. The benevolence of her errand called into play the kindliest parts of human character; she communed with her kindred on the best of terms; she walked in the warm glow of human sympathy; and she frequently saw some fine illustrations of what is most lovely and generous in our nature.

Her intercourse with others, on these occasions, was necessarily varied by intervals of solitude; and these variations increased the sentiment of gratification. In society she sought to serve God; in solitude to worship him; in both to enjoy him. If, in her rural and retired paths, rest became needful, she sought it in some imbowered nook, where no eye could obtrude upon her, and where nature spread before her some picture of living beauty. The eye affected the heart, and both arose from nature and from man, to claim a relation to the skies. In these scenes Martha drank deeply of those perennial springs, which the hand of God has opened for us on the fair bosom of creation; and deeper still of those waters of life, which flow fast by the throne of God, and of which, if a man drink, he shall live for ever.

Indeed, Martha had never possessed so much Christian enjoyment as at this period, and particularly in these exercises. Her mind had recovered its tranquillity. Soothed by the quiet of nature, the strings of life, which affliction had shattered, were restored to order and melody. Surrounded by the works of God, they were readily dwelt upon as the dear symbols of a present Deity. And fresh from considerable labors of love and self-denial, they became, unconsciously, the witnesses of the principles from which they came. Doubt and darkness fled away, and the spirit rose nearer to its Maker in filial confidence, and breathed forth desires of love and hope unutterable!

CHAPTER XVII.

VICISSITUDES. 1818

The winter of one thousand eight hundred and eighteen Martha spent in town, and principally with me. She maintained, through this period, her average state of health, but was subject to a great deal of local uneasiness and acute pain. She now found in our family an infant relative; and the interest she took in him contributed, as much as any thing could, to make her forget her suffering. She was particularly fond of this child, and could never do enough for it; indeed, the difficulty was to prevent her using such exertions for its amusement as might have done her real injury. I have frequently seen, in her attempts to divert and please it, the expressions of deep anguish and winning kindness, pass in quick succession over her features—the affecting representatives of bodily distress, and of an affection which was far above its control.

Recently introduced into the relationship of parents, we were, at this time, beginning a course of reading on education, and we made it the subject of conversation and remark. In this study Martha took as earnest a share as we could possibly do. Education of the young was one of her favorite subjects. She had derived many just views on it from experience, and many from *desultory* reading; but she felt it had not received that attention which its merits and her attachment claimed for it. She was now delighted with the opportunity, and we entered on it with the more vigor, because we had a beloved companion, who would take so animated a part in it. Discussion often arose in our progress, and it was always welcomed, for it frequently elicited truth, and never ended in a serious difference of opinion. These exercises were among our pleasant recollections. There was a freshness of feeling about them; the study itself was a most inviting one to us all; and the dear babe, which was usually seated on our knee, or reposing in his bassinett, was a living and common motive to its pursuit.

It is natural to conclude that Martha, restored to her religious connections, resumed, as she was able, all her benevolent engagements; but, it is needful to remark, that they were resumed with *more vivid perceptions of their importance.* There was less anxiety of feeling, and more earnestness. Indeed, there was an *intentness* of mind to one great object that was truly impressive. In her intercourse with her scholars, her young companions, the sick and the aged, and the congregation generally, there was something in her manner which seemed to say, "I have but one thing to do, and I must do it with all my might." I could not feel so much at liberty as I had been, in restraining her from too free a use of a life so precious to us, though a look was sufficient for it. She commonly acquiesced either with a word, or with an affectionate salute; but there was a quiet expression of surprise and distress on her countenance, which was wonderfully affecting; it often called to my mind the Saviour's reply to his relatives, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"

The shortest life on virtue's scale, is frequently the longest. Those who anticipate many years to come, live accordingly; and those who, by inward warnings, are made to feel that they are the "poor pensioners on an hour," are anxious to improve the present hour, and to "die daily." I do not know that Martha was, at this period, acting under any peculiar monitions of her mortality, by which many profess to have been influenced; but I do know that her habitual frailties had established an abiding sense of life's uncertainty, and that her thoughts had been so familiarized to eternity, as to make the longest life, and the most devoted exertion, nothing in the comparison—sentiments of infinitely more

importance, as they cannot deceive us, and are of universal application.

It is not our actions, so much as the spirit of them, which influences others. Martha's present temper of mind did not fail to communicate itself, more or less, to those around her. It was a season in which her labors, though discharged in weakness, and sometimes in tears, were highly beneficial. Meanwhile, the good seed she had been previously sowing, was here and there springing up in answer to her manifold prayers. Many of her children, who had gone into the world, were supporting their situations with credit, and fondly acknowledging their obligations to her. Some of them had risen up to become teachers in the school, and took their places at her side, around the table of Christian fellowship. Some of her young companions, who, in the novelty and ardor of their first emotions, had showed a little unsteadiness, had sobered down into the consistency of the Christian walk; and all of them were concerned to seize opportunities, the more precious because occasional and precarious, of returning her esteem and kindness for all her love. It is impossible to say how these rewards of hopeful exertion rejoiced her heart; and it would be needless to show that they gave a stronger determination to her chosen course of beneficence.

As the summer advanced, Martha received renewed invitations from her Gloucestershire friends to give a portion of it to them. Her relations seconded their cordial solicitations; but as some domestic circumstances seemed to call for her attendance in town, she was disposed to postpone them. Her reluctance, however, was finally overcome; and that she might separate from her connections with as little of painful feeling as possible, I engaged, on my way from Herefordshire, which I was about to visit, to spend some days with her at Frampton.

This promise gave her great pleasure, but it was never to be fulfilled. While I was in Herefordshire, I received tidings of the death of our second child, an infant of a few weeks old; and, of course, my remaining engagements were set aside, and I sought to return by the most direct line to London. Martha's affectionate heart could not allow her brother in affliction to pass within twenty miles of her without an effort to see him. She knew that I must go through Gloucester, and that I must change carriages, and that probably the exchange could not be effected without some short detention. She therefore induced a friend to drive her over, that she might take the chance of a meeting. Amid the bustle and excitement of hasty travelling, I arrived at the expected inn, and was anxiously inquiring for my next conveyance. A friend's hand seized me. I followed its leading into an adjoining little parlor, and my sister was instantly in my arms.—My wants had been thought of, and refreshments were nicely prepared ready to my hand; we exchanged a few words, but spoke not of the event which was nearest our thoughts; she covered my hand with her kisses and her tears; and again I was a solitary stranger in the corner of a stage-coach. Few things that are traced on my imagination, have so much the air of a vision as this; it came and it went so suddenly!

Martha returned to her friends, and continued, at my earnest request, the proposed time. The visit was one of mutual enjoyment. Every the kindest attention was shown to her, from the esteem and love cherished towards her character. Her health derived advantage from taking considerable exercise on horseback. Her mornings were commonly spent in visiting some of her favorite points of view, and calling on some Christian friends; and her evenings, if not spent in the house of God, were as often given to a select few, who were delighted to meet with a kindred spirit, with whom they might take sweet counsel on the way they had already trodden, and on the delectable prospects of a "better country," which occasionally rose to their sight, on the utmost boundary of their mortal pilgrimage.

Our regrets are proportioned to our enjoyments. The time of separation arrived; and the pleasures Martha had found in visiting the cottages of the poor, rambling among the beauties of nature, and mixing with congenial society, caused her to meet it with considerable emotion. She took her farewell of the endeared objects of the place and its vicinity under the impression that probably she might see them no more, and her mind was softened into affectionate tenderness. Similar sentiments were awakened in the bosom of her friends; and the parting scene became mutually, and therefore, deeply, affecting. Few events have received so much notice from her pen as this; and what she has written, powerfully testifies to the overflowings of a heart, beneficially influenced by communion with nature, grateful for the least expression of human friendship, and springing from the touch of earthly sorrow, to pour out the incense of piety at the gate of heaven. I regret that, in justice to her memory, these pieces cannot be introduced, as, though so illustrative of her state of mind, they are but fragments, and are written in measure without the slightest correction.

When Martha reached her home, we congratulated her and ourselves on her appearance. But how often are appearances deceitful? While her general health had been decidedly improved, her insidious disease was establishing its possession; and in the close of the autumn it broke out with alarming force, and baffled resistance by the most complicated symptoms. The best advice was again procured; strong means were immediately applied; and once more she was ordered from town.

Once more, therefore, Martha prepared to leave her family, and to retire to Cheshunt. The step had often been taken before, but never with so much sadness of heart. On the day of her departure, we all assembled to dine; it was an anxious and unwelcome meal. We spoke comforts to each other; but they were comforts on which we ourselves were not feeding. Our silence and sympathy indicated a state of serious apprehension; and when we parted, it was in tears, extorted by the fear that the place which then knew us might know us no more. The fear was too truly founded—Martha was quitting London never to return.

I cannot now record an occurrence which to me, perhaps, was one of the most serious in my sister's life, without giving expression to the feeling it excites. It was this event that virtually broke all the ties, which held her to my religious connection and pastoral charge; and never pastor suffered the loss of a more admirable and devoted member. In this capacity she never gave me a moment's uneasiness, but contributed essentially to my joy and usefulness. She was considerate of her minister's peace of mind, in the least as well as the most important things, and was concerned habitually that, as the member of a religious body, the whole of her conduct might be exemplary. How far she assisted to promote the peace and prosperity of my charge, must be revealed by the light of a brighter day; enough, for the present, it is to know, that to me she was raised up by the hand of Providence, as a most opportune and valuable blessing. She was the companion of my way when otherwise it would have been solitary; and she contributed greatly in the outset of public life, to moderate the weight of

those cares and duties, which pressed the more heavily on a breast as yet unaccustomed to the yoke. However, her work was now done! I was no more to be cheered by her presence, or relieved by her exertions; and I beheld her go forth as a sufferer, quiet and patient indeed, but still as a sufferer, and an exile from her dearest scenes of usefulness, and from the society of her friends and kindred.

If this separation was painful to all parties, it was most so to Martha. Her bodily spirits were reduced by exhausting medicines and constant pain; and her imagination would dwell upon it as a final removal from the habitation of those she loved. And when she was actually seated by the lone fireside of the kind widow, and her mind was at liberty for reflection, she had difficulty in sustaining its exercises with fortitude. She thought of her parents, whom she wished to comfort; of her brother, whose protection she needed; of her companions, whom she desired to enjoy; of her children, whom she was accustomed to edify; of the house of God and the people of God, familiar to her by a thousand prayers, and endeared by a thousand enjoyments; all distant from her, and if not far distant, yet so distant as to interrupt a communion which might never be restored;—her heart filled with sorrow, and her eyes frequently overflowed with involuntary tears.

Her situation at Cheshunt, too, which had so often administered to her comfort, increased her distress. Many a time she had come hither as an invalid, but never such an invalid as now. Her present state of health confined her to the dwelling; and her day of suffering knew few changes beyond a passage from the chair to the bed, and the bed to the chair. Her former and her existing indisposition were put in comparison, and she now felt herself to be sensibly worse. She was in the centre of a delightful field of labor, and yet could not lift a hand for its cultivation. Her eye glanced on many familiar walks where her feelings had often been soothed and her thoughts exalted, and which were still inviting her abroad; but she had no strength to obey their bidding. They gave to her situation the sense of imprisonment, and to her life the air of uselessness. These were some of the first calls Martha received from a state of active to a state of passive devotedness; and, in this hour of trial, it is not strange if they were not duly estimated, even while they were meekly obeyed.

The east wind is stayed in the day of the south wind. After a few days, Martha's sense of separation and sorrow was mitigated by the arrival of Miss Maria ———. This young friend had been associated from the first with her in her benevolent exertions; and now that Martha was obliged to quit them, she generously determined on becoming the companion of her solitude and confinement; a determination which she had ascertained to be most acceptable to her and to her relatives.

Martha received her friend as a gift from a superior Hand, mercifully bestowed in the time of need; and her presence had the most favorable influence on her spirits. She had now an individual by her side of her own sex, of similar age and sentiments, who watched over her by night and day, who conversed with her of the persons and scenes from which she was separated, and who, in the ardor of attachment, was cheerfully submitting to those separations and that confinement which Martha's tender spirit had so much lamented. Such an exercise of unassuming and disinterested kindness could not be lost on her; it touched every chord in her heart. She admired these proofs of character in her friend; she gratefully admired the Providence that had thus unexpectedly appeared for her; and she was disposed to charge herself with selfishness and unbelief in the regrets which she had indulged. The succeeding extracts from her diary, connected with the close of this year and the opening of another, will reveal something of those subsiding agitations which these trying changes had produced; and still more of that steady ascent of the spirit to its Maker which no earthly trouble could repress.

"*November* 27, 1818. This is the first time I have been absent from my family on this memorable day.* O that I may be with them and with the church in spirit, though not in body! What mercies have I received in connection with them!—Would that they constrained me to live only to the Author of them! This evening Maria and I spend together in prayer. May we be inclined to ask for all those blessings which are requisite for our beloved pastor, the church under his care, and our own souls."

"How profitable and how necessary is self-examination, and yet how often do I neglect this duty, or, at least, perform it in a very superficial manner. This morning I have been asking the question, 'What lack I yet?'—In the closet I have to lament much formality; the absence of the wrestling spirit, which ought to characterize every devotional exercise. In the sanctuary I am in danger of becoming lukewarm and indifferent, partly because bodily infirmity often prevents me rightly attending its sacred duties, and partly from * * * *. In the family, I lack benevolence of feeling; and I much fear, through the depravity of my nature, growing more selfish, instead of benevolent, by affliction. O that this may not be the case! but may self in every form be entirely and for ever forgotten. Be pleased, Lord, to make all thy providences and ordinances the means of exterminating selfish dispositions, and of strengthening and increasing exceedingly all the graces of thy Spirit; that so thy servant may no more live to herself but be *altogether devoted unto Thee. Amen.*"

"*January*, 1819. My motto for this year is, 'Fear not, neither be discouraged; for I, the Lord thy God, am with thee in all places whither thou goest.' May this encouraging portion of Scripture strengthen my faith, and enable me everywhere and always to trust and rejoice in the Lord! Remember me, O Lord, for good. Teach thy servant cheerfully to acquiesce in *all* thy will, and live *entirely* to thy glory.

"Here would I erect another Ebenezer; for though I was brought low, the Lord helped me. I have been quite confined for some weeks with a violent attack of illness, but am now able to walk a little. During the severe pain I suffered, my spirit was not permitted to sink; but according to my day so was my strength. O that I could be grateful for all the mercy manifested to me! But, alas! my mind is often clouded by dark and distressing views of the Divine conduct; yet I know they shall not remain for ever. When I am humbled, the light shall arise. To-morrow I hope to celebrate the Redeemer's dying love. May I do it under the peculiar influences of his Spirit. May he vouchsafe to take away the heart of stone, and give the heart of flesh. Afresh would I devote myself to the Most High. May the offering be accepted, and may he employ me in his service evermore!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

BENEVOLENT EXERTIONS. 1819.

With such serious purposes of self-devotement, it will hardly be expected that Martha, even in her

* The anniversary of her brother's birth and ordination, the evening of which is observed by special prayer in the congregation.

present circumstances, should continue long without some efforts of usefulness. So far from it, that in the midst of her affliction she was devising means of accomplishing her best desires; and as her pains were alleviated, she arose to put them in execution.

Her recovery, however, was of so very partial a kind, that it left her hopeless of entering again on those extensive plans in this neighborhood which had formerly blended so much personal gratification with the endeavor to do good. But these were the more readily given up at the call of Providence, as it would supply her with an occasion to practise self-denial; an exercise she thought herself backward to perform, but one which few have been enabled to perform so readily or so extensively.

Yet, accustomed as she had been to move in a larger circle, she calculated little on the result of her present confined and crippled exertions. Duty she had taught herself to consider was hers, events were God's; she determined cheerfully to do what she could, commending her feeble service to Him who can command success. And the issue furnished her with an important lesson; that God, in the very act of weakening our energies and limiting our labors, is designing to make them effectual.—The fact is, that such feebleness of effort is often overruled to give *better dispositions* to what we do; and, after all, it is the disposition at which God looks, and by which the human heart is influenced.

Martha's first attention was directed to the children she had been accustomed to instruct; and, as she could not now go to them, she invited those who were sufficiently near to come to her. This invitation was so well received, that she was quickly surrounded by a class as large as she could manage advantageously. She gave her instructions to these children once or twice in the week, and generally sought to do it in the absence of any witness.—She felt with Mr. Cecil, that to be at liberty in talking with children, we must talk with them alone. It is, perhaps, sufficient commendation of the method she adopted to say, that, although the attention of her little pupils was chiefly employed on religious subjects, they always came to her lessons with punctuality and eagerness.

Through the children she still had access to their parents; and that she might make the best use of this, she formed a little library of well-chosen books, illustrative of domestic temper and economy, as well as of divine truth; and by lending these books as rewards to her scholars, she kept them circulating in their families with the strongest inducements to regard their contents. Frequently the book so lent was, to express the sense of gratitude, returned not by the child, but by the mother, who would enlarge in simple language on the parts which had interested her thoughts. When this effect followed the arrangement, Martha deemed it quite successful; it gave her an opportunity of intercourse which she knew how to improve, and which the poor are generally willing to embrace, when they are treated respectfully, and they can discover a friendly concern for their happiness.

As her strength permitted, Martha went abroad into the hamlet; and sometimes, with the help of Maria's arm, beyond it; to try, as she used to say, "to do some good." Her difficulty in walking made a seat often necessary to her; and she was now so well known and so much beloved in the vicinity of her dwelling, that every cottage-door was open for her relief. Her affliction, therefore, which limited her exertions, gave her more free access to the neighborhood, and imparted more weight to her conversations. Those who were the witnesses of her sufferings could not avoid being impressed with her uniform cheerfulness, and her readiness to think little of her own ease in seeking their good and that of their children.

The force of these impressions would sometimes discover themselves in the most simple, and therefore affecting manner. If indisposition, or the weather, had confined Martha for an unusual time, it would assemble a little levee of kind inquirers. The latch of the door would be gently raised during intervals of the morning, and the head of the child, or the matron, or the grandam, would present itself with the inquiry, so as to show a real anxiety to hear of her welfare, and yet to shun any thing like intrusion. In the leisure part of the day she would have to receive some more regular visits from those who, by their age or other circumstance, thought they might claim this privilege. All these worthy villagers would evince, in various ways, their sympathy. One was quite sure, "that while Miss Reed cared so much about others, she did not care enough about herself;" another thought that she would sit much more comfortable in her easy chair than in any other she could possibly have; another imagined that some little nicety she could prepare would just please her palate; and a fourth was certain, that if she would take her favorite medicine, it would soon cure her. And these remarks were seldom allowed to fall to the ground; without shaping them into a promise, or waiting for a formal consent, they were usually followed by some little tribute of kindness beyond what their words had given reason to expect.

These sentiments of sincere esteem prevailed more generally than could be readily supposed. I recollect, somewhat earlier than the period on which I am dwelling, I could not exactly distinguish the house of my sister's residence without inquiry. I went into a small shop in the hamlet to gain information. An elderly woman, of a very notable and good-natured appearance, was within. I asked her if she knew where Miss Reed lived?

She hesitated; her name was not familiar to her.

"Miss Reed, at Mrs. D———'s?" I continued.

"At Mrs. D———'s! Oh yes, sir, yes, sir; it 's the *good young lady* you mean, I dare say, sir."

"Ah, I dare say it is," I replied; "for I know Miss Reed is a *good* young lady."

"Indeed she is, sir!" she said, satisfied now that we were speaking of the same person, "and we all call her so about here."

It was really matter of fact, that Martha's character had identified itself more completely in the minds of these people by some such appellative as this, than by her own proper name.

Nothing is more painful to the truly Christian mind than to find that we may win the affections of others towards ourselves, and yet fail in raising them to divine and uncreated excellence. No one could be further from undervaluing the esteem shown to her than Martha; but she had sought a higher object, and, if this was to be lost, all comparatively would be lost. And it was just here she had reason to fear disappointment. Towards herself, the conduct of these villagers was more than she desired; but towards religion, it was far from giving her satisfaction. There was a willingness to hear her remarks on it, but there was wanting the discovery of it in the spirit and practice as a living principle. They were not at a considerable distance either from church or chapel; and yet it was not easy to prevail on them to attend the worship of God on the Sabbath day; some excuse was always found or invented to satisfy themselves. Her compassionate spirit was stirred within her when she looked round on persons so full of regard to her, and whose hearts were so void of right feeling towards that Being who alone could protect, or help, or bless them.

Martha, however, persevered in her course, and only thought, as the difficulty arose, of opposing to it a stronger combination of means. She considered, that if she could not prevail on the inhabitants to go to the ordinances of religion, where they were regularly observed, it was necessary, if possible, to bring them to the spot, and not to suffer the people to perish for lack of knowledge. In acting under this conviction, she represented her views so effectually to a minister then staying at Cheshunt, that he at once consented to give his Wednesday evenings to the benefit of this hamlet. Accordingly their sitting room, with the good-will of the worthy widow, and to the great joy of the young inmates, was determined on as the place of meeting and worship.

It was now that Martha realized more the fruit of her retired endeavors. If she failed generally in urging her neighbors to go some distance for the act of worship, she succeeded beyond expectation in assembling them as was proposed. The awkwardness of first going into a large public assembly, with several other trivial considerations, which greatly influence our nature on very important occasions, were overcome; "they were only going into *widow D———'s*, and those around them were doing the same thing."

When, therefore, the minister arrived at the time of service, the room was well prepared for his reception, and completely filled with attentive hearers, some of whom were so strange to public worship that they knew nothing of its external forms and expressions. The good seed, however, in many cases, was cast in a prepared soil, and it grew up and yielded the peaceable fruits of righteousness. Many were made the better for it in relative life; some were constrained differently to respect the Sabbath, and to travel to the means of grace; and some gave such evidence of a spiritual change as to be readily received to the communion of saints, at the holy supper of their Lord.

In the fluctuation of her sufferings, there would be periods in which Martha was compelled to resign herself to pain; but then it was she was most concerned to excite others to do what was beyond her power. Unmindful of her own convenience, and even of her necessities, she would urge those who dwelt with her to go forth on some message of mercy. Their desire was to please her; and as they found her mind was much more satisfied by absence on such errands than by any attentions their presence could impart, they commonly met her wishes without remonstrance. Frequently the aged widow was to be seen issuing from her home, happy to fulfil some little suggestion of Martha's for the consolation of others; and more frequently did her attached friend, Maria, follow out her footsteps in her more active days, seeking to confer similar blessings, and to bring home to the invalid some encouraging report.

Our happiness springs from our duty, even when duty wears the aspect of self-denial. These three friends made considerable sacrifices in this course of humble exertion; but they were repaid by unsought rewards. Their work of love gave them something to devise, to arrange, and to converse about. Their separations and meetings gave a zest to their society and intercourse. They had an object before them which endeared them to each other, and kept the best sympathies of the heart alive to the wants of humanity. Above all, there were the substantial proofs of usefulness more or less arising. The good, but retiring widow, entered more into the spirit of active benevolence, and did more than would otherwise have been done; and Maria, catching the views of her friend as she proceeded, sought to accomplish the more from her lamented incapacity. Besides the benefit of her general efforts, a school was formed at a distant hamlet, which Maria undertook to attend once in the week; and Martha, on making known its dark and destitute situation, induced the minister before mentioned to afford it a share in his time and attentions. Thus was Martha, by the kind agency of others, effecting as much through her days of pain and confinement, as could probably have been realized by uninterrupted activity.

From the mere description of these acts of charity, it will be seen that they were not of an expensive character; yet, in continuing them week after week, little expenses were apt to accumulate. Some of these she was enabled to meet by the kindness of friends, who, knowing her disposition, made her an almoner; and to the remainder she devoted every thing she could possibly spare. Every garment in her drawers, and every sixpence of her allowance, which was not indispensable to her, she readily disposed of to others. I find in a quarter's account of her expenditure about this time, the largest item of the whole is that for "Religious Tracts." She never suffered herself to owe any one any thing but love, but when her dues were settled, she thought of little more. She has frequently made herself penniless to assist others; and there is some great reason to fear, from what I have since learned, that she was too neglectful of the claims of a body rendered so delicate by indisposition. On this subject her friends would seriously remonstrate; she would admit the justice and kindness of what was said, but her inclination would rest on the other side of the argument. "Remember," she would say, "how much good a trifle may do. The gift of some little nicety to a sick person may open the heart to regard what shall be of eternal value to him; and the outlay of a sixpence in tracts may be benefiting others when we are no more." Undoubtedly, compared with what many give, Martha gave nothing; but compared with what they *sacrifice* in giving, and what is *left* after giving, she gave as much as any, and more than most: and this is the scriptural test of charity. The widow's two mites, amid all the silver and gold cast into the treasury that day, was the largest as well as the noblest donation.

If it is to be admitted that Martha did not sufficiently regard her bodily welfare, the concession must end here, for of the superior part of her nature she was never unmindful; and her present situation was considered as a call to increased mental improvement. During this winter, therefore, she pursued a profitable course of reading, and renewed her studies on the subjects which had previously been on hand. Particularly she completed her reading and reflections on education with growing satisfaction. Maria generally joined her in these engagements, and the pleasure was greatly heightened by the presence of one who was interested in her studies, and whom she could assist to tread the paths she had already trodden.

But with much time to be occupied in one posture, it was desirable to diversify employment; and with the most acute pains to be endured, it was necessary to add to change the attraction of novelty. Indeed, all that could be devised was frequently insufficient to divert the mind from the sense of uncontrollable suffering. Whatever was likely to avail in helping her yet more to forget her afflictions and to occupy her attention and time, she was anxious to adopt. With this purpose she determined, when fatigued with those pursuits which were more arduous and familiar, to turn from them to the French language; and when she should be weary of this, she provided herself with the means for practising drawing. In both these new exercises she made

quick progress, and for the latter she formed a strong attachment. Her love of nature gave her an interest in painting; she could use the pencil when she could do nothing else; and she was accustomed to speak of this recreation with gratitude, as contributing to fill up many hours of life appointed to suffering, and which, had she dwelt on it more, she might have been less able with patience to endure.

Her attention, at this period, was given to her *temper* as well as her mind. Her disease affected her nervous system in a high degree; the state of excitation to which she was sometimes brought, was most difficult for her to control: and she has several times expressed a fear that it might, by continued action, render her temper irritable, peevish, and troublesome. She had often marked the influence of bodily infirmity on the social dispositions in other persons, and as often she had deplored it, and prayed against it; but now she thought herself in danger of the very thing she feared. However, her fear was her security; it kept her eyes open on the encroachments of this evil; and resolutely to watch against it was to conquer it.

Martha, indeed, was so inured to resist the selfish principle, that she was the more prepared to contend with it under this one appearance; and so complete was her victory, that no one ignorant of her mind would have thought it had cost her a struggle. She was not only free from peevishness and ill-humor, she was still gentle, kind, and cheerful. She did not undervalue attentions that had become familiar to her, nor use them needlessly where they were kindly offered. She did not withhold acknowledgment because it might be taken for granted; and much less did she manifest impatience and displeasure at services which were meant to please her. She had still a kind word, and as kind a smile for any expression of sympathy, while the whole bodily frame was under the most distressing irritation. The magnitude of this conquest may be estimated when it is considered, that many who have subdued a vicious principle have failed in contending with a petulant disposition.

CHAPTER XIX.

DOMESTIC TRIALS. 1819—20.

While Martha was bearing cheerfully her own sufferings, she was assailed, by relative affliction, in a more vulnerable part. Her parents, who, by the act of retiring from worldly business, appeared to be placed beyond the reach of hazard, were early called to endure a considerable loss. The individual who, with the best reputed character, had entered on their house and trade, soon became a bankrupt, and all they received for the valuable property trusted to his use was an insignificant dividend.

It too often happens, that the first loss leads to a second; in attempting to recover what is past redemption, we lose what is yet possessed. Our parents, anxious to enlarge a narrowed income, and to provide an opening into life for their younger son, ventured a considerable portion of their remaining property in the house of a sugar refiner. This was done with fair prospects of realizing the proposed objects; but, just at this period, such a stagnation came over this line of otherwise profitable trade, as to perplex and shake the most weighty establishments. In the issue, all the parties concerned lost whatever they had advanced.

No event in our domestic history affected Martha equally with this. She had thought that whatever trials might await their offspring in the course they had to run, her beloved parents would terminate their days at ease and in peace. But now, when she saw their property torn from them so suddenly which they had been years in obtaining, which seemed so necessary to their comfort, and which they could not possibly replace by any renewed exertions, her spirits were overwhelmed. Her imagination exaggerated the distress; and while she did not exactly know the extent of loss, she feared that every thing might be lost, and that her aged and revered parents might be called to suffer most, when the very "grasshopper was becoming a burden." It was then that her affliction was first regarded with temporary impatience; it withheld her hands from administering to their wants, and her feet from fleeing to their presence in their adversity.

However, she communicated with her parents on the subject in the most tender and affectionate manner. She reminded them of those consolations which are apt to be farthest from the thoughts when they are most needed; and meekly suggested those considerations which she had found most useful in lifting the mind above the endless vicissitudes of life. She re-assured them that she was entirely satisfied with what they had done for the welfare of the family; and that they must not take blame to themselves because their plans had been crossed by events which human prudence could not foresee, nor human power control. She made it a distinct and earnest request, that they would not tolerate a moment's uneasiness concerning herself, as she hoped she should soon be better; and that, under no circumstances, could she allow herself to be burdensome to them, whose burdens she wished, above all earthly things, to lighten. Enough it would be to her, more than enough, should she find that, from the wreck of their possessions, they still retained any thing approaching to a sufficiency for themselves. From their children, she urged, they must now release their thoughts; they had already done their duty towards them.

Martha uttered all this, and much more, in the ardor of her sympathy; and her thoughts were earnestly engaged in considering how she might most readily make herself independent of the very limited resources of her parents. The instruction of children had always been peculiarly her delight; and she conceived her object might be best accomplished by teaching a small and select number of young pupils. Reflection increased her approbation of the plan. She knew the engagement would be pleasant to her; she concluded that her connections would supply the requisite number; and she considered it providential that her attention had been so fully employed on education in its more ornamental and essential parts. There was only one thing which stood in the way of her immediately carrying this scheme into execution—it was the state of her health. She met this difficulty by hoping it would be removed; but this hope had inwardly many fears to contend with. She could not avoid reflecting that she had been unwell for a long period; and that, although now recovering from a heavy paroxysm of pain, disease had rather seemed to establish itself on her constitution than otherwise; and these reflections gave to her plans a visionary and impracticable character. Then, again was the cup of affliction most bitter to her spirit. It was hard, extremely hard, to see the hand of Providence cutting off the natural sources of supply, and, at the same time, withholding those bodily energies which were necessary, by honorable exertion, to provide for herself—and yet to be resigned!

Hard as it was, Martha was enabled to exemplify it. But perhaps her own words will best discover the agitation, submission, and gratitude of her heart.

"*June* 2—(her birth-day.) Truly, it is a pleasant

thing to give thanks unto the Lord! In looking back on the past year, my temporal, intellectual, and spiritual blessings should excite me to joy and praise. Amid all that has threatened my life and my comfort, I am still preserved, and have food to eat, and raiment to put on. Yea, my cup runneth over. Notwithstanding the great hindrances arising from severe pains and oppressive lassitude, I have been favored with considerable opportunities for mental improvement. But, above all, I would give thanks that I am still preserved in the narrow path —still hungering and thirsting after righteousness—still longing to have the selfishness of my nature extirpated, and to live only to God. May I glorify the Giver of these blessings! When do our benefits appear so valuable as when most conscious of our weakness and unworthiness?

"Let the goodness of God in the past excite *confidence* under present circumstances. What though property should be lost; let me remember that I and mine are in the hands of Infinite Love. What though trials may threaten; let me remember that the hearts and affairs of all are under the control of Jehovah. He knows no difficulty in dispersing the thickest clouds, and causing his sun to shine with more than its usual brightness. O may I trust in Him *with all my heart*, and not be afraid!

"Let this Goodness promote in me *true penitence*. Let me seriously ask, What have I done? What have I neglected? Whom have I forgotten?—May the eternal Spirit work in me a genuine and deep repentance!

"Great God! Hear me, I beseech thee, while I pray, that henceforth I may live as in thy sight, and that a sense of thy presence may keep me from every thing that would offend thee, and cause me to abound in every good word and work. Especially grant that thy glory may be my constant, my only aim; and that I may promote it by pure benevolence, lively spirituality, deep humility, and strong faith. O Lord, I am nothing, and worthy of nothing; but thou art able and willing to do more for me than I can ask or think. Behold thy servant waits for the fulfilment of her prayers, through the merits of thy dear Son, believing it shall be well with her!"

"*June 7.*—I have received more positive information of the losses my dear parents have sustained; and I fear they may still be found to be greater; but sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. The future seems most gloomy; sorrow attends me which way soever I turn. I would commit my family to the divine care, but it is very difficult. O that I may now honor God by the most steadfast and cheerful reliance on his Providence!

"Sorrow is still with me. I fear Maria and I shall be separated. She has been as Jonah's gourd to me; her incessant kindness has in no small degree mitigated my privations and sufferings. May the Father of the fatherless protect and reward her! This separation is the more painful, because not expected, and it is attended by circumstances very trying to my feelings.—Peace! It is the Lord! He *cannot* err—He *can* make darkness light!"

Previously to the occurrence of these domestic trials, I had been desirous, as Martha was likely to remain at Cheshunt, to provide her with a few more comforts than her present situation could afford; and I now thought that a favorable opportunity was furnished for effecting the change. Influenced by the occasion, and other domestic reasons, I procured a small cottage in her neighborhood; and having made what arrangements were necessary, I solicited my sister to enter upon it, and to gratify me by undertaking its management.

To her, every request of her brother's was acceptable; and this was especially so. It gave her concern to quit the humble roof of her widowed friend; but this was alleviated by the distance between them still being very trifling. Every thing else was as she could desire. She saw that the proposed plan would continue at her side her affectionate companion, Maria; that it would give opportunities of receiving her parents, who were already preparing to spend some time with her; and that it would necessarily bring her into closer communion with her brother's family. Indeed, the change was stored with more good than we could at first perceive. From this time it was my privilege to consider my sister a constituent member of our family; and I must ever be thankful, in the review, that it enabled us to contribute so easily to her comfort, and to receive from her, in return, so much benefit to ourselves and our children.

In the month of August, the whole family, with the exception of the youngest member, met in this peaceful cottage, and spent some interesting weeks together. Much time and many clouds had passed over us since we had so met; and the retirement of the spot, and the quiet flow of relative intercourse, had a sensible charm to us all, retreating as we were for a while from the pressure of public duty, or the severe strife of life's calamities.

Martha, however, more than any one, was qualified to enjoy this meeting. In her suffering and isolated situation, she had been often ready to despair of a reunion to her family; and now that she was in the midst of them, her disease seemed to subside, in a measure, under the joy of her spirits. She remembered that we assembled beneath trial and loss; but she now knew its extent, and she resolved that she would be the sufferer; that what was lost should be lost to her, and her parents should yet be happy. With this view before her, she could not so deeply lament it; it would be a selfish lamentation; and to console her parents, she appeared to them and to us filled with contentment and cheerfulness. She was indeed our comforter; but yet, to the eye of parental love and sorrow, there was something in all this happy resignation that would affect it to tears. They looked on her as a sufferer and a daughter—their only daughter; they knew that no one could be so affected by their losses as herself; they had valued what the kindness of Providence had given chiefly on her account; and now, with all her cheerfulness and soothings, she would often appear, in their troubled sight, nothing better than the pet lamb of the family, destined to be the meek, unconscious victim of the fiery trial which was to try them!

Notwithstanding this variation in Martha's circumstances, and the degree in which it was likely to subserve her happiness, her thoughts still reverted to the scheme of education which had occurred to her on the first shock of the family reverses. She fondly looked to it as the means of independence and usefulness. She was not too proud, but too conscientious to rely on the resources of her dearest friends, while she had the prospect of assisting herself; she knew that, by engaging in some such pursuit, she should best induce her parents to feel satisfied on her account; and I believe I may add, that it was contemplated with more pleasure, as it would exercise some virtues of the character which she had been accustomed to place high in the scale of Christian excellence.

In proportion, therefore, as she could anticipate the accomplishment of her design, she was satisfied; and her satisfaction had recently arisen considerably, from the apparent amendment in her health. As the object approached nearer to expectation, it appeared the fairer to her hopes. Every thing, she thought, favored it. The cottage was well suited to the purpose; and Maria was tendering her services in any way that should best con-

tribute to it. She had nothing to do but to name it to her brother, and this she determined to delay no longer.

I well remember the intercourse which sprang from this determination. It revealed a character familiar to me in new and trying circumstances; and it discovered such delicacy towards me, such tenderness towards her parents, such just respect towards herself, and such a fixed energy of purpose to do whatever was right or worthy, as filled me with admiration. But then it was painful to think that her bodily powers gave little hope that these exercises of the mind could be brought out in action; and still more painful to perceive, that on this point Martha had deceived herself. I saw, with thankfulness, that lately her health had really improved; yet I saw nothing which led me to suppose she would soon be in a state to embark in the proposed responsible undertaking.

My opinion was sought, and I could not refrain from expressing my fears, yet I could not express them strongly. Martha was not prepared to give them a free entertainment at this moment. The fever of the mind, like that of the body, produces a false strength and spirits; and, under this excitement, she thought herself better than she was. I considered that, though no other pleasure should be realized, she might enjoy, for a considerable time, that of anticipation; and, without pressing cold and unwelcome reasons on her attention, I wished her to act so as most to gratify her inclinations.

Of course she embraced the object, and gave herself to the preparations which should be necessary to its realization. Her attention was fully engaged, and her heart was at rest. She thought not of what she had lost, but of what she might be enabled to effect. With the means of self-provision, she connected the probability of training a number of her own sex rightly to discharge their duties in this life, and to estimate whatever belonged to the world to come. At length, all the preliminary steps were taken; and she now looked to the issue with a hope the more serious and powerful, from the trouble, the expense, and the time which had been given to it.

But life is proverbial for the wreck of human hope. Notwithstanding the excitements still acting on Martha's spirits, her health declined as the winter advanced. She was for some time unable to admit this—it involved the ruin of all her earthly expectations. The admission, the reluctant admission, however, at last forced itself upon her; and now that the illusions of hope were broken, her spirits fell from the elevation they had kept, and her health appeared to her really as it was, and worse than it ever had been.

This winter was eminently a painful one to Martha. Her favorite schemes, on which she had dwelt for some months, and from which she could not at once avert her thoughts, now occurred to her mind only to distress her; for some time afterward she could not speak of the subject, or look on a child, without tears.

How far anxiety and disappointment excited a sinister influence on the body, cannot be decided; but the animal system now discovered fresh symptoms of derangement. The former attacks returned with greater violence; and, in addition to them, some affections appeared of a paralytic character; so that alternately she was the subject of excruciating pain, and of a torpid insensibility creeping over the body, from which the spirit recoils more than from agony itself. The history of most of her days and nights at this period would embrace only the following transitions—acute pain would ascend into delirium; delirium would sink into apathy; and apathy again would be awakened by pain. Life is short, but it is awful to think what a world of suffering may be crowded into it!

I cannot forbear inserting the following lines, as they allow the sufferer to speak for herself:—

The sun is set upon another day
Of weariness and pain. How oft that sun
Has seen me sporting in its joyous beams,
Lavish of youth, and counting on long days
Of undisturbed delight! But ah, how changed!
These faculties, that once with eager joy
Perused the page of science, now lie wrapt
In melancholy sleep. This heart no more,
With rapture kindling, feeds with living joy
And growing hope on all things beautiful.
Chained to one narrow spot, this feeble frame
Lies like a statue, scarcely breathing life,
Save when aroused by pain to sense of wo.
My summer's day, my gleam of light is past—
The short remains how winterly and drear!
All now is darkness, darkness to be felt.
Ah, whither shall I turn in this sad hour?
To whom shall I betake me? O my God,
Thou art my hope! and though thine hand should slay,
Yet will I trust thee! Well thy servant knows
Thy word divine is faithfulness and truth.
Thou wilt not leave me in the vale of death,
But gently lead me, by thy gracious hand,
To that bless'd world where suffering is no more!

Early in the opening of the year twenty, as the spring advanced and the weather meliorated, Martha found some partial relief: and her spirit sympathized in the hopeful character of the season. It is difficult to make any one who did not observe her, understand how readily she recovered herself on the least qualification of her afflictions—how quickly health and cheerfulness re-appeared in her countenance, and animated gratitude dwelt on her lips. She was accustomed to say, "that a state of *ordinary* pain was a blessing;" and though this ordinary pain would have been *extraordinary* to most other persons, it was always enjoyed with positive satisfaction.

For some time it had been conjectured that the different and perplexing appearances of disease on her frame were symptomatic of a spinal injury; and the use of an horizontal posture had been suggested. The recommendation, however, had not been adopted; it was very unwelcome to Martha and to her friends. The thought of being confined to one position, in one room; of being excluded from the society and agreeable changes which arose to her from being able to visit the sitting-room, and stroll round the garden, could not at once be entertained or even tolerated. But experience, in the end, proved that the measure was expedient, if not acceptable. It became evident to her, that her distress of body was equal to its motion; and when through the day she made no exertion, and was reclining on the sofa, her nights were comparatively free from pain. At length, the power of locomotion was so restricted, that the ascent and descent of the stairs formed an obstacle almost insurmountable; and listening to the more serious requests of her medical advisers, she determined on confining herself to the mattress.

The last day previous to the proposed and indefinite confinement, was an affecting one to us all. In the close of that day, I supported Martha to take her final walk in the garden. It was a fine evening in the month of May; and the garden, of which she was peculiarly fond, was dressed in its best array. The one half of it was thrown into cool and comfortable shade by the clustering trees; while the remainder was resting under the mild radiance of the setting sun. The flowers and shrubs were

luxuriant in life and beauty; and the voices of manifold birds, happy beyond utterance, were pouring out the living strains of joy, love, and harmony. Our children, as happy as they, were playing on the daisied lawn; and the elder one frequently running across the path of his aunt, aware of her infirmity, challenged her with an amusing mixture of fear and confidence to catch him.

But Martha's mind was too highly wrought to be playful; it was dwelling with uncommon interest on all the sounds and sights by which she was surrounded. She too was happy; but it was a troubled happiness; it was the happiness we feel in the presence of a friend from whom we are about to be separated. I understood her state of feeling; and winding away from the little prattlers, we pursued our path in silence, which was only broken by simple remarks on the objects before us. She carefully visited all her favorite plants; she spoke of many of them with more admiration than ever before; and we jointly paid them any little attention which they happened to require.

Pained and wearied by her exertion, I led her to her chosen seat for repose. It was embowered in the fresh and thick spreading foliage of the nearer trees; and the last rays of the sun were glowing on the trunks of the more distant ones. The whole scene was becoming more calm and peaceful; and twilight was touching all things with its own soft and pensive hues. Martha fed upon it in quiet ecstasy. "How beautiful it is!—How beautiful it is!" she repeated; while the play of the muscles round her lips showed with what mixed and strong emotion her heart was filled.

Quite unwilling to shorten her pleasures, I yet feared the effect of excitement, and proposed retiring to the cottage. "One more walk, brother," was her reply: "Nature is so beautiful *to-night*." We took another walk—and another. At length her measure of strength was exhausted, and we turned towards our quiet habitation. Her eye caught the latticed window of the room to which she was about to ascend, and from which she might never come down! The big tears started from her eyelids, and were suppressed again. We approached the entrance; her spirit recoiled from it, like the bird from its cage. "*One last look*, brother!" said she, as she turned round on the spot which had so often contributed to her innocent gratification. She looked again and again; and then, mastering her feelings, she turned resolutely away, and passed into her dwelling. It was indeed the *last look* she was taking, and she was entering her habitation to come out no more.

CHAPTER XX.

INSTRUCTION. 1820.

How commonly are events the very reverse of what we expect them to be! Those occurrences which we are looking for with restless expectation, are charged with disappointment and vexation; and those which we wait for with shuddering fear, bring with them "blessings in disguise." Martha could not enter on the measure which she was now adopting without anxiety and alarm. It was certainly wise and remedial; but the very idea of confinement, for at least many months, could not be received without pain. Yet, no sooner was the experiment made, than half the terrors which surrounded it were dissipated; and very considerable advantages were as quickly enjoyed. The irritation which had attended exertion passed off; her sleep, her appetite, and her tone of spirits were restored; and suffering only "ordinary pain," she was ready to think she suffered nothing.

Her mind also returned to that equanimity which had been disturbed by the fluctuations of hope and fear, relative to her proposed plans of employment. While there was a reasonable prospect of effecting them, she resolved they should be effected; and now that prospect was completely veiled, she resigned them with meekness. In either alternative, her strength of character was brought to severe trial; and it was nobly sustained. In her love of independence, there was nothing of pride or caprice: in her reliance on her friends, there was nothing of careless obtrusion, or of sullen regret; her reliance was exercised only as it was necessary; and then it was exercised with a truly delicate, cheerful, and obliging confidence. Her mind was not under the influence of worldly opinion in this conduct; it was regulated by Christian and conscientious motive; and those who are ruled by any thing less, will undoubtedly fail in this *double test* of character.

Of course it became my duty and pleasure to throw round Martha's confinement what comforts I could command. We had previously sent the children down to her; and now, to render her situation less solitary and inconvenient, we determined to make it a partial residence; with the understanding that I would see as much of her as my public duties permitted. This arrangement operated most beneficially on the mind of the beloved invalid. She now felt the cottage to be entirely a home to her; and for her amusement, she took a share in the domestic management of the little family. This brought her necessarily into communication with the servants; and, as the children and Maria were mostly with her, she was effectually relieved from every sentiment of desertion or banishment.

If ever this sentiment possessed her, it was under other circumstances. It would be on the holy Sabbath, which called away the members of her household to the higher services of the sanctuary. It was then she would feel that she was shut up from the house of God and the people of God, whom she loved; and frequently, when the children, with Maria, came in dressed to take their parting kiss, the silent tear would fall and mix with the embraces. Yet she did not waste sacred time in useless regrets. She regulated the movements of those about her on this revered day with the watch in her hand, and was particularly careful that no one should leave too late for the very commencement of public worship.

For herself, she generally sought to occupy the time similarly to what she supposed those were doing who were more privileged; and she often found pleasure and assistance in reflecting, that her engagements were those of the manifold congregations of the saints. While she was thus holding a spiritual communion with the church of the living God, it was unattended with any reproaches of conscience; she had never trifled with the means, while they were in her power. It had, indeed, been often painful to see what she endured in giving her attendance; but it was continued to the very last. Although the chapel to which she had to go was not a hundred paces from her present abode, the last time it received her she was above *twenty minutes* in reaching it; and was throughout the service distressed with pain from the exertion.

Martha was now thrown very much into new circumstances, compared with those in which we last traced her efforts of usefulness, and she was anxious to turn them to account. But it will probably be inquired, "What could she do?" Those who have followed her history thus far will be prepared to admit, that the devoted inclination to do good may remain, while they will be disposed to question the present ability and opportunity.

But it may generally be said, that those who will

do good shall do good; so much are the will and the act, in this case, identified, that we have insensibly learned to designate both by one name, which literally is of more limited acceptation—*benevolence*. Certainly no situation could promise much less of continued and successful effort than Martha's at this period; she was always a sufferer, frequently a very considerable one; she was confined, not only to her chamber, but to her bed; and, by her change of dwelling, she was cut off from some little facilities for usefulness which her intimate acquaintance with the former hamlet of the village supplied. Thus circumstanced, if it shall be found that she was able to give efficiency to her predominant desires, the conclusion may fairly be, that none, even in privation, sickness, and seclusion, are deprived of the occasion, or exempt from the responsibility, of doing what is emphatically "the work of our generation." Let us pursue the inquiry.

In relinquishing what was impracticable in her former benevolent pursuits, she did not indiscriminately abandon them all. Her affections and her habits were now so blended with the welfare and society of children, that a prevalent concern was to preserve one class still for her instruction. It was proper to confine it to those of her own sex; and, as many respectable neighbors, who could readily give a common education to their family, were anxiously requesting admission for their children, Martha had an opportunity of selecting her objects, where her designs were most likely to be available. To her and to her young pupils, the Sabbath afternoon was the most favorable period, as they did not require, and she did not desire to impart, any other than religious knowledge.

In all her intercourse with children, Martha never had a more promising band of scholars than this. She became most earnestly interested in their welfare, and it was discovered so effectually, that they soon formed towards her the strongest attachment. Indeed, there was throughout something peculiarly affecting in the communion which existed, in this instance, between the teacher and the taught. It was affecting to see them in succession approach the bedside of their friend, in clean and well-adjusted dresses; and presenting, with a gratified smile of good-nature, some little offering of love, either fruit or flowers, which they had solicited from their parents, for the luxury of having it kindly received. It was affecting to see these children, blooming in health and void of care, forming themselves into a quiet and listening circle around the couch of the sufferer; while she, deviating for the happy interval from the prescribed posture, and supported on pillows, was preparing to impart her instructions. Affecting it was to hear her accompany the reading of the Scriptures, with the simple explanation, the practical remark, the heart-breathing, affectionate entreaty, which finally found utterance in prayer; while the guileless countenances of her little auditors would be moved sometimes to smiles, sometimes to tears, always to serious attention. It was affecting to see that they were brought sensibly nearer to each other by this short but happy intercourse; and that they could seldom part with satisfaction without some kindly words, and the anticipated kiss, which, if ever it merited the name, was surely "the kiss of charity."

Meanwhile, Martha was influencing her willing friend, Maria, to supply her lack of service, by attending her school at the widow's in addition to her former engagements; while she kept some hold on the children and their families still, by talking with the elder ones occasionally, and continuing the circulation of her library among them. Thus, while really occupying new and valuable ground, she was preventing what had been already cultivated from sinking into weedy desolation.

Her next concern was to improve her situation, as the centre round which her little household was revolving. The servants were in her estimation an important charge; and, while they were ministering to her in carnal things, she was desirous of rewarding them by those which are spiritual. She laid down simple plans of reading and conversation, which were rendered as pleasing as they were likely to be profitable; and certainly she did not labor in vain.

But the children were the particular objects of her domestic attention. Living now, as they mostly did, in her presence, and contributing largely to her recreation, she had great delight in uniting with their mother to superintend their early education; a period of instruction which, if it requires but little of school accomplishment, cannot be rightly met without just views of human nature, and of the springs of human conduct. These views Martha had derived essentially from the Scriptures and observation; they were enlarged and confirmed by the careful perusal and comparison of all the best treatises on the subject; and she had acquired a peculiar aptitude in making them available by long-continued practice.

Yet it was not by any superior skill, or any magic of method, beyond the limits of common acquisition, that her efforts were rendered successful; it was by the power of sympathy. Education was never to her a formal task, and therefore it was not so to her little pupils. She put her heart into the employ, and made herself one with them. Sympathy pervaded all she said and did, and became a key to the understanding and the passions. By this mysterious power she could call in the wandering attention, and touch the dormant affections; she could subdue the propensities to perversity, and anticipate the temptation to disobedience; she could render her authority the more effectual, by making its yoke easy and its burden light. By sympathy she knew how to seize those favorable moments for instruction which come over us all; and was prepared to detect the first shoots of rising conceptions, and to assist the gratified child in giving them a conscious existence in mind and memory, when they would otherwise have prematurely perished. By sympathy, she knew how to select her subjects, how to clothe them with illustrations; and when the faculties of each child had been sufficiently extended and employed, without urging them to weariness and disgust. Sympathy enabled her to mark distinctly the opening variations of temper and of character, and to mould them by the gentle touch or firm pressure to her will, without which a misapplied firmness might have urged fear into hypocrisy, or a mistaken lenity ripened heedlessness into indolence. Her imagination, her judgment, and her practical knowledge were only the prepared instruments of education; they were directed, animated, and sustained by the living soul of sympathy.

Never was her sympathy so fully awake as when her instructions were of a religious nature; and, as nothing is thought so difficult at this early stage as rightly to interest children in divine subjects, it is important to remark, that Martha was eminently successful. Our children were never so attentive to her as when she spoke of heavenly things. They were nearest her heart; and they were felt to be so even by infancy. Whenever allusions were made to religion, it was always as to something higher and better, and far more important than the things which led to it; and when it was made the subject of a regular lesson, it was as a treat rather than a task. It was thus introduced with pleasant asso-

ciations; nor did the issue lead to disappointment. Religion, made impressive by her own seriousness, and clothed in her own happy smiles, and glowing in the warmth of her own affections, was so attractive and wonderful as effectually to interest the curiosity and feeling of the children. It was impossible to be a partial spectator of her tenderness, earnestness, and love, in aiding the new-born perceptions to spring into the light and joy of an unseen and spiritual world, without an involuntary application of Goldsmith's similitude—

"Just as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies;
She tried each art, and checked each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

But it was not enough to this imprisoned invalid to be thus blessing her family, and occupying, by her own and her friends' exertions, a sphere of accustomed usefulness beyond the domestic circle; her vigilant and benevolent eye perceived that there were yet other advantages supplied to her from her present situation. She was now living in the vicinity of the college, at which a number of young men were preparing themselves for the Christian ministry. She had long been desirous that, while qualifying for larger scenes of labor, their attention might be directed to the claims of a neighborhood in which they were temporary residents. Hitherto delicacy had withheld her; but now that she was dwelling with her brother, and that she was the subject of such bodily infirmity as would prevent any misconception of her motive, she thought she might make the attempt consistently, and therefore resolved to make it.

Opportunities soon arose in the calls of some of the senior students on the family, and they were readily embraced. She was gratified to find that they were likeminded with herself; and that, if they had not heeded the events of the surrounding villages, it was because, in the strangeness of a new situation, and the pressure of new duties, united with the transitory term of their continuance, they had not properly occurred to their thoughts. They had now a kind and modest monitor; and they, in a Christian temper and with a most obliging kindness, were ready to become the executors of her suggestions. They quickly learned to appreciate her character; and still reckon among their happiest hours at this period, those passed in her society conversing of the good things of the kingdom, and planning for its prosperity. They took fire from her altar, and bore it away to strengthen the flame where it did exist, and to kindle it where sin and death were reigning in unmolested darkness.

One of Martha's earliest and most urgent representations was in favor of Newgate-street. It had never been out of her mind or her prayers since her first visit, and she had entertained considerable confidence about it; but hitherto little had arisen to give her encouragement. It had remained as it is described, with the exception of a few visits from Maria. But it was too distant for the female foot to reach it with frequency, and the impression made by an occasional visit is weak and desultory.

This was the time, Martha conceived, to make a better attempt; and she succeeded in interesting her new coadjutors in the work. One of them visited the spot and explored the neighborhood; and was at once impressed with the duty of endeavoring to benefit its inhabitants. He sought the opinion of the people, and found them well disposed to his intentions. He inquired for suitable accommodation for the purposes of worship and the management of a school; and he obtained it at the cottage which first received my sister when she visited the hamlet. The principal persons around were consulted; a license was procured; preaching was regularly commenced on the Sabbath evening; and a Sunday school was readily established, which was taught in the afternoon of the day. The attendance was eager and overflowing; and quickly some good fruits arose from it.

The report of these proceedings, and of the success which crowned them, gave Martha such joy as angels know. The place was associated with some of her happiest recollections; it was connected with some of her most earnest prayers; her hope concerning it had been long deferred; and now that all, and more than all she had imagined was accomplished, and accomplished when she could have least expected it, she could not think of it without shedding the joyous tears of benevolence and gratitude.*

The wine of joy on Martha's mind shed not an intoxicating, but an invigorating influence. Her labor had not been in vain in the Lord, and therefore she resolved to *abound* in it. She had long thought that a much more extensive effort might be made for the religious instruction of the rising generation than had yet been tried; and with the influence she now possessed among the students who kindly listened to her proposals, and the assistance she could raise elsewhere, she concluded she might safely press them to an experiment.

The experiment was made. A Sabbath school, distinct from Martha's own select class, was originated in her own habitation, which soon swelled to such magnitude that it was necessary to move it to the college chapel; where it continues to flourish under the patronage of the presiding tutor and his family. Already the field of instruction and benevolence here presented to the laborer had been entered by Mr. Raikes in a spirit worthy of the name and the family; and now the combined exertions of the church and chapel promised to occupy it in the length and breadth thereof.

One step leads to another. This endeavor to raise a school where many works of charity were already in action, made a more regular visit to the dwellings of the poor necessary. The object was not to recruit for a new and opposing interest, but to urge the duty of worshipping God *somewhere;* and of giving the children, by *some means*, the advantages of religious instruction. Inquiries were made as to the supply of Bibles in the respective families; and, of course, in these researches, an abundance of distress was discovered. Children were willing to be taught who had not garments in which they could decently appear; parents were willing to labor who vainly asked for occupation. The times were just then pressing on the agricultural poor; and want and sorrow became residents in those cottages which ever before had been enlivened by industry and contentment.

Martha considered this outward distress as a call in Providence to exertion. She thought that the deplored scarcity of bodily supplies might possibly be overruled to create an hungering and thirsting for the bread which giveth eternal life. Yet she could not overlook temporal and present want, while urging the desires to pursue a spiritual and durable portion; and the difficulty was, how to meet those

* Last June I had a mournful pleasure in visiting this place, and addressing the humble villagers. The room in which we met was confined, but it was full; and the preacher was so placed as that he could be as well heard and seen without as within. Those within were serious and attentive; and the mothers with their little ones, unused to worship, took their stand among the flowers in the garden without. It was an interesting specimen of village preaching. Some efforts are making to provide a neat little place of worship.

claims of the body without expenses which she could not sustain. However, she roused herself and her assistants to the occasion. Help was sought from the hands of affluence; and she applied to her friends in and out of the family for cast-off garments, tracts, Bibles, and useful books. The appeal was well made, and as well received. Subscriptions came in to support the school, and sufficient to give outward apparel to the more destitute children; and parcels arrived, enclosing money and clothes to be made up for the suffering poor, so as to exceed even eager expectation.

Martha's peaceful cottage now wore a busy though still a peaceful aspect. What with the presence of children; what with the cutting out and making up of garments; what with the attendance of distressed persons; and what with the frequent little cabinet consultations with her companions in works of mercy; it assumed to the imagination the different appearances of a seminary, a manufactory, an asylum, and a levee room. But whatever were its varying appearances, it was always sacred to charity while her spirit presided in it; and now it is sacred in memory by these and yet tenderer recollections, to those who were certainly not careless spectators of her doings, but who could afford her only poor and occasional assistance, as they were employed in another and a distant sphere.

It is little to say that Martha was happy in these beneficent pursuits; but there was one incident arose from the mass, which, as it gave her much gratification, may find its place in closing this chapter. Among the spreading distress which revealed itself, was that of the family belonging to the individual who was alluded to as giving my sister so much annoyance and pain on her first visit to Cheshunt. He had run the course which his ominous beginning promised; had failed in his trade; was imprisoned for debt; and, in consequence, his wife and children were destitute. The ill-treatment Martha had received, the unhallowed reprobation of her religious profession, were not checks, they were motives to her kindness. She behaved to the wife with marked attention; she consoled her under her trials; and she gave her what assistance she could. She might readily have given this assistance from the stores of which others had made her the almoner; but this, in the peculiarity of the case, would not satisfy her mind. To stand well with her conscience, and to enjoy the full exercise of forgiving love, she must give of her *own;* and it was with a most free and willing hand she disposed of the last shilling in her purse for the aid of this family.

This is illustrative of her generosity of feeling; yet another slight incident of this period may be added as illustrative of her generous opinions. In the wide distribution of the Bible and Testament which was now effecting, many of the poor expressed a wish to subscribe also for a prayer book, coupled with a fear "that perhaps the lady might not like that." They, however, were mistaken in their judgment of the *lady;* Martha immediately obtained a supply of the Common Prayer book, and whoever desired to contribute for one was at full liberty to do so.

But these are poor illustrations of liberality as it shone in her character. It seemed to have nothing to struggle against; it flowed naturally from her as water from a fountain. There were no unhealthy constrictions about her head or heart; nor was there any unnatural and dangerous enlargement. Her liberality was not of that spurious kind which gives no value to principle—no blame to doubt and ignorance; it arose, not from the *neglect* of truth, but from *confidence* in the truth. Would that such a liberality prevailed! Then, whatever might be our variations of judgment and of denomination, every Christian would hail every other Christian as his brother and his friend; and the church of God would shine forth glorious as the sun, fair as the moon, terrible as an army with banners; and would sustain one victorious conflict only with those who war against "the Lord and his anointed;" and who, in warring against them, war against the peace of humanity and their own salvation!

"Oh for the day, whenever it shall beam,
Which gives us back the coat without a seam;
When from all quarters of the earth combined,
One universal church shall knit mankind.
To build the heavenly Salem then shall rise,
With one consent, the great, the good, the wise.
All sects united in a common band,
Join faith to faith, and mingle hand in hand;
Together lift the sacrifice of prayer,
And the slain Lamb's eternal supper share!"

CHAPTER XXI.

SUSPENSE. 1820—21.

Although the hand of heavenly wisdom may lead us to drink at the springs of pure happiness, they will not, in this life, remain untroubled. Religion had revealed to Martha in its enjoyments and pursuits, the only unpolluted sources of happiness; but she was still exposed to those regrets and anxieties which more or less attend a state of imperfection and discipline.

Some of her regrets, in the fall of this year, arose from her communications with London. She heard of changes transpiring, and friends becoming ill, nigh unto death, and restored again to health and activity, while she lay in the same helpless state; and this would sometimes give a lengthened and hopeless form to her confinement. She received many expressions of affectionate esteem and desire from her former companions; and they awakened similar desires, once more to meet them and cooperate with them in the flesh. But especially she had to regret the wastes of mortality in her old and beloved connections. Particularly one of her dearest young friends, in whose welfare she was interested as in her own, had become a happy mother, had sickened, had languished, had died, had been buried, and the infant had sunk into the same grave; and Martha had not been able to utter one word for her consolation, shed one smile on her sorrows, or drop one tear on her grave.

The suspense which hung over Martha's situation gave her occasional concern. Though a prisoner, and enduring much affliction, there was nothing in her present bodily estate to excite alarm for the issue; while, therefore, she had contentedly resigned all worldly pursuits, she was often perplexed to decide whether it were her duty to prepare herself for future usefulness here, or to look only on eternity.

If suspense, however, gave her some perplexity, she did not permit it to betray her best interests. She was aware of its sinister influence, and kept a strict watch against it. "You would imagine," she observed to her sister, "that death would be no surprise to me; but I have been so long in this position, that I do not perhaps expect a change any more than others. The mind may be held in a middle state of suspense, till it becomes nearly indifferent to it." In her correspondence with a friend, she says—"The state of my health has been extremely critical; it is now better, and I may linger as I am for many months; and, perhaps, after all, it may terminate differently to what can be expected. Yes, I may yet perfectly recover, and trip with as light a foot over your green as any lass of sixteen! But,

whatever the event, I desire to be ready for my last summons! O how differently does death appear when seen obscurely at a distance, and when standing just before one ready to give the blow! Truly it is a serious thing to die. O that our lives may be one habitual preparation for this last conflict!"

Prayer has a reflex action. The desires we breathe animate the efforts we make. Never were desires more fully realized than those she here expresses. Suspense could not weary her; hope could not allure her from the post of watchfulness. She knew not the hour when the Son of Man should come, and *therefore* she was anxious to be always waiting for his coming. She sought to make her calling and election sure, knowing that this blest assurance would alike aid her in this life, or prepare her, with faith and without "sudden amazement," for the opening of another.

It will scarcely be supposed, after the statements of the preceding chapter, that Martha's regrets at this period, were sometimes increased by a sense of *uselessness*. Yet it appears, from what her hand has at intervals minuted, that she was subject to depression on this account. She refers to the "useless life she is leading," "requiring the help of others, and able to do nothing in return," and "fears that her life will be run out before she had done any thing for Him who gave it;" and if ever she now thought of her situation with pain, it was uniformly in connection with these impressions.

If such anxieties as these, in such a person, were not expected, they are yet capable of explanation. Though Martha was the living centre of so much devoted activity, her humility prevented her from ascribing these exertions to herself; and the very bustle that would often be created by the execution of her own plans, while she kept one fixed position, would occasionally affect her with a sense of helplessness and inutility. The *high standard* to which she always brought herself had also the same tendency. Compared with her principles, compared with her obligations, compared with what her Saviour had done, and commanded her to do, she had done nothing. An elevated standard had given elevation to her mind. She looked not at what was done, but at what was to do; and while she sighed over woes unhealed, sins unsubdued, a world unregenerated, her mightiest effort was but as a drop of heavenly rain falling on the great salt waters.

As these regrets did not influence Martha to disregard her spiritual interests, so they did not divert her from those which are intellectual. She did not allow the idea, that her mental improvement might never be useful to her in this life, to break up her studies. She connected the sound cultivation of the mind with a future life, and the nearer, therefore, she might approach it, the more important and interesting was the duty. She considered "that spiritual and intellectual treasures are the only ones we can carry with us to a better world, and that we ought to value and pursue them accordingly." Acting under such sentiments, she still gave herself diligently to reading and meditation; her pleasure increased as she advanced; and never have I met with a more palpable proof of the advantage accruing to a young person from the careful perusal of well-selected books. This will have been traced already in her past progress; but it was still so conspicuous at this period as to require observation.—Her understanding was yet more enlarged; her judgment ripened; her fancy quickened; the store of her conceptions enriched; and, consequently, the means of mental gratification improved and multiplied.

In her present course of reading, it was deemed desirable that she should be introduced to some books, which had hitherto been proscribed; their contents formed an important link in the chain of knowledge; but they were not to be trusted as the guides of unformed opinion, and young impassioned feeling. With a regulated mind and most serious views before her, Martha now read what was valuable in the writings of these exceptionable writers, not only without danger, but with benefit.—She despised the sly sophistry of the infidel historian, who would travel willingly out of his way, to make a side-thrust at a religion he had taken no pains to understand. She pitied the poor poet, who, in the conflicts of an ambitious and carnal spirit, was alternately aspiring to dwell among the stars, and floundering in the mire of sensuality and selfishness. She condemned the moralist, professedly Christian, who, seeking to illustrate moral conduct, as connected with revelation, in the most elegant and interesting manner, feared to incur the world's blame, by any decided allusions to those *peculiarities* in revelation, which distinguish and exalt Christianity from every false system.

The more she became acquainted with general literature and with the literary world, the more she was convinced, that real science and real happiness were inseparable from religion. The only invaluable lights of the world, whether civil, moral, or literary, were those which shone from heaven; and without them, the gleams of reason, the glow of feeling, and the sparklings of genius were such as would blind, bewilder, and deceive us. The uncertainty of all things, even of those which she most admired and pursued, was more apparent to her; she pressed the Bible closer to her heart, and fixed her faith and hope more assuredly in the haven of a better world. Would that the same course of study had always led to the same conclusions! But it has often been commenced with a mind ignorant of religious truth, and unaffected by religious principles; and nothing is so seductive on a young and aspiring spirit as the pleasures of literature. Unhappily these pleasures, in an unprepared state of mind, cannot be safe or innocent. The great mass of our existing literature is an array against godliness; and it is yet *mostly* in the hands of those who, in pledging their devotedness to the muses, are too much disposed to stone or despise the prophets.

Martha had now spent nearly six months on her bed in nearly the same position; but neither the indefinite term of her confinement, nor the transitory regrets which sometimes gave a pensive coloring to her thoughts, nor yet the serious direction of her mind to high and benevolent pursuits, had deprived her of her wonted cheerfulness in domestic life. Her chamber was not the place of complaint, restlessness, and vapid wishes; it was the happiest room in the house, and it was made so by its chief inhabitant. When we were away, many of her thoughts were employed to make it attractive; and when we were present, she was anticipating us by every little act of kindness, catching and returning every look of love, and shedding over her guests the soothing influence of her glad words, undissembled smiles and frank good-nature. It was evident that all this sprang from her heart, and that, while she was intent on promoting the happiness of others, she was positively the most happy of the little company. This conduct insensibly led us to associate the idea of comfort with her chamber; if the children had met with any troubles below stairs, they fled to it as a sanctuary; and if their parents desired an hour's quiet enjoyment, they were commonly disposed to seek it here rather than elsewhere. How unlike the sick-room as we frequently find it! where peevish complaint and selfish passion are multiplying themselves in sorrow, by driving those from their presence who should be their most tender comforters.

Let it be observed, however, that, if Martha, was among the bright exceptions to this evil, it was not without an effort. Earlier in her history, it will be remembered, she saw her danger, and provided against it; and, from that time, she had been watchful lest the diseases of the body should affect the temper of the mind. Her cheerfulness, therefore, remained, but its *character* was changed. It had less of the animal and more of the spiritual nature in it. If it had been dependant on the buoyancy of youthful spirits, and the ardor of inexperienced hope, it would have passed away; but it rested on principle; it had been cultivated as a Christian grace; it was the child of genuine pervading piety; and "true piety is cheerful as the day;" and piety, let it be added, is the only sure foundation of whatever gives embellishment to life, or stability to virtue.

Apart from what Martha found in the presence of some members of the family, her recreations were necessarily few and limited; and it is scarcely requisite to say, they were simple and innocent. Her window commanded a fair prospect; but as she lay, her eye was confined to the spreading branches of a couple of beech-trees, which threw out their cool and bright foliage almost to her room. In these trees, however, a happy pair of doves had built their nest, and were training their young; and many a wakeful night was made the shorter and easier to her, by the amusement they supplied to her mind, in watching their movements and listening to their loves, as the soft light of day glowed on the garden. The robin, too, which she had been accustomed to feed, still sought his breakfast at her hand, and repaid her through the day with many a thankful song, at the very verge of her casement. Within her chamber were a few young plants which she still sought to cherish; and in her window grew and flourished a favorite geranium, which had already been the care of years.

These objects, trifling as they were, exercised and engaged her attachments. They excited her solicitude; they kept up her intercourse with nature and the outward world; they often met her eye when other objects were withdrawn; till, what from familiarity, what from association, what from care bestowed and pleasure received, they made themselves a place in the kindest of hearts, and seemed the necessary companions of her confinement. Her window would have appeared vacant without the ornament of the plant which dwelt there, and her room would have appeared dull without the presence of those birds which had so long enlivened it. Those will best understand and sympathize with this sentiment, whose tastes are natural and unaffected, and who have marked how readily, in some situations, local attachments may grow and strengthen. The following lines illustrate the disposition in Martha's case; they were minuted with a careless hand, when the plant she alludes to required a more open situation.

THE GERANIUM.

'Tis gone! my Geranium is fled,
And left my gay window forlorn;
I watch'd its green leaves as they spread,
And water'd it many a morn.

'Twas there, when no other was by,
To comfort my sorrowful heart;
I mourn'd—and it seem'd in reply
A sweeter perfume to impart.

Ah, once I had thought it absurd
To waste my regret on a flower;
But trifles like this have concurr'd
To charm me with magical power.

Unchang'd, while the [illegible] return,
My objects of pleasure are few;
But these, when familiar, I learn
With double enjoyment to view.

The robin I constantly feed,
And the plant I so carefully tend,
To me they are lovely indeed,
And I give them the cheer of a friend.

As the winter shut in, the family was brought closer together; and Martha's presence was so attractive, that insensibly her chamber became, as much as it conveniently could, the dwelling-room. The evenings of this period were attended with no striking incidents, but they were charged with a great deal of quiet happiness, and the remembrance of them is sweet. So soon as the social tea-tray was removed, an evening hymn was sung, and the children's voices were trained to the notes of heavenly praise. Then their little hands were formed in prayer, and "Our Father" lisped on their tongues to Him who is the father of us all; and then the kind wishes, and endearing kisses went round, and the children retired to soft and sure repose.

Now, formed round a bright fire, and free from all interruption, the enjoyments of the evening flowed peacefully along. The needle was plied; the profitable book was read; and conversation was indulged to weigh its arguments, or pursue some prize which its train of thought had suggested.—As often as my duties allowed, I esteemed it a privilege to take my place in this little circle, knowing that its completion would be a source of additional pleasure to all who composed it. To Martha's social nature these interviews with her family were eminently pleasing. She always took a large share in the enjoyments of the evening, and frequently was the principal spring of them.

It was on these occasions that I saw so much the improvement of her conversational powers. There was the same vivacity and playfulness, the same piety and unction in her manner as I had ever witnessed; but there was more comprehension of thought, more force of argument, more variety of allusion and remark, and a quicker taste for whatever was just and beautiful in colloquial intercourse. Fond as she was of conversation, and greatly as that fondness was cherished by her confinement, she never pressed it on others to excess. She did not prepare for it as for a laborious exercise; she looked to it as a wholesome relaxation.—She did not consider, that to talk and to be happy are the same thing. She was one of the most ready listeners; and was always more satisfied in interesting others than in discoursing herself. Her thoughts were at liberty to respect whatever was said, and her heart caught by sympathy the import of all that was expressed, and of all that was implied. In speaking herself, she had no pride to gratify, no humor to vent, no battle to win, no treasure to display; in attending to others, there was no rude indifference, no selfish abstraction, no vain impatience. In the social circle, she was only an integral part of the whole, and she was united to it by warm and living sympathies. She was the most interesting of companions.

The penning of these few sentences brings the scenes to which they allude afresh over my recollections—recollections that cannot be retained or relinquished without pain. I perceive her once more reclining on her couch, dressed in white raiment, and overshadowed by the white festoons of her curtains. The glowing and fitful lights of the fire are playing over the features of her raised and animated countenance. Her hand is gently moved from its resting place; her lips are just

parted, hanging with affectionate attention on the voice of others; her eyes are swimming with pleasure, while they are gazing on those she so deeply loves.

It was happiness to us to witness her happiness. Then the winds might rock in the surrounding trees, the tempest might howl about our humble dwelling, and night might encompass us with all her wintry terrors,—we had only the stronger sense of our felicity; we were urged the closer to each other; our thoughts mixed together, and mixed with heaven; with Heaven! whence we derived our present shelter and supplies in a bleak wilderness; with Heaven; where all things beautiful and fair endure as they are for ever; with Heaven! where the sky never lowers—where the storm never arises—where no foe can ever enter—whence no friend shall depart!

CHAPTER XXII.

INCREASING AFFLICTION. 1821.

How much misery are we spared by our ignorance of the future! The winter was thus wearing happily away, and our hopes of Martha's situation were rising with the advancing year. How differently would these months have found us, had we known that disease was directing its attack under new forms, and was preparing for the beloved sufferer a new and yet bitterer cup of affliction.

This, however, was the case. During the month of February Martha had experienced an increase of local uneasiness; but being accustomed to endure with patience a large measure of pain, she ascribed it to her continuance in one position, and bore it in silence. It was still increasing, and was soon attended with tumor and fever. Painful as it was, she could no longer hide the truth from herself; and she then unwillingly named it to her family.

Notwithstanding the light way in which this affection was treated by Martha, I could not avoid considering it of a very serious nature. I urged her to let us procure further advice; and at length she gave herself up to the wishes of her friends. Early in March, therefore, I went down with an hospital surgeon; and he agreed, in consultation with the resident surgeon, that an operation was necessary; that to be effectual, it must be performed without delay; and that the case was one "of considerable doubt."

These were heavy tidings to our entire household. Martha received them with concern; but after relieving herself by a few tears, her mind became composed and braced to the resolution of submitting to her duty, however piercing to the flesh, however contrary to her inclination. She had but one condition to propose, and that was not concerning herself; it was that the operation might take place in the absence of her brother.

The time, therefore, was finally arranged unknown to me. The anticipated morning arrived; it was a morning of trembling and alarm to the little family. One member was about to suffer and all the members were prepared to suffer with it. They all assembled round Martha's couch, and lifted up their voice to Heaven for help in the hour of adversity. The hour came. The incisions were made. The operation was completed; and the patient sank, beneath bodily and mental exhaustion, insensibly on her pillow.

I arrived at the cottage about an hour after the departure of the surgeon. Mrs. R. was waiting to receive me.

"It is all over!" she said.

"What is over?"

"The operation."

"Over!"

"Yes, Martha wished you not to know it till it was over!"

"Did she suffer much?"

"Yes, extremely; the incisions were so deep and numerous."

"How did she sustain it?"

"Like a lamb; not a word, not a tear! Mr. H. says he never witnessed such fortitude."

"Noble creature!" forced itself from my lips; but the emotions of the heart were such as words were never meant to utter.

Although the light thrown on Martha's case by this operation was not unfavorable to hope, our hopes had fallen very low to what they had previously been. Yet ready as we were to hope the best, they soon began to revive on perceiving any marks of amendment; and these arose to our observation earlier and stronger than any of us expected.

Martha's great composure of mind contributed to hasten her recovery to her usual state; and her release from an extra portion of pain, which she had previously suffered, made that recovery sensible.—During the winter, we commonly alluded to the ensuing May as the period for her relinquishing her bed; when the necessity of an operation was announced, these fair hopes were crushed; but now her expectations began to revive, and she fondly cherished them. Whenever they were expressed to me, I showed myself somewhat incredulous, lest she should reckon too ardently on what might possibly not occur.

However, as the remnants of winter passed away, as the time of the singing of birds arrived, and as the voice of her turtle-doves was again cooing in the beech-trees, her hopes and desires continued to ascend. She begged to have the dresses, which had so long rested in their wardrobe, brought out; and one of the number was selected and made ready for her use, when first she should be prepared to put it on. It was pleasing to see her thus amused, and painful to fear that it might end in disappointment.

May actually came. One morning, early in the month, we were all busily employed in the garden. The sun was shining brightly in the blue heavens; the birds were pouring forth their mellow and sprightly music. The air was glowing with a quickening warmth, and filled with delicious fragrance. The trees, with their young, green foliage, were nodding in the breeze; and all things were new, fresh, and lovely, in this resurrection of nature, as if they had just come from the hand of the great Creator. Martha's youthful heart answered to the impulses of spring. The life and joy of all about her seemed to inspire her with life and vigor. May was come. It was the time she was to leave her bed. It was a twelvemonth since she had seen the garden. She thought she really could get up; and she should never do it if she did not try. In the midst of her hesitation, the children, as they often did, hailed her from beneath the window. It was too much. She must see how happy they were, and look on her beloved garden once more. The mind was decided; the effort was to be made; and the chosen dress was brought out. She arose from her position; would not credit the sense of weakness that came over her; and persevered in her attempt, till she was surprised by a fainting fit, which her fatigue had produced.

The disappointment was very great; but it was borne with eminent resignation, and her cheerfulness of spirits was soon recovered. Her situation, however, evidently assumed more of a *hopeless* character, from this failure. She frequently spoke, indeed, of leaving her present position; but it was generally to cheer her friends, and never with so much of personal conviction and eager desire as she had previously indulged.

Martha's peaceful submission to what now appeared more than ever an indefinite confinement, did not hide from us the impression it had made on her heart; nor were we the less disposed to sympathize with it. Since the disappointment could not be entirely overcome, the object was to mitigate its influence as much as possible; and thought was soon busy among us to form any contrivance which should have this tendency. It was, therefore, speedily determined, that a variation might be made in the situation of the couch, which would give her a new and enlarged view of the adjoining scenery; and as the sight of the garden was an object to her, we attached a mirror to the side of her bed, that it might reflect, at her touch, the different parts of it.

Martha's point of observation was now really interesting. As she lay on her raised couch, her eye fell on the outer parts of the garden; and she could control the nearer portions by the means we had provided. The trees on either side of this little enclosure formed, by their clustering branches, a handsome avenue to the meadow-land beyond it, in which the cattle were finding pasture. Those fields were bounded by the village path and stile, over which the humble peasant was, every now and then, seen to pursue his quiet way; and this path, again, was succeeded by an extensive growth of corn, which was springing rapidly from the earth, and taking a prominent place in the picture. Then came, sweetly shaded and canopied by trees which once owned the Wolseys and Cromwells for their proprietors, the little hamlet where Martha had so long dwelt, and dwelt so happily. And finally arose, swelling in the distance, the verdant hills, with modest cottages creeping up their sides, and olive-colored woods adorning their heads, while around them all the lights, and shadows, and colors of heaven were playing, and will for ever play, in endless diversity of beauty.

These little attentions wrought much more powerfully on Martha than we had anticipated, or perhaps than we could anticipate, without being placed in her circumstances. The scenery which was now before her, though so familiar and so often admired, had been shut up from her sight for upwards of a year; and now that she looked again on the children dancing over the garden, the cattle grazing in the fields, the villagers passing on their way, and the place of her former residence, surrounded by all its beautiful accompaniments, tears of admiration and joy gushed into her eyes, while they were fixed to the objects which had so unexpectedly come across and enchanted them. The *change* seemed to break the sense of continued confinement. One period appeared to be terminated, and another to be begun; and begun under such a freshness of feeling as made it the ligher and shorter to endure.

The summer months of this year passed away most pleasantly. Martha enjoyed great relief in her corporeal sensations, if not decided amendment in her state of health; and this qualified her to relish this delightful season with all her former associations, and left her at liberty to hold a happy communion with her friends and family. The state of her mind also discovered some beneficial variations, which it well becomes the biographer to mark, while yet he despairs of giving the full impression of the living reality.

Notwithstanding Martha's apparent bodily improvement, she did not allow it to become a dependance to her hopes; she had been many times disappointed. During the preceding year her mind had been held in suspense between the claims of this life and another; but from the moment she found it necessary to resign herself to the lancet of the surgeon, that suspense was destroyed. She conceived it would be rash for her to think of a return, from her perilous circumstances, to the active duties of life; and, therefore, she was authorized in directing her attention wholly towards futurity. She was not certain as to the event; but she felt she had sufficient conclusions to govern the course of her thoughts, and that it would be unwise and criminal not to act upon them without delay. She turned from the world, and looked full on eternity. The thoughts were gathered up into one purpose, the heart was fixed to one object. "This *one thing she did*, forgetting the things that were behind, she pressed forward to the prize of her high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

This change was wrought not so much by any conceived resolution, as by the spontaneous inclinations of the mind; and it was revealed not so much by any direct expressions, as by a different occupation of time. Martha now relinquished that class of reading which was designed to illustrate worldly science and adorn and felicitate civil intercourse. It was good and valuable in its kind, but not appropriate to her then situation. If literature was associated with piety, and the unassuming handmaid of devotion, it was still welcome; otherwise, though it might, in a possible change of circumstances, be resumed, it was for the present wholly avoided. Particularly those writers were her companions who were most likely to shed light and comfort on her way, even though that way should lead her quickly into the valley of death. It need scarcely be said that the Scriptures were the book of her counsel—the book of books in her estimation. They had long been so, and now they were pre-eminently endeared; she spoke of their wisdom, grace, and purity with peculiar admiration; and derived the refreshment, and exercised the confidence, which they only could authorize or impart, this sacred volume was always by her side; and her French Testament, with the Prayer-book, and Watts's Hymns, were usually lying on her bed, if not actually in her hand.

Familiarized as Martha's thoughts and affections had been to devotional engagements, now that they were concentrated and disencumbered, they rose rapidly towards their divine object. Her anxieties, her hopes, her fears, freed from all worldly concerns, were no longer checks to her career; they were wings to her progress. The perceptions she had always had of the divine presence became stronger, and this was now the element by which she was surrounded, and in which she dwelt. God was in all her thoughts and all her ways. She saw him, felt him, adored him, trusted him in every thing; and this gave a sacredness to all things which concerned her. Her meals were sacraments; her days were sabbaths; her desires were prayers; her person, body, soul, and spirit, was a living and willing sacrifice to Him who gave and redeemed it. Anticipating the possibility of a speedy summons to the heavenly world, she sought to be prepared for it; she desired that, as much as was practicable, it should call her only to a change of place not of employment. She was "looking for and hastening unto the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ." The Being she was humbly expecting to come and receive her to himself, she wished yet more intimately to know, yet more deeply to love. With fixed attention she contemplated "the glory of the Lord," as the young eagle gazes on the sun before he makes his ascent to it, that she might be changed into the same glory by the Lord the Spirit.

The yearnings and aspirations of the heart towards a heavenly world were graciously acknowledged. Her prayers were answered; her happiness was advanced, perhaps as near perfection as is compatible with our present state of being. Invisible objects were yet more realized to the eye of

faith it dwelt upon them; heaven became more charming as it became more familiar; and eternity was rendered more solemn, but less awful to her thoughts. Her progress improved with her joy. Nothing on earth, nothing in heaven, was comparable with the enjoyment of the divine favor. She drew nearer to her Saviour, and he drew nearer to her. The sun of righteousness arose on her spirit, ascending from a life of darkness and tears, with healing in his wings; and beneath the light and glory of his rays, her faith was ripening into confidence, her hope into spiritual enjoyment. "It was a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" she had so long loved and served; and mercifully designed to prepare her for the remaining trials of the wilderness.

The best evidence that these refreshments from a better world were as *beneficial* as they were mercifully designed, is, that they promoted the growth of genuine *humility*. This highest proof of a real advancement in a divine life, which had uniformly attended Martha's progress, now shown forth, so as to become the grace and ornament of her whole conversation. Her joys led to no high-flown expressions, no inflated assurance, to no bold assertions, to no unseemly lightness in treating of religion, or her interest in its blessings. No—these are the attendants of presumption, not of faith. She had such an abiding consciousness of her own unworthiness, as kept her thoughts and expressions habitually low; and now that she was rising in her views of the uncreated glory, she saw more of her ignorance, her deficiencies, her demerit, her nothingness. God was every thing to her, she herself was vanity. These deeply-fixed convictions were operative on her conduct. They spread a modesty over all her words and a gentleness over all her opinions. She did not indulge in converse on her personal assurance and abounding hope; she sought rather to speak of the object in which she confided, than of her confidence in it; and if ever she gave a reason of the hope that was happily enjoyed, it was eminently with meekness and with fear. Penetrated by her own ignorance, she could not boast of its best conclusions; impressed by the majesty of her Saviour, she humbly revered and adored him; and touched by his ineffable condescension, the very acts of his grace, while they encouraged, awed her. Blessed, like the patriarch at Bethel, with freer and larger communion with Heaven, she did not wax vain and assuming in her privileges; her spirit sunk within itself, and in lower prostration of heart at the divine footstool, she was ready to exclaim, How dreadful is this place—surely it is the gate of heaven."

The happiness Martha now possessed was decidedly of a more *peaceful* character. It flowed on in a deeper and smoother channel, and therefore, to a careless eye, perhaps, was less apparent, because less resisted. The principles of religion now worked with the force of habit and the freedom of nature; and the passions, from long discipline, were brought into a state of comparative harmony and submission. The heart was less exposed to the alarms of fear and inexperience, less affected by spiritual anxieties, less raised by feverish excitation. There was less excitement, but more vigor; less of an approach to occasional ecstasy, more of an abiding tranquillity. The features of the mind were more finished, more mellowed, and sunk more imperceptibly into each other; "they were stablished, strengthened, settled." She had passed through the furnace of manifold affliction; and had come out of it assoiled of earthly grossness, and possessed of more purity, solidity, and excellence of character. The sun had shone brightly on the morning of her day of life; but soon the heavy clouds of adversity gathered round her way, and concealed its glory. The keen winds of temptation had vexed her, and the stormy waters of passion had threatened to overwhelm her. But He who appointed the storm, managed it. The winds had ceased; the waters had rocked themselves to sleep; the sun had beamed with fresh splendor through the troubled and broken clouds, and now shone out, in the close of his career, from the golden heavens, in mild tranquillity. Peace, the blessing she had so greatly prized and diligently pursued, was now more than ever hers; it inhabited her bosom; it sat on her countenance; it fell from her tongue; it surrounded her as an unction from heaven. It was the "peace of God which passeth all understanding;" it arose from the mind being *staid* on its Redeemer. It gathered strength from the arm on which it leaned, and serenity from the foundation on which it reposed. It was the rest of the soul; and the soul, like the seaman's needle, is never at rest, till, free from all earthly attractions, it points directly to God!

The religion which sheds its own peace on the heart, brings also, and proportionally "good-will towards men." Martha, in other circumstances, had discovered, in an eminent degree, this divine benevolence; and now, in relinquishing her share in this world's concerns, she did not renounce her regard to its best interests. Through her recent sufferings she had strenuously persevered in all her schemes of usefulness; and, as the violence of pain subsided, she gave herself to them with renewed ardor and joy. Her energy was more calm and placid, but it was more condensed and powerful. She had fewer anxieties and wishes to do what was evidently beyond her present power, but a stronger desire that others might be stimulated to work diligently while it is called to-day. She felt herself more at liberty, as her incapacity grew upon her, to exhort and influence those about her to instant devotedness. The casual visiter who came in her way was not allowed to depart without some attempts to fix the best impressions on the heart; her young friends were advised and entreated with all sisterly affection; and if the student or the minister was present, she was the more eager to improve the period, knowing that if she could possibly say any thing to animate him to more activity, it would be moving a host in the good cause.

This intercourse was sustained with such sweetness of temper, and clothed with so much humility of spirit, as gave it great effect. It was apparent that she discoursed of the things which laid closest to her heart, and under an unutterable sense of their infinite importance and glory. She stood in the light of which she spoke; she felt the charms of that love she commended; and she was unconsciously a living and shining example of those pure, and potent, and blessed influences, which were urged as the only abiding sources of happiness here or hereafter. A marked spirituality of mind spread itself over every thing which engaged her attention, and gave to her chamber, which had always been cheerful and was still so, an air of sacredness. The thoughts and words might not always be dwelling on religion, but every thing led to it; and led to it, not by forced, but most spontaneous acts of the mind. Her spirit was in such close fellowship with its Maker, that all things, the usual variations in nature, the simplest wants of life, the most trivial incidents of the day, the passing observation of a friend, would connect itself, reverently, but most readily, with Deity. Thought might visit earth, but it dwelt in heaven.

Many will long remember, some will never forget, their interviews with Martha at this period. The smile, the voice, the manner; the heavenly

mindedness, the peace, the joy, will all be present to them; and to them any description will fall greatly beneath the reality. How often have those who came to console, tarried to rejoice! How frequently have we heard the exclamations on quitting her presence, "Well, this is religion!"—"This is a sick room, indeed, to be coveted!"—"I have never seen any thing like this!"—"This should make us ashamed of ourselves!" Happy were our ears to hear so many voices glorifying God, on behalf of one who was our treasure and our joy!

All this, however, was plainly observable to the visiter and the guest; to those who had fuller opportunities of noticing her more closely and at leisure, and comparing the present with the past, the change was more striking and admirable. Her general excellence of character arose not so much from the predominance of certain graces, as from their being accompanied with other Christian graces, which, because they are not often found in manifest union, have been thought to be in opposition. A noble and diligent course of self-discipline and denial had enabled Martha to prune what was excessive and to invigorate what was feeble in her character; till all the parts and members of the divine nature were proportioned and united, and thus grew up together in common loveliness. There was benevolence checked by discretion, humility sustained by dignity, sensibility regulated by principle; independence without pride, confidence without presumption, joy without extravagance, piety without mysticism, charity without guile and without bounds. Her decision was free from bigotry, her firmness blended with resignation, and her liberality estranged from indifference. She had energy to do whatever was to be done, fortitude and patience to bear whatever was to be endured. With a superiority to all petty differences, there was a fixed adherence to the vital principles of godliness; with the utmost gentleness of spirit that would not crush a worm, there was a magnanimity that could not meanly crouch to a prince; with the most complete renunciation of all human power and merit in our salvation, there was the most voluntary and untiring devotedness to the Saviour's honor; with a crucifixion to the world—its wealth, its fame, its power—there was an inextinguishable, irrepressible concern for its restoration to virtue, honor, and immortality; with a lofty and virgin attachment to all that is holy in religion and great in eternity, there was the most careful respect to the minutest points of duty and proprieties of conduct;—but no, it cannot be told.

It was this combination of parts, this consistency of character, that now became eminently interesting. This it was that gave strength to the whole, that shed a grace on the whole, and that contributed so much to produce the softened composure and happy tranquillity which were now experienced. These too, let it be observed, were the fruits of self-denial and of self-conquest—that noblest of all conquests. It is self-denial—steady, resolved self-denial—that subdues our natural frailties, and cherishes the graces most opposite to our natural dispositions. It is self-denial that tears up the weed, the brier, and the bramble; and prunes and nourishes the better plants, till the whole soul becomes as the garden of Paradise.

And this self-denial, let it be remembered, in its turn, springs from the divine grace. The cause cannot act against itself. Self cannot conquer self any more than Beelzebub can cast out Beelzebub. A man may contend against his ambition, or his avarice, or his sensuality; but no man *of himself* can resist *himself;* it is a contradiction in terms. Dispose as we may of other conquests philosophy and religion teach us, that the man who conquers himself must humbly [illegible] also gratefully exclaim, "By the grace of God, I am what I am!"

In the autumn of this year, I was separated from my sister for a month; and the separation was made much the lighter by the apparent amendment in health which she now enjoyed. However, it was not without considerable feeling on both sides; but Martha, true to herself, insisted upon it, as she conceived it to be for the benefit of her brother. I put the following simple verses in her hand on parting, as a little love token. Simple as they are, they afforded her pleasure; and as they were the *last* gift it was permitted me to make to her, they derive from this circumstance an accidental interest, and I have a melancholy satisfaction in giving them a place in these recollections. They are *partly* a translation from a French hymn.

HYMN.

O my God, my Saviour!
In thy celestial favor
Is my supreme delight;
The more my woes oppress me,
The more do Thou possess me,
With thy heavenly might.

Whene'er my heart is broken,
Before my grief is spoken,
God pities my complaint;
And when he might reject me,
He kindly does protect me,
Lest all my courage faint.

By night his arm attends me,
And graciously defends me,
And soft is my repose;
The eyes that watch my keeping
Are never, never sleeping—
I cannot fear my foes!

By day his hand shall lead me,
And heavenly manna feed me,
Through all my desert way;
His beam my path enlightens,
And more and more it brightens,
Into eternal day!

O my God, my Saviour!
Soon thy celestial favor
Shall be my *sole* delight;
With seraphs I 'll adore Thee,
With seraphs chant thy glory,
Around thy throne of light!

CHAPTER XXIII.

CLOSING SCENES. 1821.

"To die like a lamb," is expressive of general desire, when death must be thought of as a matter of necessity. That the mind should be composed, and the body's pains made short and few in the mortal hour, is what we lawfully crave for ourselves and our friends. But too much stress has been laid on an *easy* death, and too little on a *safe* one. Yet the reflective mind will at once perceive, that they do not even admit of a comparison. What can it *materially* signify in the article of death, how the corporeal or mental powers are tried and distressed, if the soul is safe, the blest reversion of immortality secure?

"A happy death," as it is too often conceived of by the world, has, it is to be feared, a regard to the *present* rather than the *future;* and it may arise from causes very far apart from a reasonable hope, and a state of Christian salvation. It may spring from the complexion of bodily disease, or from spi-

ritual insensibility; from disgust of the present life, or from disbelief of a world to come; from presumptive delusion, or from unbending pride. Hume aspired to *die well;* he knew that the eyes of the world were turned on the close of his erratic course with fixed attention; and his utter heartlessness to the claims of this life, his daring skepticism on all beyond it, his cherished vanity as the leader of a false philosophy, combined to fit him for acting well his part. But his principles carried him too far; and the example he meant to commend by them has branded them with indelible disgrace. They had taught him that death itself "is only turning the current of a few ounces of blood," and that all beyond death is oblivion; and they had so paralyzed all the moral perceptions and energies, that he became, on his own assumptions, a miserable driveller, where he wished to be the extolled philosopher.

Philosophy herself, uncertain and feeble as are her lights, would have taught him to be serious while standing on the verge of existence; but seriousness might have been construed into sadness; and that the spectators might have no doubt of the actor's happiness, he proceeded to titter and to trifle. To titter and to trifle!—with the silliness of a little child that plays with the cockatrice, or smiles on the events which are charged with its ruin!

To Martha death was ever a serious thing. Hope might change the countenance of this adversary, faith might disarm him of his sting; yet the separations which his approach involved, and the momentous, though blessed consequences by which it was followed, would have cherished any sentiment rather than levity. She had endeavored to familiarize her thoughts to the event of mortality, and to associate with it the incomparable promises of life and immortality; but there was still one view of it from which her reflections had uniformly recoiled; it was that which presented her with final separation from her *family*. She had resigned her worldly prospects, though to her hopeful and amiable mind they were highly interesting; she held her personal comforts in a perfectly loose hand to the will of Providence; life itself she could resign, though life still was sweet, and the dew of her youth was upon her; but how she should freely surrender her family she had hardly dared to think.

This was the point at which she now felt herself to be most vulnerable; she was grieved that she had so little power to dwell upon it; and she embraced this short interval, in which most of the family were away from her, to seek, with greater hope, to wean her affections from those she most ardently loved. To a heart that lived in the love of others, this was a severe effort; and it frequently disturbed that serenity of mind which was otherwise possessed. However, nothing was to be so much dreaded as the least *allowed* unreadiness for the summons which might so suddenly call her away, and she gave herself to the struggle with many prayers and tears to Him who was able to deliver. She was heard in the thing in which she feared, as far as is consistent with our state of frailty. The very exercise, though so painful, brought its relief; she felt it was well that it was in her heart to have every attachment completely subordinated to the love of heaven; and, without loving her friends the less, she was assisted to associate the love of them more with another state of being, and with acquiescence to the divine appointments, all unknown as they were.

Little did I think, on returning to my sister's embraces in the opening of October, what had been the exercises of her mind; nor was there any thing to suggest them to my thoughts. Her spirit was filled with joy at our meeting, and her mind was marked with similar calm complacency as before our parting. I soon observed, indeed, that the expressions of love to the members of the family, though quite as powerful, were frequently not so unconstrained and easy as was habitual to her. Sometimes she would receive the winning attentions of the children with a tremor or a tear; and to us there was in her attachment something more tender and heavenly; but these variations failed to supply me with a key to their origin. They had this tendency the less, as Martha appeared to us decidedly better. The rosy hues of health sat firmer on her cheek, the light of life sparkled fuller in her eye, and she was disposed, by uttering the language of hope, to raise our gratification. Like her, I was disposed to speak of hope, for circumstances seemed to warrant it more than they had done for some time; but, unlike her, I was not at all in a state of preparation for these hopes being reversed.

Martha continued in her usual state over the second Sabbath in November; and, though a long winter was closing in around us, her mind seemed to receive no impression from it. On that Sabbath her sister, Mrs. R., happened to be detained by indisposition, and they passed it together. Martha appeared peculiarly to enjoy the day. In the evening they read largely in "Edwards on the Affections." The subject was, the evidences of the Christian character; she entered most fully into it, and spoke with more freedom than she had ever done, of the connection of those evidences with her personal experience. The subject grew in her hands; while she communed with her friend the fire burned; and, with an eminent unction, she dilated on the method of redemption and the glories of an unseen world. The time sped hastily away; the family met around her bed; the prayer was offered; the evening hymn was sung; and Martha parted from the several members, pronouncing that peace on them which she herself shared so largely.

On the following Tuesday I joined the family. Martha was unwell; she ascribed it to a cold, and expressed a hope that in a day or two it would pass off. Nevertheless, her animal spirits were more than usually affected as the day closed. I spent the evening in her chamber, and with playfulness of remark endeavored to revive them. The least attentions of mine were never lost on so devoted a sister; and she rose above bodily sensations to exercise those relative sympathies which were now as natural as instinct, and dearer far than life. On the Wednesday I left her again for the post of public duty; but without the least uneasiness on account of this variation in her health.

Yet this attack was more serious than I reckoned; and Martha, from the first, though unwilling to awaken the fears of others, was disposed to look at it in the most solemn light. No sooner had her brother departed than her forced spirits left her; and finding herself really worse, she expressed her mind freely to her sister and Maria, who were constantly with her. "I have had," she observed, "many warnings, but this I believe is the summons. I am much induced to think so from this circumstance—that I have long been anxious for my mind to be prepared for death, before it should be permitted to come; and, notwithstanding all my afflictions, I have never felt *entirely* resigned to it till *now;* and now I trust I am. But these," she continued, seeing her friends affected by her announcement, "are only my impressions, and I may be wrong;" and then she enlarged on the foundation of hope which the gospel furnished in the time of dissolution, with a rich confidence in its sufficiency. "What," she said in conclusion, with peculiar earnestness, "what could philosophy and all the expe-

dients of philosophy do for me now? To a *dying* sinner, they are less than nothing and vanity!"

The remainder of the day was spent under the most solemn and interesting impressions. Two or three favorite chapters in Mrs. More's "Practical Piety" were read, and became food for conversation; and at her particular request they sang, as part of the evening devotions, Simeon's hymn, in Dr. Watts's version.

Thursday and Friday were looked to for the signs of amendment, but Martha became worse; and so much were the family alarmed, that on the evening of the latter day it was thought needful to send a messenger to me. It was late before the tidings reached me; but I could not suffer myself to lose any time in departing for Cheshunt. The night itself was a memorable one. The rain fell in sudden torrents to the ground; the sheet lightning, though so far in the year, gleamed over the gloomy heavens, and made the darkness sensible; the rains had fallen so copiously that the waters were flowing like a river over the roads to a surprising extent and depth, and with such velocity as, at one period, effectually to resist our progress. However, our cattle were good, our errand was urgent, and we persevered, and were successful. All that night were not so favored. A horse and his rider who passed us, were swept away by the current which we overcame, and quickly perished.

There was something in the character of the night that agreed with my feelings; and which, while it harmonized with them, strengthened them. I reached the cottage in alarm, and hastened to the well known chamber of the sufferer. She had fallen into sleep—this was a comfort to me. But in a few days, a few hours, what an alteration! The bloom had faded from her cheek; pain was busy on her countenance; in her sleep she was still a sufferer. It was an affecting sight! I turned from it to her window. The waning moon looked troubled through the watery clouds; the dying winds were moaning in the naked trees; the faded leaves were now and then rustling to the ground; the distant clock was telling out the last hour of time. "Every thing," I thought, "yes, *every thing* speaks of death!"

The following morning brought no relief to our fears. The medical attendant, though unwilling to give us uneasiness, could not encourage hope. I hastened to Martha's side, seeking and yet dreading an interview. We met in silence, and exchanged looks and embraces. Suffering as she was, she arose on her pillows to receive me, and seemed almost dead to the sense of pain in the intentness of the mind.

I inquired how she had passed the night.

"I have had," she replied, "a *wretched night*."

"That night," I observed, "is now gone."

"Yes, gone *for ever*, and the Lord has helped me. He is righteous and good, and will, I trust, be with me to the end!"

"O brother!" she continued, with a look of peculiar earnestness, "that is a beautiful prayer: 'Most merciful Saviour, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from thee!'"

This allusion to her personal state shook my command over my feelings; and to avoid disturbing her serenity at such a crisis, I retired to a distant part of the room. It was evident, however, that she was desirous of discharging her thoughts while she could; and, unfitted as I was for the trial, I necessarily obeyed her bidding, and returned to her side.

"O brother!" she said, "it is *so* different to behold death near us and at a distance—*so very different!* The longest life, I now find, is too short to prepare to die; after all, the circumstances are *so now* and *so trying!*"

"O that I could give the views I now have to others! Those views which a death-bed furnishes—of the nature of personal piety—of the awfulness of eternity—of the importance of salvation by Jesus Christ—and of the value of religion in early life—*especially in early life!*

"O it is most important for the work to be begun in our early days, before we are brought into the conflict of death! Religion, if really found on a dying bed, must have so much to contend with that is quite uncongenial with itself—such pride, such passion, such self-will, such habits of evil—as must make it very awful! The mind must be often in terrible doubt and darkness!—If it is not so, it must be by an *extraordinary* act of grace, which, though it may occur, we have no right to expect.

"I trust I know in whom I have believed; but all that I have known and experienced of the Saviour's grace, I have sometimes found only just enough to sustain and encourage me! Last night the agonies of the body were so great as, for a time, to affect the mind—my feet seemed quivering as I stood on the brink of Jordan! but the Lord strengthened me! Blessed be his name!—I *know* him—he will not forsake me—he will be with me in the swellings of Jordan!"

On observing my distress, she readily changed the course of her remarks, and, with a mixture of confidence and tenderness, continued—"What a mercy that we have lived together so happily—that we have understood each other so well—that we have had such opportunities of forming an affection which will never be broken—no, brother, *never be broken!* I feel assured that our love shall be continued and perfected in heaven. We shall only be separated as for a moment—and then—*then* we shall meet before the throne never to part!" Her thoughts dwelt upon the assurance with delight.

"O how little have I done for the cause of my Saviour! I did hope my life would have been spared to be useful to others: but Jehovah has appointed otherwise, and I bow to his will! I cannot now serve him by my life; I pray that I may yet do it by my death. *O that my death may be made eminently useful*—that it may constrain many to work while it is called to-day—that it may quicken many to thoughtfulness and prayer!

"And, perhaps, in that world to which I am going, I may be *useful* as well as happy. I shall be, my Saviour says, as the angels in heaven; and they are all ministering spirits sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation. Dear brother!" said she, touched by the thought, "perhaps, perhaps it may still be my privilege to hover about your ways, to contribute in some mode or other to your comfort and your usefulness. When I am gone, O do not think of me as *afar off*, but as near to you, as watching over you, as soon to join again for ever!"

"O my dear, dear brother, do not weep—do not weep—that will break my heart! If you knew all I have suffered, you would earnestly pray for my dismissal—indeed you would. I would not advert to any thing that should give you a moment's pain; but I am desirous that you should know that I am happy—yes, notwithstanding all I suffer—*that I am happy*—that religion makes me so—that God does support me. *This will be a comfort to you at a future time.*

"O all of you should join with me in praising the Saviour! I have been so afraid of dishonoring him—I hope he has kept me from this! Blessed be his name!—so good—so kind—*infinitely* faithful—to *me*, the meanest and the least in his family! O God! O *my* God!"

I was fearful that she would suffer from exertion,

and motioned her to take rest. She took the hand that was extended towards her, and pressing it to her lips, remained silent, but evidently in mental prayer.

Soon she turned a look of concern on me, and said, "Brother, there is one thing—Maria—" but she was too much exhausted to explain. It was not necessary. I understood at once that she would have referred to the distress, which would arise to her devoted young friend by this visitation, and implored my kindness and protection in her favor. Accustomed as she was to read her brother's countenance, she saw there, troubled as it was, a reply to her anxious request, which gave her satisfaction. Her eyes smiled upon me; she covered my hand with kisses; and sunk down on her couch, faintly saying, "My dear brother, my dear brother, thou hast been precious to me—precious to me!"

Later in the day, she disposed of every thing that belonged to her, naming distinctly most of her young friends, and putting aside, with her own hand, some token of friendship, or dictating some affectionate message which might make a useful impression. This was done with the greatest calmness, and designedly in my absence; and when she observed that her sister and Maria were affected by it, she looked on them with inexpressible sweetness, and said, "But mind, I am doing all this only in case I do not get better."

Then came the children of our family whom she so much loved, but from whom it was now necessary for her to separate. The youngest still an infant, was expressly a miniature likeness of herself, with the only, but affecting difference, that the one was the opening, the other the fading flower. The little creature, quite insensible to the occasion, laughed, and cooed, and shook its tiny hand, as it was accustomed to do on retiring to its rest. She pressed it warmly to her bosom, and then forced it from her embraces for ever.

The second child approached her with similar playfulness; but when he found that she was not able to return it, concern gathered on his features, as he observed, "Aunt Martha poorly."—"Yes, my dear," she replied; "aunt Martha poorly—but soon be better." She embraced him; put her hand upon him, and breathed out her blessing.

Andrew, who had received so much of her care, stood at her bedside somewhat alarmed, and scarcely knowing why. She was anxious to prevent his receiving any unpleasant impression from the idea of death. "Andrew, my dear little Annew," she said, "I love you very much; but I am going away from you for a while; God is pleased to take me to heaven, that happy place above the bright blue sky. And, perhaps, I may still know how my Annew behaves; and if he is good and kind, it will please me, and when he dies God will take him to heaven, that happy place, and then we shall live together for ever." She closed her eyes, folded her hands, and earnestly prayed—"O my Saviour! enlighten his understanding, draw his affections to thyself, make him useful to thee, and the joy of his parents!"

The last act of departure from the room was abrupt. It was too painful for any of us quietly to witness; and, by the emotion that played about Martha's lips, I saw that the scene was too trying to be protracted.

The interview had fixed itself on the mind of our eldest child. He remained silent and thoughtful for the residue of the evening. There was an assurance of happiness, and an appearance to the contrary, which perplexed him. As his mother was attending him to his sleeping room, he heard his aunt groan under a paroxysm of pain, which urged him to an inquiry that revealed the complexion of his thoughts—"But, I say, mamma, if heaven is such a happy place, why do people *groan* in going to heaven!"

The following morning she expected would bring her parents. She desired, but dreaded it. She was earnest in prayer, that she and they might be supported in the meeting. They arrived. I did what I could so to prepare and guard them for the interview, that Martha's mind might be as little discomposed as possible. But who or what shall prepare a devoted parent to look on a devoted child in such circumstances, for the first time, with tranquillity?

Her fond mother first hastened to her presence with fixed purposes of suppressing her feelings while there; but scarcely had her affectionate eye glanced on her changed countenance before her sorrows overcame her, and she fled from her chamber to weep at liberty, exclaiming, "It's a lost case! O it is a lost case! my child! my child!"

Her venerable father followed. He stood before her in speechless misery. An effort was made to speak, but his tongue clave to the roof of his mouth, and the lips quivered with excitement. She seized his hand and saluted it, and broke the silence which it was so hard to endure. "Father, my dear father! It has pleased the Great Disposer of all events, that you should commit my spirit to his hands. It is well! Lay it not to heart, father! It is the will of God! and his will is good and wise! I shall be taken the earlier from a world of sin and misery. We are both, I trust, bound to one place, and it matters very little, father, which of us arrive first. I shall be waiting to welcome you to the habitation of God, and our separation will be but for a moment—'a moment, or eternity's forgot!' My dearest father, do not fret! we must not fret! Come, let us take our harps from the willows, and to the praise of grace divine bid every string—every string—yes, every string awake!"

Her father still stood before her with features burthened with wo; he could not at once overcome the shock he had received. Martha was moved by it.

"Father!" she said.

He turned a troubled look upon her.

"Could you pray with me, dearest father!"

He shook his head in speechless agony.

She saw that she had asked too much at this moment, and that he would best recover himself by retiring from her chamber.

As her father left the room her mind was in the act of worship, as if to regain the composure which had been shaken, and which she feared to lose, waiting as she was for the hourly appearance of her Saviour.

"Now," she said, alluding to these interviews with her family, "the *bitterness of death is past!* Lord, I have waited for thy salvation! 'Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'" Her thoughts were soon restored to rest on their chosen centre, and they were evidently wrapped in joyful anticipations of eternal blessedness! "O heaven, heaven, heaven!" she exclaimed, "O the moment that will *succeed* to death!"

Her pains increasing on her, she repeated the following lines, to which she was partial, with a most gentle and resigned voice:—

I would not contend with thy will,
Whatever that will may decree
But O may each trial I feel
Unite me more firmly to Thee!

'Tis better to suffer and die
Beneath thy compassionate rod
Than find my enjoyments run high,
But never have Thee for my God.

Her mother had now resumed her post at her side for the night; and Maria, on the other hand, was at her request reading and singing alternately. These exercises were continued till, wearisomeness gaining an ascendency even over pain, she fell into a temporary repose.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CLOSING SCENES. 1827.

It will have been apparent, that none of our family were at all prepared to expect the event which I am recording but my sister—and that she was in a wonderful state of preparation. An hour that often steals insensibly on the wisest and the best, was not allowed to surprise her. She was, indeed, a wise virgin; she neither slumbered nor slept; her hopes were all awake; her oil was in her lamp, and it was trimmed, lighted, and burning brightly.

I had always considered Martha remarkably in habitual readiness for an exchange of worlds, and the later advances in her Christian character, had disposed me to think it would nobly meet such a trial; but all that I had admitted on the subject was far outdone by the reality. The first impression I received in my interview with her can never be lost; it is one of those recollections which, however distant in time, will still be near to consciousness. Though, in so short an interval, her flesh had actually sunk, her very person struck me as of greater size than it had previously attained. But the effect was produced by an enlargement of mind, not of body. Such superiority to life, such elevation of soul, such unclouded faith, such living hope, such a sense of the presence of heaven and eternity, while it was consoling to the uttermost, was really oppressive by its sublimity. In her upward flight I felt that she already left me far behind; she was surrounded by a light and glory which I could not reach; she was welcoming an event which overwhelmed me in distress; her very love and tenderness to me, had more of angelic condescension than of human frailty about them; she seemed to be standing at the very gates of heaven, expecting each moment they might be thrown open, and the hands of ministering spirits might usher her to the presence of her Lord.

It was a great source of lamentation, that I was not in a state of mind, more congenial to her own at this period. But, while I had often thought anxiously and seriously of Martha's indisposition, I had always shunned anticipating a fatal termination; and this sudden change in her situation fell on me like a thunderstroke from heaven. I was called to yield unexpectedly an object, which had entwined itself about the heart by innumerable ties, and I could not do it. The want of resignation to the event, unfitted me for giving the devoted sufferer what assistance I might in her mortal struggle. I felt that I ought to read with her, to unite with her in prayer, to speak to her the words of comfort, and to animate her in conquering every thing that held her to earth and life; but no—I could not do it.—She was obliged to seek all this from other lips than her brother's: and I was sadly displeased with myself. The more I saw of her excellence, the less I could exercise of submission; the more slender the ties by which I held her, the more tenacious was the grasp. My earthly sorrows appeared almost to profane her presence; and that I might not wound a peace which I was not qualified to confirm, I frequently retired from her chamber and all human intercourse, into the garden; maintaining, as I unconsciously paced its paths, great strife of spirit, sincerely desirous, I hope, to give her up to the hand of Providence, and yet unable to loose my hold on her. It was well for me that, at such a moment, she was not actually removed!

Providence had appointed, that if Martha was to die "a happy death," it should owe nothing of its happiness to the slightness of bodily suffering, or the free action of untried graces. Her fortitude, her patience, her faith were to be exercised to the very uttermost; and it was to be shown that they were separate from, and could triumph over, the body's deepest distress.

Contrary to all expectation, the fever which threatened the instant danger abated considerably in its violence. Ready as we were to catch at the shadow of amendment, hope partially revived, and our minds fell from the intensity of fear into the fluctuations of suspense. How did we wait for the regular arrivals of the medical attendant! How did we hang upon his lips for the few words he was to utter as words of life and death! How were we driven to and fro by the impulses of hope and fear, as the symptoms of disease rose or subsided!—However, this interval, though full of suffering, afforded our afflicted family time for prayer and reflection; exercises which, if they were desirable to all, I felt to be most necessary to myself.

The variations which brought to us something of hope, afforded Martha only disappointment. She had been standing as on an eminence, beholding the unclouded prospects of her fair inheritance, and she would willingly, like Moses, have died there; but it was the will of her heavenly Leader that yet again she should descend into the valley, where, through the infirmities of the flesh, her prospects would often be beclouded, and sometimes eclipsed. To this will she devoutedly submitted.—In exaltation her mind had remained sober; in her depression it remained confident; the body might fluctuate, but the soul continued fully fixed on God, fully expectant of that hour which though hidden from her knowledge, was present to her watchfulness.

To preserve this simplicity of attention undisturbed as much as possible, she declined seeing any friends except the members of her family, and one or two as familiar as they; while she entertained a most grateful sense of the sympathy and kindness the whole neighborhood was disposed to manifest.—She improved her hours, as her state allowed, in devotional reading and singing, frequently attempting to join in part of a hymn; and if her thoughts were at liberty to pass from herself to the world, it was exclusively on their accustomed errands of benevolence. The following quotations from her conversation about this time, are illustrations to the point.

Alluding to the delay in her anticipated removal, "This," she said, "is mysterious: I had hoped it would be otherwise; but *it is right.* If I am kept here, it is for some good end. Perhaps it is that I may be more *useful.* Pray that my death may be useful, and that patience may have its *perfect* work."

She named some young friends who had shown her kind attentions, with great affection, and said—"Eliza, I have particularly to request you will write to them, and let them know my condition.—Tell them that they have been much on my mind and in my prayers for months past. Assure them that, in all I have suffered, I have felt more powerfully than ever the *value*, the *necessity* of real religion; and urge them, in the *strongest terms*, to flee from the world and its vanities, and devote themselves *early, decidedly* to the Saviour."

"Give my Christian regards to the students, and tell them to persevere amid all discouragements, and to carry the gospel, the pure gospel, wherever they can. Let them be prudent, but let them fear

nothing—except it be sin—remembering that they will be extensively either a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death. Tell them to think, always to think, of the *infinite value of an immortal soul.*"

"Give, brother," she said to me, "my dying love to the teachers of the Sabbath-school, and tell them I now think with pleasure of my engagements with them in instructing the ignorant and the poor; that a dying bed makes these services appear not less, but more important and interesting; and that I hope, since my efforts were so quickly ended, they will be anxious to supply my lack of service. Give my love also to *all the young people*, and assure them that, whatever their hearts may say, or their companions suggest, there is nothing like *early* piety.—I am thankful for many, many things, but *chiefly for this.* They wish to be happy; but tell them from me, *that no life can be happy but as it is spent in communion with God and devotedness to him.*"

This comparative suspension of acute suffering continued only for a few days; and, while it lasted, like the pause between two opposing powers, neither of which is victorious, it was ominous of more fixed and fatal conflict. Disease and death were resisted by a fine constitution, in the very verdure and energy of life; but, alas! the power of nature to resist was in this case only an awful capacity to endure the utmost portion of anguish. Her inward foes fixed on the vital parts, and the struggle continued and increased day after day, night after night, till it became even dreadful! Unceasing restlessness, delirious pain, deathlike sickness, writhing convulsions, by turns and together, shook the whole frame with unspeakable violence. But it must not be dwelt upon even in a distant recollection! It is sufficient to say, that such were the agonies at the crisis of this attack, that for eight-and-forty hours no sleep could be secured to the tormented sufferer, by the freest administration of the most potent opiates!

If it was painfully astonishing to behold what the body could suffer and yet live, it was divinely great and edifying to see how the spirit could sustain it. The storm, dreadful as it was, was limited to the grosser elements of her nature; beyond them all was still clear and tranquil. The mind might occasionally be obscured by bodily suffering, or bewildered by the illusions of bodily senses, or shut up and hidden amid bodily infirmities; but when it appeared it was still the same mind—placid, confiding—alive, indeed, to a sense of suffering, yet superior to all that oppressed it. Her own language will give the best representation, though it is broken and uttered at intervals.

"O Eliza," she said to her sister, "I never thought it would come to this—so helpless—so inanimate—such pain!"

On being asked if she was happy, "Yes," she replied, "I am in *exquisite* pain, but *free from care and alarm.*"

"I hope," her sister remarked, "we shall meet in heaven." "O yes!" she replied, "and soon!—It will not do to cast away our confidence, nor to be tossed to and fro with every wind and wave."

"I have been praying," she said, "that, if it were the Lord's will, he would cut short my suffering, and take me to himself; nevertheless, not my will, but his be done. If God is glorified, that is every thing."

"O this is a bitter cup—a bitter cup! Thou, O Lord, art righteous and true. Thou art my rock, there is no unrighteousness in thee. In faithfulness and in love hast thou afflicted me!"

"O this is trying, very trying! Forbid, my Saviour, that, through these pains, I should for a moment dishonor thee! and let me esteem it my greatest honor to bear whatever thou shalt see fit to lay upon me!"

"O my weariness, my restlessness! How I long to get home! I thought my heavenly Father would have taken me home ere this—but it is otherwise. O my God, may I remain here to strengthen the faith of those around me—to glorify thee by my keen anguish! That is what I desire—yes, that is what I desire—*to gratify thee!*"

"Maria, read to me—read some chapters and some prayers, and sing; I want all the help I can get now; I cannot even think for myself." The Scriptures and prayer at the end of Doddridge's Rise and Progress were read, and afterward the 23d Psalm. She took up the language of the 4th verse—"I will fear no evil; no why should I fear? Thou art with me, and wilt comfort me!—but it is a *dark* valley—*yet* I will fear *no* evil!"

Her friend remarked, "A Christian has comparatively little to fear."

"Ah, my dear," she replied quickly, "That is because you do not know what it is to die. Death, at the very best, is an awful thing, and nature shudders at it. But," lifting her eyes to heaven, "I will fear *no* evil; Thou art *indeed* with me—Thou wilt bring me safely through!"

"O my Saviour," she prayed in strong agony, "Thou art full of compassion! Take me from this state of suffering, or give me patience to wait and bear it!"

It was remarked, "That it was a great blessing rather to *desire* death than to *dread* it."

"Ah," she replied, "*there is my danger!* I fear I may desire it too much, and so become impatient. I would not wish for any thing, only that God may be glorified in my suffering, or in my dying."

From this time she was not heard to utter one desire for her deliverance, however submissively; only that *faith* and *patience* might be granted.

"O pray for me—pray for me, that I may trust in God—simply trust in him. There is nothing like a simple dependance on the Saviour as a sinner—*nothing but a sinner!*"

"I never before felt the meaning of those words which the Saviour uttered, 'My soul is *exceeding sorrowful* even unto death.' Ah, *exceeding sorrowful*, and very heavy. I never before saw its meaning—*sorrowful* and *very heavy:* I understand it, but I cannot tell you anything about it—*very heavy!*"

"And we feel," I said, "my dear, all the benefit of the Saviour's sorrows."

"So oppressive were his sorrows," she continued still dwelling on the words, "that it was necessary to send an angel from heaven to strengthen him."

"And," I observed, "they are all ministering spirits to the heirs of salvation."

"Yes, they are!" she replied with earnestness, dwelling on it for some time, and then continuing: "Brother! notwithstanding all my affliction, *I am happy.* I have no wants—no fears! I had, indeed, a hard struggle to give up life without having done something more for my Saviour. I wished, had it been his will, to live to be *useful;* but now *his will is my will.* My soul doth magnify the Lord, and rejoice, yea, exceedingly rejoice, in his salvation! It is enough—quite enough! 'Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have beheld thy salvation!'"

"O brother, my soul is in bitterness—such pain! But the Lord is righteous—he is good."

"Yes, my dear, good when he gives, supremely good."

"Nor less," she replied, taking up the words; "nor *less* when he *denies.*"

"And yet," she continued, "it is mysterious, is it not? To think how easily dear Miss Weybridge was dismissed; just walking across the room, and

then lying gently down to die! How different is my situation! But I *am sustained—just sustained!*"

"And *will* be sustained, my dear! and the more we are called to suffer, the more the strength of divine grace is manifested in supporting us; and the more, therefore, God is glorified in us."

"Yes, brother! let God be glorified, whether by suffering, or life, or death!"

"O brother, I am so frail—so helpless—so very helpless! In these deep waters, I often seem just like Peter, ready to sink; and, like him, I cry, 'Lord, save, or I perish!'"

"But you did not, like him, challenge Providence."

"No, no, brother; the Lord brought me here, and he supports me, and will support me!"

"O I cannot sufficiently admire the Saviour, who, in such circumstances as his, could say, 'Not my will, but thine be done!' He was *human* as well as divine; he saw *all* his sufferings beforehand; and his sufferings were every way peculiar and inconceivable; and he felt every thing as we do; and he said, 'Not my will, but thine be done!' O what resignation!"

"I have had a night of dreadful pain. It has been as though every joint and nerve in the body were rent asunder. I have not so much as the tip of the finger free from pain. I never could have thought the body was capable of so much suffering."

Fearing that this language might be mistaken for complaint, she continued—"This is better than I deserve; this is better than the pleasures of the world and of sin; this is nothing to what my Saviour suffered; his were the sufferings of the *soul*—mine are those of the *body*. O praise him, for he is good; his mercy endureth for ever—praise him—praise him!"

But all this cannot so fully reveal the serenity and composure of her spirit as the interest she still took in the welfare and even transitory feelings of others; and her watchfulness over herself in her conduct towards them. In her most pungent sufferings, there was the same disregard of herself, the same consideration and love of others. It was really surprising!

In a most severe paroxysm of pain, she said—"I have been fearing lest my sufferings should cause any who see them, or may hear of them, to stumble; but remember, this is my dying testimony—'*Behold, happy is the man whom the Lord correcteth!*'"

On hearing her nurse, who was affected by her torments, say—"Dear creature, she will have had all her sufferings in this life."—She immediately took it up, and with peculiar earnestness replied, "No, nurse, that is a fatal deception! Our dependance must be, not on our own sufferings, but on the sufferings of Christ. We all deserve to suffer for ever, and if we escape this, it must be by the Lord Jesus Christ. Remember, nurse, *by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as penitent sinners! no other way!*"

In the midst of most violent pain, she turned to Maria, and said, "Mind, my dear, above all things, that you seek to be *rooted* and *grounded* in the faith. You will surely want it when you come to this. O it is a solemn thing to step from one world to another! we can never take such another step—so solemn! See that you are ready for it. Walk, my dear Maria, near to God, walk circumspectly—be familiar with another world—the end of all things is at hand—think of me!"

On being partially relieved from agony, which brought on delirium, she exclaimed, scarcely recovered to her thoughts—"There, now tell my dearest mother I am better!"

In similar circumstances, fearing she might, without knowing it, have uttered what she would not approve, she looked kindly on her attendants, and said, "I hope I have not spoken *sharply*."

So far was she from this, that her whole conduct was marked with the greatest gentleness. She resigned herself to the most trying measures, for the satisfaction of her friends, when she had relinquished all hope of recovery; and the smallest attentions were sure to be met with kind acknowledgments.

On being told that her brother was coming to her room, after a long and heavy conflict, she immediately said, still alive to all the delicacies of her sex—"Then, Maria, do see that the room is in order, and—my person? Is that nice and becoming?—Do put me to rights—that I know will please my dear brother!"

I had now obtained more of self-command, and was much with my sister: and though she had wonderful power to restrain her feelings when I was present, it was impossible not to be acutely affected by her afflictions.

These afflictions, continuing day after day, and each day with more hopelessness, could not be desired. I could not, indeed, bring myself to utter such words, but the inward sentiment of the heart was, "that if life could only be held on such terms, life itself, dear as it was, might terminate." So may we be brought to ask, what, of all other things, we dreaded to realize!

On entering her chamber at this time, I took my seat by her side, and gave her some cider, the only thing she could now take—"Brother," she said, "*you* got me this cider—it is so acceptable!—Thank you, thank you. O how sweet is the kindness of friends! How great are my mercies!

"Is it not mysterious, brother, that I still am appointed to suffer?"

"Yes, my dear; but while we continue here, God has some end to answer by us."

"Yes, brother, *all is right!*"

"Now," I said, "we *believe* it; by-and-by we shall *see* it."

"O yes!" she replied; "*now* I must walk by faith—sense won't do *now—won't do now!*"

Gazing on her brother's averted and troubled features, she said, "Brother! It is such a pleasure to think of you."

"I am pleased that it is, my dear."

"That, brother, gives me greater pleasure still!"

"And this pleasure, I trust, will *never* be taken from us!"

"*Never—never!*" she replied with fervency.

But who shall successfully contend with death! The youngest and the strongest must utterly fail before his unsparing and all-powerful hand. The last and severest attack of disease was made early on the morning of December the eleventh; and I was suddenly called up to witness a struggle that was supposed to be fatal. But the voice was not in the storm. The divine goodness had graciously appointed (and I cannot sufficiently adore it) that the spirit, which was prepared meekly to *resign* its habitation at its Father's bidding, should not seem to be *forced* from it, amid the throes of convulsion and the wildness of delirium. Martha, after sustaining, in the spirit we have recorded, a desperate and heart-rending conflict, for most of this day, sunk into a deep sleep. This blessing had been long sought, but not found; and now it had come, it remained on her through the night, and the whole of the next day, till we began to tremble, lest, indeed, she should wake no more. However, on the evening of the twelfth, she awoke, greatly refreshed in spirit, and comparatively at ease in her body.

But the victory was gained. Death had subdued the earthly frame, and put his awful signature upon it. Fiery inflammation had done its work, and

mortification was eating its way to the vital parts. The body, which had recently discovered such unnatural energy, was now powerless as earliest infancy. The lifeblood had fallen from the countenance; the shadows of death hung on the eyelids; the lips refused all nourishment, except what could be conveyed to them on the head of a feather. How low, how very low we may be brought, before we are actually brought to the dust of death!

There was something strangely impressive in this change! The features were occasionally illuminated by the indwelling spirit, and then sunk again into darkness. The voice was now uttered under the breath, and was rather like a whisper from the grave than sound the human tongue can utter, so unearthly was it. And the whole form frequently appeared almost as without life; and when it was put in motion, it seemed to be more by the impulse of a living spirit on a dead body, than by the free use of any physical powers. Yet when the spirit could make itself expressed, through these dim and disordered bodily organs, it spoke of peace which pain could not destroy, of a life over which death had no power. The following are some of its brief and broken expressions, which are among the most precious and sacred things committed to memory's keeping.

Soon after her waking, desirous to have renewed testimony of her happiness, I asked, if she still felt sustained and comforted?

"Yes," she replied; "suffering and weakness affect the mind, and bring a cloud between me and every thing—I cannot dwell on things as I wish—but the foundation is the same—the foundation is the same—and that supports me—*the foundation of God standeth sure.*

"I have great reason to be very thankful for this relief—very thankful—O to praise Him!—help me to praise—I cannot praise—in Heaven!"

"Righteous is the Lord, and good—immensely good—he is become my salvation—to praise him!"

"Pray that my death may be more useful, much more useful, than my life!"

"One moment *after* death!"

"O Heaven—Heaven—Heaven!"

"Maria," she said, "talk to me about Heaven."

It was spoken of as a state of rest, happiness, and purity.

"Yes—yes," she replied to the several observations, with a most gentle and heavenly expression of countenance.

"Ah! Heaven!—I am going, I will not stay here!"

It was remarked—"There we shall see God!"

The words touched her soul; delight and love stood in her eyes—"*See God, see God*—tell me no more———"

She dwelt on it in silence, till her feeble powers were perplexed:—"Talk about it again," she said.

It was revived—her mind seized on it—"*See God!—ah!—yes!—do not say any more; it is too much!—Pray for patience.*"

On Saturday the fifteenth, Martha lay mostly in a state of insensibility. She received no refreshment, took no notice. In the afternoon, her anxious mother expressed a conviction that she would notice *me*, if I sought to call up her attention. I sat quietly at her side, and fanned her. I moistened her lips with the cider, to which she had been so partial. She revived. "*So sweet!*" she said—"*That kind hand!—my dearest brother!—I love to see you!—quite worn out!—*"

Soon afterward the tolling of the church bell caught her ear—"*That sweet bell—sweet bell!*" she said.

"*Brother, what is to-morrow?*"

"It is the Sabbath day, my dear!"

"*Yes, the Sabbath!*" she replied, as the smile of hope and peace softly glowed over the ruins of her outward features, and then forsook them for ever. She had frequently referred to this day, I learnt, as the day of her happy release.

The Sabbath came. There was an impression among us, made principally by Martha's allusions, which rendered the opening of this day most peaceful and solemn. We moved about without noise, spoke with a subdued voice, and took our refreshments as though we took them not. The dear patient (sufferer now no longer) remained through the early morning shut up from all surrounding objects. Her mother, exhausted by many nights watching, I had urged to seek slight repose; the family went out to the house of prayer; I undertook, for the period, the sole care of our common love. It was an opportunity I sought, but scarcely knew how to sustain. However, there were no symptoms of present alarm—my charge was as she had been through most of the night—feeling nothing, awake to nothing. I took the New Testament into my hand, that charter of our immortality; and to avoid my own reflections, read its blessed assurances. An unusual composure stole over my thoughts—they were following, in imagination, the spirit they loved into heaven's eternal mansions.

The body stirred, and called up my attention.

I hung over it, and explored the features, hoping yet for some sign of love and consciousness—but there was no spirit visible there!

"My dear!" I said.

Her eyes, still true to their love, wandered in search of their object—but no! the film of death hung too heavily upon them.

Disappointed at this, the hand which had seemed to be lifeless so long, made an effort to creep towards me.

The sight was too affecting. I put my hand into hers, and brought it on its way.

I pressed it.

It made a feeble and painful effort to return the pressure.

"My dear!" I repeated.

She made a last effort to raise her eyelids—but in vain!

Her lips moved, and I bent my ear for some expression of hope and peace.

"*My—brother!*"—they whispered.

Those gentle, affectionate, dying sounds will always dwell in my ear; but there was yet (I can scarcely tell why) *another name* I wished once more to pass those lips!

I said—"There is a name that is far dearer to you than even that of brother."

She made an effort to speak again—but the lips refused to do her bidding. I watched them intensely. They became fixed, and the eyelids had sunk to their former position!

I pressed my finger on her pulse. It came and went; it fluttered and faltered; it stopped and revived most ominously!

I was relieved by the arrival of the family. Her mother, Eliza, and Maria came into the chamber successively; and, without saying a word, they marked the change, and took their place beside me. It was a solemn hour. We could not move; could not speak; could not weep. We were standing on the verge of two worlds. This world never appeared so shadowy; heaven never appeared so near. It seemed as though a breath would waft aside the thin veil which separated us from eternity; and faith and imagination were alive to the presence of ministering spirits, who were expected each moment to convey a sister spirit to all the grandeur and blessedness which it can reveal.

The object of our motionless and fixed attention

lay as in a profound sleep, only that the respiration was becoming longer and deeper. Our own breathing, by sympathy, was made more difficult.

It became deeper—and deeper—and deeper!

After each act of respiration, there was a dreadful hesitancy, whether it should be renewed any more!

It was renewed—once—and again—and then lost for ever!

That moment our breath was suspended—and all was still as death, silent as the grave.

The next minute we recovered our inspiration by an hysterical effort; trembling seized us; we fell back in our seats, and burst into a flood of tears.

We were, at length, interrupted by the arrival of the nurses. I was unwilling that strangers should enter the room, it seemed so heavenly; I could not bear that the body should be touched, it seemed so sacred. I waved my hand for them to depart; but, checked by recollecting that their offices were needful, we hastened from the spot, and mourned apart the common, the inexpressible visitation.

CHAPTER XXV.

LAST OFFICES. 1821.

On the next morning we arose to a sense of our situation. The habitation was darkened; and an air of gloom and desertion rested on all its apartments. We moved about it with a silent and smothered tread, as if we might still disturb the repose of our beloved relative. We feared to meet each other's look; and the loved name which filled our thoughts no one could venture to utter. The smiles and caresses of our children seemed unnatural and distressing to us; and, I believe, had we obeyed the impulse of personal feeling in this early stage of our grief, we should each one have sought a state of absolute seclusion.

But there were duties still to be paid to the deceased; and reverence and love urged us to discharge them without delay. Our minds, therefore, were quickly girded to their performance; and painful as they are, they seem designed by a compassionate Providence, at this period of deep distress, to temper and regulate those emotions which might otherwise work with destructive power.

Some of the earliest and least welcome duties, however, which properly attached to me, were as kindly as delicately anticipated by those who might well have shrunk from them. Yet, as the mind recovered a degree of tranquillity, I felt that sacred and final trusts were committed to my hands, which I ought not entirely to delegate to others; and that I should not be satisfied with myself, unless I became the witness of their having been executed. This impression, supported by the yearnings of a trembling affection to take a last look of a form so unutterably dear, gave birth to a desire of visiting the chamber where it lay, before it should be for ever shut up from my sight.

It appeared essential to the accomplishment of this purpose, that it should be unobserved; and having sought for the occasion, I crept to the room as if detection would have made it really impossible. I approached the coffin. With a steady hand I gently pressed aside its cover. The first glimpse of the object for which the eye was searching, smote my hand and frame as by the shock of electricity. I recovered myself, and gazed on it for a moment. Those eyes, those ears, those hands had never been utterly insensible to me, and now they were so! It was not to be indured! The lid was hastily closed, and resting the arm upon it, I endeavored to divert the course of thought by turning the eye on other things. But this room was associated with manifold recollections of the most cheerful, pleasant, and blessed kind; and now it presented a picture of the most entire desolateness. The domestic fire was extinguished, the carpets were taken up, the bed was removed. Its furniture was a coffin; its inhabitant a corpse; and the only sign of life about it was derived from a poor robin, which sat on the opened frame of the window, repeating his short wintry note, as if asking for food he had often received, but had now sought many days in vain. There was no relief to be found here. I hastened away to the garden, to regain the composure I had lost.

But the morning arrived on which the very remains of so valued a being were to be removed from our possession. It was a dreaded day. There was a feverish activity about the family, connected with an expression of our mutual wishes by signs rather than words, which intimated the suppression of feeling that would scarcely yield to the hand of government. Our friends, the Rev. Messrs. Kemp and Weybridge, with the male members of our families, assembled to perform the few last offices due to mortality. One of them sought to break the painful silence, while waiting for our summons, by remarking to my father—"Well, my friend, God is lopping off the branches, that the trunk may fall the easier!"

"Lopping off the branches, indeed!" he replied, in so tremulous and sad a voice, as made us all seek refuge again in silence.

The arrangements were now complete, and we were called to take our place in them. There were, first of all, twelve children, who had been the latest scholars of the deceased, dressed in white. Close by the side of the body there was, unobtrusive and faithful, the lone widow in quiet sorrow; and around her, but a little distant, were some female villagers with their children, all of whom were evidently interested in the occasion. Afterward came the mourners, who closed the simple procession. My attention was called up by my father, at whose side I stood. We had spared him suffering as much as possible through the past scenes; but this final service seemed to take greater effect on him. His noble and revered frame, bending with age and shaken by present affliction, rocked and trembled so as to make me fear, that my efforts to steady his steps would not avail to support him through the trial.

We moved slowly, reluctantly forward. There was no noise, no disgusting indifference, no impertinent curiosity. The spectators showed their concern by silent sympathy; and if any of them spoke, it was with a soft voice, and mostly the record a full heart was disposed to make of the virtues or sufferings of the departed.

We entered the churchyard. We were received by the officiating minister, and passed into the church. The service began. Never did I listen to it with such ears. I had many times read, and had admired as often as I had read, the apostle's argument on the great doctrine of the resurrection; but if ever it is to be felt in all its force of proof, in all its exaltation of sentiment, in all its triumph of confidence, it must be when hanging over the relics of those we most have loved, and clinging to the hope of immortality as the only one that can abide with us amid the devastations of time and death. We quitted the sanctuary for the spot where we were to deposite our sacred charge—a spot which the deceased had chosen. We met around the mouth of the grave, and beneath the shade of a spreading yew-tree. The coffin descended. The service went on. The fragments of earth fell on the surface with a rattling hollow sound, which affectingly proclaimed the nothingness of all earthly life, the vanity of all earthly hope. The "sure and certain hope"

was expressed with the confidence of faith; the thanksgiving and the prayer were offered, and the act of solemn worship ceased.

We hung around the spot as if it could not be forsaken. The children looked into the grave, and shed sincere and generous tears over their devoted instructer. The good mothers expressed their emotion, either by uttering their blessings on her memory, or averting their countenances, which were too much distressed for inspection. The widow stood gazing with features full of resigned sorrow, which seemed to say, "I have lost a friend, and I shall never find such another." Her father resolved on one last look; and, deeply groaning, turned away for ever. For myself, my courage failed me; I feared to look at all; and in moving from the place, I found myself involuntarily endeavoring to assuage rebellious feeling, by repeating the words, "In sure and certain hope! in sure and certain hope!"

Yet, however willing to stay, it was necessary for us to depart. We allowed ourselves to be put in our former melancholy order, and moved from the sacred enclosure. There, where Tillotson has preached, where Watts has studied, where Mason sleeps—there, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest—there we left the precious remains, sustained by the gracious assurances of Him who watches over the dust of his saints, and who has promised to raise, glorify, and immortalize it. The particular place at which it reposes is marked by a plain tablet, which bears the following inscription:

M. R.
OBT. DEC. 16, 1821, ÆT. 28.
TO THE STRANGER,
HER VIRTUES
CANNOT BE KNOWN
TO HER FRIENDS,
HER MEMORY
IS HER BEST EPITAPH.

On arriving at the cottage, there was yet another duty to be discharged before we separated. Martha, in disposing of what belonged to her, had assigned a portion of her circulating books to the children who were now with us, appointing a particular book to each child. They were, therefore, arranged in the hall; and the books were presented to them in her name, with a request that they would not part with them. One of my ministering brethren very kindly gave them a brief and appropriate address, while the other offered for them earnest and affectionate prayer. The tender, sympathetic, and solemn allusions made in these services to the deceased, went direct to the hearts of the children, and they indulged themselves in the unconstrained expressions of their grief. It was a very affecting close of most affecting engagements.

In the decline of the day we hastened to town, and prepared ourselves as we could to seek, on the approaching Sabbath, the improvement of the event, in the more trying and public service of the sanctuary. On the afternoon of the day Dr. Winter* commended the bereaved family to the divine pity and blessing; and sought to render the impressive dispensation beneficial to a crowded and deeply interested auditory, from these words, "*It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.*" It is needless to say, that the reflections which were grounded on this passage were such as well illustrated and forcibly applied its important doctrine; and it will be at once apparent, that the words themselves could not have been better adapted to the occasion, had they been selected by those who knew most of the deceased.

The solemn duties of the temple terminated; and in the evening I was glad, under the influence of suppressed feeling, to seek the relief of retirement. I had necessarily been much with others; now I was alone. I had had a distinct object before me, and had struggled against emotion, that I might not be disqualified for paying those last offices to the dear departed, which I had determined to render; but, now every thing was done, the bracing power of resolution was lost, and the reflections wandered at liberty over all that had transpired. Thought was busy in dwelling on the more recent and distant scenes of her life. Our infantile sympathies—our childish amusements—our youthful perplexities—our matured affection—our Christian communion—were all surprisingly present to the mind. Then it was that I felt the kindred ties of blood, the dearest attachments of the heart, were rudely burst asunder; that she, who had been cherished on the same bosom, and reposed in the same cradle—that she, who had shared in my earliest recollections, my best enjoyments, my deepest affections—that she, who had grown up by my side, shedding the light, and love, and gladness of her presence around me, till it seemed almost the necessary element of my existence—that my sister, my only sister, was no more—that an irreparable breach had been made in the series of my relationships—that I was *sisterless*, and that I could never be otherwise!

But these reflections would mix themselves with others which served to qualify them. It was impossible to separate Martha's life from the presence of religion; or to revert to the final scenes of suffering without receiving a triumphant testimony of the power of godliness. Here the lacerated heart found consolation. Imagination turned from privation, anguish, and death, to follow the living and emancipated spirit springing to the light of heaven, clad in the glory of heaven, and keeping heaven's eternal Jubilee with God, and the Lamb, and all the sanctified. The mind seemed present to the society and blessedness it contemplated. The tender request of the departing saint—"*Do not think of me, brother, as far away!*" came softly over the memory, and supplied the last drop to the overflowing emotions of the heart.—There is a balm most fragrant and salutary in those tears which nature sheds and religion sanctifies.

Winter has returned again, and again departed; but we are still a mourning family; and the sense of our loss will often cross the current of our thoughts when they are seeking recreation, or intent on the busy duties of life. The beloved name has indeed been given to an infant born to us since the removal of our relative; but the heart cannot so be cheated. There is a void in our circle, and about our cottage, which Martha only could fill. Her smiles, her words, her handiwork, are associated with every thing and every apartment of the place; and tell us of enjoyments that are past never to be restored!

Time, however, has so softened grief, that it has now little to distress, nothing to alarm reflection. It is of a quiet, soothing, and often, I trust, of an elevating character. Martha lived a saint, and died a saint; and, now that the first flow of sorrow

* The bereavement was also improved the same day by the Cheshunt ministers, and the Rev. T. West, of Barking, the residence of my parents; to them, and to the extended circle of sympathizing friends, who sought by the kindest attention to lighten the burden of the sufferer or of the survivors, the writer tenders his respectful but cordial acknowledgements. May they find comforters, kind and true, in their adversity!

is past, the impression of her life and death is most saintly and blessed. The house in which she dwelt is the more dear for having had her as its inhabitant; the paths she loved to tread are the more pleasant because she has trod them; the garden she admired is the more beautiful for having given her pleasure; her flowers, the only living memento of her lovely but frail existence, are the more precious for reminding us of her; and in the very chamber and on the very pillows where she resigned her spirit into the hands of her Saviour, I now frequently lay me down to repose, with a sense of serenity and peace never connected with the spot before.

Similar impressions happily extend even to our children, from their partial remembrances. The eldest, when anxious to give his full commendation to any real or supposed excellence, declares, *it is like aunt Martha.* And his younger brother, as if sympathizing in our seriousness, would sometimes arrest himself in his gambols, and pointing to the blue sky, would say, with his broken utterance, "*Aunt Martha gone up to heaven—me go to aunt Martha!*"

The memory of the just is blessed! It softens the heart, elevates the eye, strengthens the hand, sanctifies the soul. It is the voice of God proclaiming to us peace in this life, joy in the life to come. It has often been enshrined in the breast of infancy, as the seeds of a future and glorious life; and has sometimes made its way to the heart, which had shown itself preoccupied by worldly care and earthly enjoyment, against all common remonstrance and entreaty. *The memory of the just is blessed!*

FARE THEE WELL! FARE THEE WELL!
IS SWEET TO THINK OF THEE!
OF THY WORK OF FAITH,
LABOR OF LOVE, AND PATIENCE OF HOPE;
OF THY DELIVERANCE
FROM
DEATH, SUFFERING, AND SIN;
OF THY
ADMISSION TO
THE SONGS, THE JOYS, THE REST
OF THE BLESSED,
SURROUNDED BY HEAVEN'S RADIANT GLORY,
AND DWELLING
BENEATH THE SHADOW OF THE ALMIGHTY!
IT IS SWEET TO THINK OF THEE!
FARE THEE WELL! FARE THEE WELL!
I WOULD EVER THINK THOU ART HAPPY!
NEVER THINK THOU ART GONE!

Reader—I have now accomplished, with what ability I might, my painfully pleasing task of introducing you to an intimate knowledge of a relative who was dear, unutterably dear while living, and whose memory is made divinely sacred by the solemn and final transformations of death. It is neither accordant with my wishes nor my taste to close this narrative by burdening your attention with all the inferences, in formal succession, which it might sufficiently justify. But, on the other hand, I cannot feel at liberty entirely to resign this record to your hands, without pressing on your thoughts the importance of a personal and practical application of the lessons it unfolds or suggests. If virtue has been exhibited, it is that it may be reproduced and invigorated in you; if natural defect of character has been acknowledged, it is, that in coming to a wise sense of your own deficiencies, that you may not be seduced into despondency; and if the gradual conquest of these infirmities, has been traced to the corresponding influence of vital religion, it is that you might have greater solicitude awakened for those influences, which alone can effectually guard, and sanctify, and exalt the mind.

The question, then (forgive its freedom in its kind intention,) which I am anxious earnestly to propose, is, By what principles is your life regulated? To what end is it directed? Are you living as seeing the things that are invisible and eternal? or are you intently pursuing present and worldly objects as your highest good? Is your life, like that of the deceased, a course of strict self-discipline and unlimited devotedness to its Author? or does it centre in selfish gratifications and earthly pleasures? Are you prepared for a change of being which will certainly, and perhaps quickly, come; and beyond which all change, and all hope of change, are excluded for ever?

These inquiries arise to you as a rational and immortal creature; and, excuse me in remarking, if there is any *reluctance* to entertain them, there is proportionate reason to fear they have been too sadly neglected. And can such subjects as they involve be neglected, without affording some proof of an inward reluctance to regard them? And can such reluctance dwell in the breast of a rational being, without implying an alienation of heart from objects by which it ought to be most powerfully attracted?

It is a law of your nature, that whatever of good is possessed, you should still be looking from the present to some future enjoyment. But, how is it, that while, under the force of this principle, you pass eagerly from the attainment of one temporal pleasure to the pursuit of another, your anticipations never spring beyond the limitations of sense and time, and feed on the immutable realities of a spiritual world? Why should hope stop suddenly in her excursion into futurity, on the line which separates this world from another, when by passing that line the prize immortality, the utmost to which she could aspire, would be within her grasp? Could any thing check her course and paralyze her energies at once, and just when they should be most excited, but *fear?* And why should fear have power to array every thing in an unseen world in forms of alarm and terror, if not sustained by the testimony of *conscience?* Surely here are indications of a mind estranged from Him whom it ought most to know; of a soul fallen from God, sunk into itself, and losing itself in an animal, sensitive, and perishable existence.

Such a state, as it is the offspring of crime, so it is the parent of misery. It is admitted, that it is capable of some gratifications; and were you not enriched with a superior nature, they would be perfect in their kind while they continued. As it is, they are necessarily imperfect. The senses and appetites of the body may find readily the pleasures for which they are adapted, in the suitableness of things around them to their nature; but the soul, an exile from its home, wanders about in such a world, solitary and sorrowful, seeking rest and finding none. In the midst, indeed, of animated spirits, social enjoyments, honorable duties, and soothing reputation, your passions have endeavored to importune you into a sense of happiness; but the effort has been as unsuccessful as it was clamorous. The soul, offended at the violence offered to its own unwelcome convictions, has refused to confirm the pleadings of the heart; and while the smile of joy has been playing on your cheek, and the breath of flattery exhilarating your spirit, and the cup of prosperity sparkling in your hand, it has ached with a bitter sense of vacancy and vexation!

O do not put from you this confession of a timid and silenced conscience! Do not hide yourself from the inquietudes of your own spirit! They are unwelcome, but they are salutary. To trifle with

them is to trifle with your best interests; to conquer them is to achieve your own ruin. Rightly understood, they point you to peace and felicity; they are the flutterings of the winged spirit that would fain soar to its native heaven—the yearnings of the orphaned soul after its Father and its God. *Here*, in all the eye sees, in all the ear hears, in all the hand touches, in all the imagination devises, it finds nothing adapted to itself—nothing worthy of its *final* dependance. Earth is all too narrow, time is all too short, the world is all too gross, for its expanding and spiritual capacities. Its pasture, its alliances, its inheritance are in heaven.

Cease, then, from the world, and all the world contains—from the seductions of pleasure—from the blandishments of wealth—from the glory of fame and power. They are emptier than vanity, fleeter than the wind; the shadow of a shade, the image of a dream; fair to the sight, tempting to the lip; rottenness to the grasp, and bitter as gall in the remembrance. The love of them is in exact opposition to the love of God, to the soul's present joy and future salvation. O arise, then, to the pursuit of a portion adapted to your rational, commensurate with your eternal, existence! Let your earth-bound thoughts and affections ascend to objects worthy of them; let them return to God who gave and inspires them—to God, the rest of the weary, the exclusive centre of the soul! *There*, in his light, the spirit shall see light, in his purity be made pure, in his glory be restored to its original nobility and grandeur. *There*, in the uncreated, infinite, and everduring excellence of Deity, it will find a portion which can never be explored—a fountain of perennial delight, which flows but the more freely for the largest demands made on its living fulness!

In your aspirations to this blessedness (if happily excited,) let no sense of your demerit enfeeble or check your desires. The enemy with whom you have to contend, when he can no longer detain you in captivity by the lulling opiates of carnal security, will seek to hold you by the oppressive chains of despondency. But be not ignorant of his devices. Admit, at once, all that he would urge against you; your folly and your sin; your departure from the living God; your idolatrous and perverse attachment to forbidden objects. Fall under the testimony of Scripture, on the error of your ways and the desert of your conduct. Allow that you are miserable, because you have been wicked; and that your wickedness might justly involve you in deepest punishment. But, admit all this, not as an argument *against* turning to the God you have forsaken, admit it as a reason why you should apply to him with greater earnestness of purpose. The more alarming the disease, the more needful the physician; the more formidable your offence, the more important is strenuous intercession for an act of divine forgiveness.

Say not, "There is no hope!" it is the whisper of a proud and unbelieving spirit. There is hope! abundant hope in God! in the compassion of his heart, in the power of his arm, in the promises of his gospel, in the vicarious atonement of his Son, in the effectual influences of his Holy Spirit. Return, then, to God, from whom you have revolted, humbly confessing your sins, trusting in the accepted merits of the Great Mediator, and looking for that assistance which you need, and he has graciously promised. Awake from the lethargy of indifference! arise from the depression of fear! You live under the richest dispensation of mercy. Every thing invites you to God. The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent (those who are sincerely intent on the object) take it by force. The Spirit says, Come; and the church says, Come; and whosoever *will*, let him come and take the waters of life freely. There is hope to all who *come*; none are without hope but those who *wilfully* stay away, and, by staying away, exclude themselves.

Yet again permit me to address you in the words of caution. There is a wide distinction between certain convictions reaching the *understanding*, and obtaining full possession of the *heart*. Yea, there is an essential difference between arriving at the formation of any resolutions, and carrying them out into instant, persevering action. If all who have formed purposes of abandoning sin and seeking in religion forgiveness and felicity, *were* saved, few indeed would be the number of those who would finally suffer for their crimes. But, alas! in most cases, these resolutions have never found expression in the conduct; they have been extorted by terror, or framed to appease an alarmed conscience. In defiance of them, the tenor of the life has remained unchanged; the *present time* has been, day after day, given to vanity; the *future*, *while future*, promised to better things. These better things, which were not distinctly realized, which the heart did not sincerely love, were postponed—and postponed—and postponed—till, the hour of inquest and retribution arriving, it was impossible to delay, or to trifle, or to hope any longer; and those resolutions which the will had never adopted, the heart never cherished, stood among the highest aggravations of guilt unpardoned and unpardonable.

In any ordinary circumstance, you would judge it a mark of pitiable and criminal weakness for an individual needlessly to transfer duties it is important to do at once, to a distant period. And, surely, you will not allow yourself to be deceived into the adoption of this dangerous procrastinating principle in ■ concern of the utmost moment to you? What infatuation and insincerity it implies! Is it too soon to be wise—too soon to be forgiven—too soon to be happy? If you act on a principle which has been fatal to myriads, but for a day, an hour, is it not just to conclude it will be fatal to you? This is a dispensation as strict in judgment as it is rich in mercy! The ordination of Heaven is, "that those who see," and act not agreeably to their perceptions, "shall be made blind." "*Now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation." It is all present—it is all passing! The Scriptures have not a promise, the ministry has not a commission, for any future time—no, not for the next day, the next hour! *Now*, *now* is the accepted time—the only time in which you can be assured of favor and forgiveness! O consider this very urgency of the divine grace, as the noblest proof of its condescension! consider the frailty of your existence as the most pressing motive to respect it! You will not resolve to give yourself up to religion *to-morrow*, when you may die *to-day!*

May die to-day! O, I beseech you, lay to your heart a deep sense of your mortality! And seriously, frequently inquire, in answer to all the illusions of the world and the plausibilities of conscience, how you can sustain your last conflict without the presence of religion! To the bed of death you must surely and shortly come! At this moment, time is shorter with you, the grave nearer to you than ever. *Then*, when the body is oppressed with languor and tormented with suffering; when the cold sweat stands on your forehead; when the shadows of death spread themselves over your countenance; when the earth trembles, and shakes, and recedes beneath you; when the spirit shudders at the presence of an opening, unknown eternity; when the dying wandering eye asks an assistance from weeping friends which they cannot afford; *then*, what will you do without the supports, the consolations of religion! The pleasures you may

have loved, the honors you may have gained, the property you may have amassed, the society you may have cultivated, what will they avail in such an hour? They all belong to a corporeal and temporal state of existence; in leaving the world you must leave them; and, as far as they are concerned, you will find yourself naked and alone at the footstool of your Creator!

As it is appointed for all men once to die, so all must enter into judgment. *You* must stand at the judgment seat of Christ—*you* must render an account of the deeds done in the body, of the thoughts cherished in the heart. Solemn, supreme, and final scrutiny! Nothing can be concealed, nothing palliated, nothing altered. The trumpet sounds—the Judge is coming—your eye watches for his appearing! The sun is smitten with darkness, the moon turned into blood, the stars fall from their courses—you see them not! The thunders of Omnipotence are rolling and raging from pole to pole, from world to world; the earth is dissolved, the heavens pass away with a mighty noise—you hear it not! Millions of your fellow-creatures are ascending from the ruins of perishable creation, and are pressing thick around you to the general judgment—you heed them not, know them not! Your fixed, your aching spirit is still searching for the first glimpses of the Judge's appearance! He comes! The tribunal is set—the books are opened—*you* are summoned to his bar! O how will you look on the face of a despised, neglected, injured Saviour! of a just, indignant, powerful Judge!

Judgment is followed by eternity. It is this gives it all its terrors. It is this clothes the felicities of heaven with imperishable glory; it is this which gives to punishment a deathless sting. O eternity, eternity! A period without beginning, without pause, without succession, without end! duration without time, being without limit! Your noblest birthright; but, if sinfully abused, your deepest curse! O think of the worm that dieth not—of fire that cannot be quenched! Think of a soul lost—lost for ever! Living only to suffer; invigorated, to be increasingly alive to suffering! Enlarged in its capacities to contain only a fuller cup of wo; immortalized to be immortally wretched! Nothing to love—nothing to pursue—nothing to divert the attention from unmixed, unabated misery. Wretched in itself—wretched in its society—wretched in the thought of heaven's felicity—wretched, above all, in the thought of the blessings wilfully cast away, the wrath wilfully plucked down on itself—wrath already realized, and always to come!

And are you an expectant of these things? Is the Judge at the door? Is an immortality of bliss or wo most surely yours? And can you for a moment be careless to the infinite alternative? Can you neglect now what will shortly *engross* you for ever? O, by the certainty of death; by the coming of the day of judgment; by the riches of immortality; by the ruinous punishment of the wicked; by all that is dearest to you; by all that is most dreadful; by all that is present; by all that is to come; I entreat, I beseech you—what shall I say? in the name of the book by which you are to be judged, I command you, not for an instant, to neglect your great salvation! Awake, arise, call upon God! Pray—watch—wrestle—agonize! All you can do—all you can suffer—all you can sacrifice, is unutterably trifling, when salvation is your object, and immortality your prize. The day of mercy is not yet passed—the time of life is not yet spent—the door of hope is not yet shut! Struggle to enter in! It is for your life! and that life eternal! Hell from beneath—heaven from above, are moved for you! Lost demons would decoy you into their own destruction; blessed spirits would minister to your deliverance! More and greater are they that are for you, than all that are against you. The Almighty Saviour is on your side in this conflict! Take hold of his strength—plead his mercy—rely on his promise—look to him—flee to him. He will cast out none—the weakest, the most unworthy—who come unto him. Blessed—supremely, eternally, infinitely blessed—are they who put their trust in him. Nothing can harm them—nothing impoverish them! To them, affliction loses its sting, and eternity its terrors. In the ruins of the universe they lose nothing—suffer nothing! Then life is to begin—their good things to come. Honors that never fade—riches that are never exhausted—pleasures that never cloy—are theirs. Heaven is their inheritance—eternity their time—and God—the great, the good, the blessed—the light of our light, the joy of our joy, the soul of our existence—is their portion and their glory! This incomprehensible being—opulent in his own perfections, happy in his own excellence—invites you to himself! His arms of paternal love are expanded to receive! The world by its vanity—time by its flight—the grave by its solemnities, urge you to obey this invitation. Yes, even the grave, on such a subject, has a voice awful as itself to warn and exhort you. The life we have traced, the death we have together lamented, the tomb we have together surrounded, do they not speak most powerfully in the ear of Reason and Conscience? Amid the silence, and the darkness, and the mysteries of mortality, is there not a spirit-voice that says—LIFE, EARTH, TIME, are NOTHING! ETERNITY, HEAVEN, GOD, are EVERY THING!

APPENDIX.

LETTER I.

TO HER PARENTS.

MY BELOVED AND HONORED PARENTS—Permit your Martha to indulge the feelings of her heart towards you in writing a few lines. Shall I tell you how often I think of you? No—I cannot do it! Shall I tell you how much I wish you here? Language fails. Shall I describe the impression your kindness from childhood to the present hour has made on my heart? This, too, is impossible! I must be content to say, that your happiness is dearer to me than my own; and that the mind of your Martha is only peaceful and serene as she believes yours to be so.

I have the happiness to inform you, that my health seems gradually returning; and this, my dear parents, does not give me so much pleasure as the thought that you will be gratified to hear it.

A fond mother often says—a parent only can know the feelings of a parent; let me add—a daughter only can know the feelings of a daughter.

I have but two complaints to make; one is, that I am at such a distance from my family; and the other, that I am deprived of the ministry of my beloved pastor. Pray for me, my dearest parents, that I may exemplify all I have heard him inculcate; and may you abundantly realize all those holy delights he so earnestly commends to us!

Yours, with unvarying love and gratitude,

MARTHA.

LETTER II.

TO MRS. ———.

MY DEAR FRIEND—May I not, ought I not, to say, "Bless the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together!" O for a heart to praise him! How frequently the pleasures as well as the sorrows of life unfit us for this holy exercise! Strange that the

streams of comfort should render us unmindful of the fountain!

How much I shall be gratified by seeing you. When we meet, may we evidently be as fast preparing for eternity as we are advancing towards it!

LETTER III.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—My journey was attended with pleasure, pain, and profit.

The pleasure and pain I regarded but little, knowing they would soon terminate; but I was anxious to seize the opportunity afforded me for *improvement*, because I knew it would never return. This is just as I wish to do in the journey of life.

On Sabbath morning, I entered that sacred place where we have often mingled our praises and our prayers. I looked round; you were not there. My dear mother was confined. Many of my friends had the emblems of mortality about them; upon the countenances of others sat languor and disease. My spirit sunk; and I felt afresh the need of inward consolation. The preacher ascended the pulpit, and chose these words for his text: "Because I live, ye shall live also." I listened while he showed the similarity of the Christian's life to the life of Christ. My spirit was refreshed, and I could not help exclaiming, O that all were acquainted with this source of consolation, wretched as they must be without it!

The preacher proceeded to show that life produced by exertion; and that in proportion as this life advanced in the Christian, his exertions would be general, uniform, energetic, and pleasurable. Such I wished my own exertions might be—such I devoutly wished might be yours; for I know not that I could ask for you any thing more desirable. O if such is the spirit of our exertions, what good may we not do! With such a disposition, every day will afford some opportunities of being useful. Let us determine, my dear, in the strength of Jesus, to engage in nothing without aiming at the divine glory.

LETTER IV.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—You are in debt to me I know not how many letters; but I am so much indebted to you in another sense, that I cannot help seizing every opportunity of acknowledging my obligations. You have heard, perhaps, that I have been suffering from a fresh disorder. Pray for me, that it may be sanctified, and that in patience I may possess my soul. If it is impossible to enjoy peace and serenity of mind in the hour of sickness, without the supports of religion, how can death be endured in their absence? Or should conscience, by a long course of sin, be stupified and rendered indifferent to the solemnities of that awful hour, how much will the anguish of the spirit be increased, at the moment of its separation from the body! These considerations ought to stir our zeal for the welfare of others, and lead us to seize on every prudent opportunity of impressing the minds of all around us with the infinite importance of attending to their eternal concerns.

LETTER V.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—Though I am very busy, I hope to have an opportunity of sending to you tomorrow. I therefore lay aside my work, in order to assure you that you are not forgotten by me. Does *this* assurance gratify you? O let us call to remembrance the repeated assurances we have, that Jehovah never forgets his people! But are you ready to fear that he does not remember you *in mercy*, because you so often forget him? If this is the case, I can sympathize with you; for when I look within, I am often ready to exclaim, Can God indeed dwell here? Yet, let us not be discouraged. Jesus has said, he will cast out none; and he has promised his Spirit to all who ask it. How often, when oppressed with sin and borne down by affliction, are we led to say—I loathe it, I loathe it! I would not live always! It is difficult, very difficult, to preserve a *waiting posture*, neither anxious for life nor death. When we are summoned to the bar of Jehovah, may our language be, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord!" It is at once the language of divine patience and heavenly hope.

LETTER VI.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—I cannot exactly enter into your present feelings; but I imagine them. It is no trifling thing to be in a small degree responsible for an immortal spirit; to be wholly so must then be a most serious charge. While reflections of this nature solemnize your mind, it is needful to watch against *despondency*. Our apprehensions should never sink us below a reliance on Him who has said, "Trust in me at *all* times."

Let us arise and tell Him all our wants; let us ask of Him great things worthy of a God to bestow; and let us ask *in faith;* remembering, that we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus.

When we consider how little we can accomplish by our actual exertions, it is gratifying to recollect that we may benefit the *whole world* by our prayers. May our exertions and our prayers be constantly united!

I hope you will be enabled to improve every talent entrusted to you. Your *influence* is no longer small. It is a talent you can, and will employ. How often has my conscience reproached me for neglecting it! May you learn from my regrets! and if possible, let no one come beneath your roof without deriving some advantage from your example, your counsel, your sympathy, or your prayers. Be not deceived, as I have frequently been, by thinking you have not prudence or skill sufficient for the occasion. We are not called to any duty for which divine wisdom cannot qualify us; and much of our fancied humility may be traced to our indifference.

LETTER VII.

TO THE SAME.

Soon, my dear Ann, you will become a parent. Then you will be able more fully to appreciate that pathetic declaration, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." When you know a mother's feelings, it will *appear* impossible for you, for a moment, to forget your dear infant. Remember, then, my love, for your consolation, it is *really* impossible that your Almighty parent should fail in his kindness towards you. I hope your soul is in perfect peace, being stayed on God. How soon will events that now engage us so completely, cease to interest! Shortly, very shortly, the only great concern will be, whether we are ready for the appearing of the Lord, and what we have done for his glory. May we live *now* as we shall desire to have lived *then!*

F——— often occupies my thoughts! I ardently wish its prosperity. Let every thought of your minister, my dear, be turned into prayer. Ah! we little know all they have to combat with. If we

are dead or lifeless, the effect is trifling; but if they are so, all feel it—all discover it; and if this discovery invariably urged us to wrestle with God on behalf of his servants, what a change might we frequently witness in our families and our churches. Send me word on what evening the poor people assemble for their lecture. I like to meet them *in spirit*.

LETTER VIII.

TO MISS H———.

My dearest L———: To-day my prospect has been bounded by the opposite houses; my walk has been the length of the room in which I sit; and yet, perhaps, I have enjoyed the works of nature in imaginary rambles, as much as those who have actually taken them. How great are the pleasures of imagination! How kind is our Creator in allowing us so many sources of delight! Exquisite, indeed, was my pleasure while strolling down the shady lanes of Frampton, listening to the music of the birds, or the gentle rippling of the water, surveying the yellow grain, and the busy laborers gathering it in their bosoms.

It has been justly observed, that solitude and silence, properly enjoyed, exalt the mind above its natural tone, fire the imagination, and prepare it for the most sublime and exalted conceptions. Retirement gives birth to new and undefined emotions; but when every thing else is favorable to his happiness, without the smiles of his Heavenly Father the Christian's enjoyments are scarcely worth the name. It is the combination of spiritual and intellectual delights, that can transport and satisfy his longing spirit! Let us endeavor, my dear friend, to connect every thing with God.

If we are contented to pass through the present state as pilgrims, we shall meet with much to refresh and gratify us; but if we attempt to rest in the wilderness, we shall soon feel a thorn in our pillow. You did not say whether you went to the Sunday-school, or whether you were able to drop a few tracts in your journey. If beautiful scenery elevates and expands the heart, may our increasing sensibility discover itself in our fervent love to Jesus, and in our simple-hearted efforts to promote the interests of our fellow-creatures!

LETTER IX.

TO HER BROTHER.

And does my dearest brother love me? Cheering assurance! There is nothing of which I am more confident, yet nothing I delight more to be told. O, it is pleasing to dwell on the love of a brother! What, then, should we feel in dwelling on the love of a Saviour!

I am now seated in *your* study, and you can hardly tell the pleasure this simple circumstance occasions. Since you did not tell me what book I should read next, I have ventured to begin Allison on Taste. I love knowledge for its own sake; but I wish also to acquire information, that I may be worthy to be called your sister.

The sun shines delightfully this morning; I hope you and dear E. are able to enjoy its beams. When you said she was poorly, I was wishing to be with her, to pay her any little attentions she might require. Were I to indulge my feelings, how I should amplify in my wishes for you; but I forbear, well knowing the expression of our attachment must be restrained and regulated in order to be valuable. When clothed in *action*, however, it never ceases to be agreeable; and in this way will I ever seek to discover the affection of my spirit.

I heard Mr. K—— this evening with much pleasure. Every sentence he uttered was weighty. Good man! his race is almost run, and very soon he will be gathered to his fathers. The young minister, who is all zeal in the service of his Master, and the aged veteran, who has borne the heat and burden of the day, excite peculiar emotions; for one we pray much, for the other our souls are melted into gratitude. There were some excellent petitions offered up for you, in which I most heartily united. How could we live at a distance from those who were dear to us as life itself, if we are not permitted to indulge our affection for them at the throne of Mercy?

Pray, my dearest brother, that my life may be a *useful one*. I would fain be like a gentle stream, that glides quietly through the vale, refreshing and fertilizing wherever it goes?

LETTER X.

TO MRS. B———.

A happy, a prosperous year to you, my beloved friend, in every sense, but especially in a spiritual one! How long it is since I heard from you! The occupations of life press on us, and steal away our time; so that, at the close of each successive week, we are ready to exclaim, Can it be Saturday? How perpetually, too, are we constrained to lament, that the things of time and earth have engrossed too large a portion of our attention! If we are conscious of misimproving the past, let us seek to be doubly diligent in future. A *new* year is commenced: what *new* plans of doing good can we form? What is most likely to increase our zeal in the pursuit of those which exist already? Are there not some individuals over whom we possess a degree of influence, which has not been *sufficiently* exerted? Are there not many for whom we have not done all we *might* do? O how little do Christians *go out of their way* for the good of souls! How little do they evince the Spirit of Him who *came* to seek and to save that which was lost! Blessed Jesus, make us, and make all thy people, increasingly like thyself!

LETTER XI.

TO HER BROTHER.

It is Wednesday night, my beloved brother: consequently I am a little out of spirits, because I cannot fly to the chapel. I hope, however, to cheer myself by a few moments converse with you.

First, permit me to return my sincere thanks for your very kind loan of Stewart, especially as you may have sacrificed some pleasure in foregoing his delightful society. But while to offer thanks may be most gratifying to myself, I am aware that, to a heart like yours, it will be a higher gratification to know that the perusal has afforded me no small pleasure. Among other benefits I hope to derive from it, is a more profound veneration for the Author of my intellectual faculties. I wish to cultivate my rational powers, that I may form more enlarged views of the Divine Being, and that I may have another talent to dedicate to his service. O, my dear brother, what an exalted motive does religion supply to every pursuit!

LETTER XII.

TO MISS N———.

Now, then, my dear Maria, for a little chat. I suppose you are often affectionately saying, "I should like to know how Martha is going on." Well, my dear, I will endeavor to tell you; and for once will write "a great deal about myself." I at-

tend to my physician's advice, and walk twice a day. This morning I crept slowly down a lane, which commands on one side a very fine prospect. Every now and then my book was shut, and I gazed around me like one enamored. Then I looked within, and said—

> The stillness of this hour expels
> All tumult from my breast.

Yes, my dear, I felt invigorated by the pure air, and tranquillized by the delightful scenery. Then I leaned on a bridge, contemplating the present, the past, and the future. I thought of the Hand that had led me all my life long, and hoped I should never be unwilling to submit to its guidance, whether the path it shall select for me be rough or smooth. I then sauntered home, but not without feeling grateful to my dear parents for all their kindness.

So much for the passing day: now for something more substantial. To-morrow is the Sabbath. O, my dear, how fast is time rolling away! It is a common observation, but how little does it *affect* us! Let it not only solemnize our minds, but comfort them. The faster time flows, the sooner we hope to be released from sin, and admitted to the presence of our Lord. Is the time short? then let us do what we do with all diligence; not waiting, as I am apt to do, for great occasions of usefulness, but seizing with avidity all the lesser ones that offer; remembering that, as by repeated touches of the pencil, the artist completes the piece which remains to be admired for ages, so by a multiplicity of exertions, in themselves apparently trivial, we may hope finally to promote, in no small degree, the good of our fellow-sinners and the glory of our Lord.

You say, my dear, I tell you but little about my Sabbaths. Shall I explain the reason. I do not like the language of complaint, and therefore I am silent. Indeed I have cause to be very jealous of myself, lest I should sink into carelessness and indifference of spirit. I well remember ——'s saying, "One of the causes of declension in religion is, our attendance on a ministry by which we are not benefited." But let me not forget to remind you of the kindness of God. He has said, "the soul of the righteous shall not famish;" and I have never gone looking to him but I have received a portion.

LETTER XIII.

TO HER YOUNGER BROTHER.

MY DEAR BROTHER:—You are kind enough to solicit a frequent correspondence; and I comply with this request the more cheerfully, because it affords me an opportunity of expressing those sisterly feelings, which, at the present eventful period of your life, cannot fail to pervade my heart.

I feel that you are about to enter on the stage of life for yourself. I feel that your character is about to be stamped: and I am anxious, anxious with all the tenderness of a sister, for that character to be stamped by respectability and eminent piety. We have a brother,

* * * * * * * *

Let us not disgrace him by neglecting to improve any opportunity either for our intellectual or spiritual advantage. We have parents who watch our conduct with inexpressible solicitude. O that their last days may be cheered and comforted, by seeing their children steadily pursuing their footsteps!

I am well aware that your heart joins with mine in fervently wishing that you may be the ornament and honor of your family; but how is this desirable end to be brought about? By uniting *fervent prayer* with *diligent exertion*. I need not inform you, my dear brother, that we cannot arrive at excellence of any description by sudden starts: it is only by patient, assiduous, and constant efforts. We shall doubtless meet with many obstacles in the path of duty, and many temptations to draw us aside; still, however, let us remember, as a constant incentive to our endeavors, *that the eye of God is on us.*

When depressed by innumerable difficulties, arising from ill health and want of time, I have been encouraged to persevere afresh, by reflecting that my efforts for self-cultivation were not for *time* but for *eternity*. O, my brother, never let us be contented with merely passing through life *without doing any harm*; but let us rather be ambitious of resisting all evil—of doing much good! Thus shall we manifest, that we are no common enemies of sin and Satan, nor common friends to the present and eternal interests of our fellow-creatures.

I enclose "Taylor on Self-cultivation." I trust you pray for me, that I may be a blessing in this place. Great, indeed, are my privations; but I am comforted by the hope, that perhaps God will render me the instrument of promoting his glory. Write as soon and as much as you can.

Your ever affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XIV.

TO MRS. B———.

I THINK, my dear friends, of your kindness by day and dream of it by night. May the Father of Mercies recompense all your affection. Poor Mrs. M—— is fast declining. O how much we suffer from the transitory nature of terrestrial good. At five-and-twenty we look around for the friends who cheered us at sixteen; but—where are they? Where are they? *Not lost*, my Ann; they are only gone before us to their heavenly home. O to view every thing in the light of faith, and not in those gloomy shades which unbelief throws over the actions of the Divine Providence!

LETTER XV.

TO THE SAME.

Now, my dear Ann, you must imagine me in a snug cottage, far away from the bustle of the town, and removed even from the little noise of the village street. In fact, the quietude which reigns here would often lead me to suppose myself really at F——, did I not look in vain for the countenances which greeted me in that peaceful spot.

Here my companions are a good-natured widow, and my faithful attendant Maria. Their kindness is a remembrance of yours. I visit but little; and the principal guests I entertain are some fine rosy children. They often beguile my solitary moments; and when I can indulge a hope of doing good to them, I can think of home without a sigh. O the word home! how many ideas does it recall to mind! how many tender regrets does it occasion! and, in defiance of all our efforts to look on the bright side, how many sighs escape us! Well, we will think of our eternal home; we will meditate on its ecstatic pleasures—on their nature and durability, till our spirits learn even to rejoice in tribulation, since we are assured that our light afflictions prepare us for a weight of glory.

O, my dear friends, what heights of piety have been attained by some of those who are now in the presence of their Lord, even in circumstances less favorable to religion than ours!—and what forbids our reaching the same eminence? Let us pray more fervently for each other.

LETTER XVI.

TO MISS N———.

My dearest M——:—I was concerned to hear you had not received the attentions from * * * * which you expected. Let me remind you, my dear, of what you already know, that every individual has his own standard of kindness, and by that he is regulated. We must not permit ourselves to every occasion to think how *we* should have acted; but remember, that what would be real unkindness in us is not so possibly in the case of another person, who views the subject in a different light. After all, however, we are often unable to repress a sigh at the little attention paid by the generality of persons to the finer feelings of the heart. The truth is, we are by nature *selfish;* and it is only in proportion as religion prevails in the soul, that it becomes benevolent, and concerned to promote the happiness of every human being in every possible way.

It is our felicity to know, that a capacity for doing good is by no means confined to the learned; so far from it, they are often tempted to devote that time to literary pursuits which ought to be employed in the active duties of benevolence. Moderate talents, like small coin, may be brought into use every hour; while those talents we so often wish to enjoy, can perhaps be seldom turned to advantage, except for the gratification of the possessor. Indeed, I have often asked myself with severity, Why do I so much lament not having enjoyed the advantages which others possess? Is it because I could have done more good than is now in my power? Foolish reasoning! does not my Creator know best what means are necessary to fit me for the station he designs? Let me, then, in this, as well as in every thing else, acquiesce in his will, while I diligently strive to improve the opportunities he has bestowed. By the vigilant improvement of one talent, it may be increased sevenfold. Part of our discipline here, my love, is to learn contentment; and, to render this more easy in an intellectual sense, let us remember the period is fast arriving when we shall be perfect in knowledge.

I know of no species of knowledge which may not in some way, or at some time, be consecrated to the service of the Most High. It is an insult to the Almighty, while we profess to devote our talents to his honor, to let them lie aside and rust. Unworthy, indeed, is the most highly cultivated intellect of his acceptance; yet we know He will graciously accept the surrender of the meanest. Let us labor to render our intellectual faculties as little unworthy of an offering to him as possible.

LETTER XVII.

TO MRS. ■———.

After your very long silence, my dear Ann, your letter was exceedingly welcome; but really I must not be put off as I have been. I shall most certainly call on Mr. B. to interpose his authority, unless I perceive an immediate reformation. Seriously, though, my dear friend, I am too much interested in your welfare not to be anxious for you to be a good correspondent.

Happy am I to hear such a good account of you and the family. What is the infant's name? I hope dear William's mamma will be no way concerned, that he does not yet begin to display his eloquence; she must remember that many have been long before they began to speak; but then, in after life they have often abundantly compensated for their delay by speaking much to the purpose. How I should like to have been present at the baptism. May all the petitions offered be abundantly fulfilled.

I have done myself the pleasure of working you a flounce. May you feel half the pleasure in wearing it which I have realized from your last token of affection. Indeed, I often think of the kindness I received from you and dear Mr. B.; and when depressed by long absence from almost all who are dear to me, I transport myself to F——, once more take my seat at your hospitable board, and listen to the supplications at the family altar. May the fire of devotion ever burn bright and clear on that altar, and the sacrifice of praise ascend to your heavenly Father, like incense perfumed in the merits of the dear Redeemer. Ah, my dear Ann, we sometimes think wealth important, health important, ease important; but, after all, what is there of any importance, compared to walking closely with God? Let us then aim, my dear, so to enjoy our comforts as to be led nearer to God by them, and let us cheerfully resign them when called upon, knowing that in all our sorrows, privations, and conflicts, Jehovah designs the good of our spirits. I have lately suffered so much from pain, that I am the more gratified to hear of your health. I hope that invaluable blessing will be long continued to you. Since I last wrote, I have been much better; but within this fortnight unpleasant symptoms have returned, and I fear—

After this statement, I need not tell you that I suffer both by night and day; but O, my dear friend, it is in the hour of suffering that we experience most of the tender compassion of our Saviour. Pray that I may glorify him under all circumstances.

> "How short are all our trials here,
> How light is every cross."

Give each of the dear little ones a kiss for us. May the blessing of the Almighty rest on them and on their parents!

Your truly affectionate
Martha.

LETTER XVIII.

TO MISS H———.

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I need not inform you, my dear, that some of the adverse scenes of life are literally *trials.* They try the character. They reveal that character both to ourselves and others. Sometimes they call for the utmost strength of mind, the greatest self-denial, and the constant exercise of prudence. If the individual possess none of these qualities, or possess them only in a small degree, the mind becomes enervated, and perhaps never recovers its proper tone. On the contrary, if these qualities are brought into action, they are strengthened, and the whole character becomes far more exalted.

* * * You complain, my dear, of want of time. Now, I do not exactly know how you distribute it; but I certainly agree with you, that it is very desirable to appropriate some part of every day to the cultivation of your mind. In attempting this, you must not be discouraged. Remember, my dear, it is not *crowding* the mind that makes us wise; hence, many who have comparatively little leisure, have more real knowledge than others, who have all their time at their disposal. In one instance, knowledge has time to take root; in the other, one plant is continually preventing the growth of another. It is frequently found, that where there has been most blossom there has been the least fruitfulness. Let us always endeavor to discriminate between a well cultivated mind and an overburdened memory. * * *

O, when shall I be able to be actively employed in the service of God? I am resigned and thank-

ful for my present comparative ease, because I hope it will fit me for doing some good at a future period. If, however, I am not favored with the ability, pray, my dear, that I may never want the inclination. * * *

LETTER XIX.

TO MRS. B——.

HAPPINESS attend you, my dear friend! It really appears a long time since I held communion with you through this medium; so I believe I must even indulge myself with scribbling a letter, especially as I hope it will be the means of obtaining a benefit. Yes, my dear friends, I have a favor to ask of you. I want your special prayers. After Christmas I am going to take a few little girls for the purpose of undertaking their education. I feel it is something to engage to impart knowledge, even of the lowest description; but what is that, compared to cultivating the understanding and the heart, with a view to the eternal welfare of the immortal spirit! Pray for me, my dear friends, that in this and every other pursuit I may glorify our God and Saviour. * * *

LETTER XX.

TO HER BROTHER.

IT is enough, my dearest brother—I will try to wait patiently, and say, with you, The will of the Lord be done. These few words, "It is the Lord!" seem to me omnipotent. They hush the loudest storm. I suppose, before you receive this, dear E. will have left Cannon-street. I shall long for the time when you will meet at S——; and hope the pain of separation will be amply compensated by the pleasure you will enjoy at your retreat. As for me, I must be comforted by the idea of your happiness. O the rest of heaven! who can tell what it will be after the common toils of life, but especially after pastoral anxieties and sorrows! Ah, my brother, how often I think what he must be called to endure. * * *

LETTER XXI.

TO THE SAME.

AH, it was all in vain! The hearth was touched and re-touched in vain; the fire was made to blaze in vain; in vain the dinner was prepared, and the homely dessert was spread! He came not to cheer our spirits and strengthen our faith. Well, the weather is bad, and perhaps he might have taken cold; so I will even bear my disappointment as heroically as I can.

I believe, however, I must begin by confessing, that notwithstanding all my efforts, my spirits are lower than usual. I hoped, and hoped; but here is the very day come that I thought would open to me a scene of usefulness, and provide me with the means of comfort; but my hopes are disappointed. Pray for me!

Well, we will change the subject. Do you wish to take a peep at us just as we are at this moment? Here is Miss C—— at the desk, F—— sitting by the drawers, working away briskly. Charley is on my bed, playing with a few toys, and calling out every minute, Look, look, look, at which I have enough to do to express my feigned astonishment. Andrew is at the table building a house, and taking a geometrical lesson; by-the-by, I should tell you how learned we are. No, no, I will not boast. I must not tell you how carefully we cultivate the heart and the understanding; nor what pains we take to draw forth the affections, regulate the temper, fix the attention, quicken the perceptions, strengthen the memory, &c. But here is Mrs. D. with some plums for the little ones.

What heart that feels and knows any thing of love, but is refreshed and soothed by the simplicity of childhood! O to be as a little child! My dear baby, I am so glad to hear she is pretty well; and yet I seem to grudge her growth, when I cannot mark her daily progress; but I am consoled for this loss by knowing that she comforts you. Her brothers talk of her; and many a fair dream, my dearest brother and sister, no doubt we mutually indulge, as we look forward and see these little creatures spring into life. May Almighty God bless them, and make them blessings, is all the full heart can utter. And surely God will bless them; yes, he will.

LETTER XXII.

TO MRS. B——.

MY BELOVED ANN—You will be surprised to hear that I have relinquished my intention of receiving pupils; not, indeed, from choice, but from necessity. It is no small disappointment, at the moment I was hoping to live to some useful purpose, to be thrown back into a state of unusual infirmity and partial helplessness. My days and my nights are wearisome; but we know affliction springeth not from the dust. Pray for me, that the language of my heart may ever be, "The will of the Lord be done!"

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LETTER XXIII.

TO MISS H——.

THE pain I am enduring would, my dearest L——, form a ready excuse for my silence, if I felt less affection for you than I do; but as it is, while I can guide the pen, it must be employed in your service. Indeed, my weakness makes me more anxious to write; for I long for you, my love, to be benefited by my afflictions.

God Almighty bless you, my dear, and help you to view all compromises with the world in the light that sickness, death, and judgment throw upon them! Let us beware of approaching to the *verge* of what we may suppose to be innocent. Let us remember, that whatever destroys our sobriety of mind and renders us unfit for communion with God, is dangerous, highly dangerous.

Pardon me this strain, but I am jealous of you. * * *

LETTER XXIV.

TO HER YOUNGER BROTHER.

MY DEAREST BROTHER—I am not able to write to you, but I avail myself of a hand which is ever at my service. Much it relieved the anxiety I felt on your account, to see you and hear from your own lips that you were comfortable. I think of you while lying on the bed or reclining on the chair. I think of you, and the ardent wish of my heart is, that you may be useful; useful by your exertions, your example, and your prayers. I, alas, can do no good. I am laid aside early in life; but you, my brother, have still the prize of health, with all its advantages, in your hand. May Jehovah bear me while I pray, that you may make the most diligent use of them, and that my affliction may stir you up to renewed devotedness. I know well how to sympathize in the changes you have experienced; but be of good cheer; for though the ways of Providence are mysterious, they are ways of love; and ere a few years have rolled away, you will give thanks for those trials which seem the most severe.

I have had the advice of an eminent surgeon: sometimes I think he may be of service to me; but

I am more inclined to fear, that neither medicine nor regimen can be of much use. Pray for me, my dear P——, that I may patiently suffer the will of God. Give thanks for me, also, that in this hour of suffering I have so much to alleviate its pangs. How I long to be of service to you; but I cannot. Well, my brother, you must take the will for the deed; and when Providence has prepared your mind, I hope you will be indulged with a competent portion of the good things of this life. Evening draws on, and admonishes me to close. Adieu, my dearest P——; may all the wishes of a sister's heart alight on you!

Your ever affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXV.

TO MRS. B———.

MY DEAR FRIEND—That part of your letter relative to the Sunday school gave me real pleasure. I assure you, before twelve months are elapsed, I expect to have the gratification of hearing that you rival us. Expect much, my dear, and then you are likely to pray for much; and where much is asked, much will be given. After all, the best plans will go but a very little way towards the prosperity of a school. Its teachers must be persons of prayer, persons whose minds are deeply impressed with their infinite obligations to redeeming love, and who are anxiously concerned to bring the dear children to Jesus. Let this, my dear, be our constant aim, and then, though we should see no fruit year after year, we need not be discouraged, knowing who hath said, "In due time ye shall reap if ye faint not." Those who sow in the youthful mind must in general wait long ere the seed spring up; but oh, when the time of reaping comes, who does not exclaim, "This is worth all our exertions, all our prayers, and all our tears?" Similar to this were my feelings lately, when I saw one of our scholars go forward to the sacred board.

With this I send the rules we adopt. The accompanying papers are pasted on boards, and hung up at the head of each class. By this means all the children are taught at once, and considerable time is saved for their spiritual instruction.

Winter is making rapid advances. How admirably the changing seasons are adapted to impress our spirits with a sense of our own mortality; and surely if we are properly affected with this consideration, it will lead us to self-examination.

It is long since we met. A winter and a summer have passed away.

During this period what advances have we made in faith, in holiness, in love, in humility, in penitence, in spirituality, in gratitude, in meekness? For myself, I have deeply to lament, that, notwithstanding the rich culture I enjoy, I am continually compelled to exclaim, "My leanness, my leanness!" Yet I hope I have learned to exercise more dependance on the Saviour. As we see more of ourselves, my dear friend, Jesus will be more precious in our eyes. Let us rejoice that God has promised to complete his work; and that we have not been permitted to return to the world. If we have any desires for communion with him, any faith in the Redeemer, any dependance on the Holy Spirit, let us praise him for his past goodness, and supplicate still larger blessings.

Remember me very kindly to Mr. B———, and tell him, if you can, how anxious I am for his prosperity.

May the Lord bless you temporally and spiritually, and finally administer to you individually an abundant entrance to his everlasting kingdom.

Yours, affectionately, MARTHA.

LETTER XXVI.

TO MR. B———.

DEAR SIR—I am obliged to you for your very kind remembrance of me. It is indeed no small privilege to have a share in the good wishes and fervent prayers of the excellent of the earth.

I was much concerned to hear of your repeated afflictions. May those consolations you so benevolently wish for others, be ever realized by yourself and your dear family, in the hour of perplexity and sorrow. I long to hear how the concern fares in which you have recently engaged. Permit me to wish, that the blessing of the Almighty may rest on all the labors of your hands.

I feel much my absence from that dear spot in which you are so deeply interested. May I solicit you to supplicate not only that I may be blessed here, but made a blessing! O how fast is life passing away, and as yet how little have I done or suffered for the Redeemer!

I hope ere this you are able to renew your work of love among the dear children. I believe many of them are more attentive to your exhortations than you allow yourself to imagine. May the seed which has been sown with so much care, take deep root, and finally spring up to yield an abundant harvest; and in that great day, when hidden things shall be made manifest, may it appear that your sacrifices, your anxieties, and your prayers were by no means in vain. In that day, how many will bitterly regret, that they made no more sacrifices for the good of souls! but, who will regret that they made too many? O to act, to think, and to speak as having that day ever in view! Then, when we meet the Redeemer, may we be felicitated by hearing him say, "I was ignorant, and ye instructed me; sick, and ye visited me."

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. B. May the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, rest on you! Yours, respectfully,

MARTHA REED.

LETTER XXVII.

TO MISS H———R.

WITH what cheerfulness, my dear Miss H., should I take up my pen, might I hope to be of any service to you. But what arguments can I use that have not been used? What promise can I point out to you with which you are not already acquainted? I can sympathize with you, I can pray for you; but alas! what can I do more? Yet I must write a few lines, merely to show you, that though it is not in my power, yet it is in my will to comfort you. One cause of your present distress I doubt not is your viewing the character of the Deity in a wrong light, or looking at some of his perfections to the exclusion of others. Surely you have forgotten that the Divine Being is love. Ah, do not, I beseech you, think of him merely as an inexorable judge; but think of him as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Be thankful, my dear, that you feel your need of the Saviour; and wait patiently till he reveals to you your personal interest in the covenant of his grace. Many eminent saints have been suffered to walk in darkness for years; but what sinner did we ever hear of, who wished to be made holy and accepted through the Redeemer, that was finally rejected?

As it relates to your departed relative, let me beg you to endeavor to dismiss the subject. When once an individual has quitted our world, it is not for us to decide on his state. I hope and believe, that God will render the preaching of his word effectual to your comfort and consolation.

I well recollect being in a similar state of mind to yours. Fearfulness came upon me, and horror

overwhelmed me. I chose death rather than life. But God watched over me, and caused this darkness gradually to subside. Let his goodness to me encourage you. Do not be dismayed if you cannot ascertain one evidence of Christian character.—Come to Jesus as a sinner. If he seem to disregard you, tell him (for he kindly permits us to do this) he has promised to cast out none. Wait on him, and whatever you doubt, *doubt* not his willingness to save. Time forbids my adding more. May he bless you with peace, and make your latter end to increase greatly. Yours affectionately,

MARTHA REED.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO MISS B ———.

PERMIT me, my dearest Eliza, to express the sympathy I feel for you under your present trial.—Thanks be to God, you are no stranger to the source of true consolation. Let me, however, remind you of the sympathy of Jesus—a sympathy inconceivable and inexhaustible. Remember, my dear, the character he sustains. He bears the name of friend, of father, of elder brother. And ah, how well does he fulfil the tender relationships they imply. It is beyond the power of man, it is beyond the power of angels, to describe his faithfulness as a friend, his care as a father, his tenderness as a brother. O that you may be enabled, under this and every trial, to contemplate the Saviour as yours in all his characters. I know not that I can wish you a greater blessing. But is it necessary for *me* to remind you of the sympathies of Jesus? O no, it is already done by every thing around you. Yes, we *see*, we *feel*, his tenderness in the trifling occurrences of each passing day; in the looks, the words, the actions of our associates. We see it in their smiles, we feel it in their progress. What shall we render to that God, who has brought to light those joys which endure for ever, and opened a new and living way to his heavenly habitation! There the inhabitant shall no more say, I am sick, and the days of his mourning shall be ended.

I am not much better; the winter is unfavorable to me. I wish, however, to commit myself patiently to God, and wait his will. Be assured your joys and sorrows are ever mine.

Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXIX.

TO THE SAME.

THE evening is lovely, the sky looks beautiful and serene; how much I should like a gentle ramble with you, my dear friend, over some of the delightful hills by which you are surrounded. Well, it is of little consequence, if we do but meet together in the heavenly world.

It is nearly seven years since our friendship commenced. Have we assisted each other as much as we possibly could in the way of holiness? Have the trials we have mutually suffered increased our patience, our meekness, and Christian charity? Have our mercies filled us with gratitude, and led us to a simple reliance on the providence of God? Alas! I feel compelled to exclaim with the poet,

"O how exceeding short I fall
Of what I ought to be!"

I have left my dearest brother's, and it has cost me more than I ever thought it would; but I can and do rejoice in his happiness, though I have no longer the felicity of watching his looks and obeying the language of his eye. O that I may learn wisdom from the pain I have so deeply felt, in being repeatedly separated from those in whom my life seemed bound up. Ah, there is a melancholy pleasure in retracing those paths which I have trod with anguish, and in fancying I once more behold those spots which have witnessed my sorrows. Alas, for me, that I feel so indifferent to Him who is my redeemer, my life, my all! Pray that I may love him with all my soul, and mind, and strength; that I may so love him, as not to be able to enter into society, without endeavoring to kindle around me this holy flame, nor to give rest to my spirit, while there remains a human being over whom I have *any* influence, who is unacquainted with his matchless glories! Do not let us exclaim, as the language of *despair*, What can *we* do? but let us utter this exclamation *in faith*, and God will find us employment. Adieu, my dear; send me particulars of yourself, and a piece of spar for my chimney-piece, that I may look at it, and say, It came from my friend. Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXX.

TO THE SAME.

MUCH as I am pressed for time, I cannot but write a few lines to you, my dear friend, in hope they will reach you before your departure. I rejoice that you can ask for the fulfilment of that gracious promise, "I will never leave nor forsake thee." O that you may at all times feel your interest in it, and then you will be able to go any where, or become any thing, with cheerfulness and gratitude. Rest assured you are always the subject of my sympathy and my prayers. Supplicate for me that I may live to the glory of God. I feel that I am nothing; but this should not discourage me, for Jehovah can make the meanest vessel a vessel of honor.

Farewell, my dear. May the angel of the covenant guide you, and send you prosperity!

Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXXI.

TO THE SAME.

I FEEL much indebted to you, my dear friend, for your kind inquiries and your affectionate solicitude for my beloved father. Last Thursday he was able to sit up for a few hours, and since then he has made considerable progress. What renders his recovery the more remarkable is, that only a few days ago we received information from * * * * quite sufficient to retard his amendment. Thus mercifully is the Lord dealing with us! Let us wait upon him, and be of good courage. He who is so ready to communicate spiritual blessings, will not withhold from us any good thing.

I can say but little of my own health. Last Wednesday I was seized with a violent pain in the optic nerves, which affected my sight; and soon after, the whole of that side was attacked with a dead stupid feeling. After this statement, I need scarcely tell you I am in constant danger of a stroke; but, my dear, I am in the hands of God, and that is enough, quite enough! Excuse this short letter from Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXXII.

TO THE SAME.

MY DEAR FRIEND—It gave me great concern to hear of your illness. I hope you are by this time completely restored. You have, indeed, proved, that it is through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom. Well you have proved, also, that our God is faithfulness and truth. I hope you are enjoying much of the divine presence, or, if you are

walking in darkness, that you are still staying yourself on the Lord. My Sabbaths here are my worst days. I sigh, but sigh in vain, for those privileges with which I was once favored. Pray for me that my present trials may be sanctified so as to cause the seed, long since sown, to spring up, and bring forth much fruit.

May the Almighty bless you, my dear, and cause you to prosper more and more till you are dismissed from this vale of tears, and admitted to the joy of your Lord.

Glorious period! blessed are those sorrows which prepare us for its approach. Your affectionate

MARTHA.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL.

October 13, 1813. A gentleman related at the dinner-table the experience of a pious woman who is recently dead. I lamented in myself the want of that humility which shone so conspicuously in her. If I had more humility I should not have such hard thoughts of God.

24. The time appears long since I saw my family. O to be enabled to look forward by faith to the period when we shall enjoy the unceasing smiles of Jehovah, and the society of all our friends.

27. Had no opportunity for private devotion, which affected my spirits through the day, and prevented me from fully enjoying its public services.

—— Slept at Mr. L.'s, and took the opportunity of conversing with the servant. O for greater zeal in the service of God!

28. I am now in the way to W———. The road is finely interspersed with hill and vale. While admiring them, I found it hard to set my affections on things above. My soul is almost lifeless. O for the special influence of the Holy Spirit, that I may enjoy communion with Jehovah.

30. Last night we travelled across P——. From the hill we had a fine view of the sea and surrounding country. There we were benighted, and hardly escaped a precipice, not being able to distinguish the road; but my mind was preserved from alarm, trusting in Him who watcheth over his people at all times. Descending the hill the horse fell, but we were not injured. These occurrences forcibly reminded me of the Christian's journey through life. May the tender providence of God preserve us from all the dangers of the wilderness.

November 3. I have been in much pain lately. O that I may learn to be more thankful for health and ease!

5. A friend who promised to take me to the Sunday school has neglected to call, and I am disappointed. How important it is to seize every means of doing good. I seem, in reviewing the past, to have lived only to myself. Lord, quicken me, and grant that I may return to my own dear little pupils with renewed devotedness! I trust this separation has made me more solicitous for their spiritual welfare. O that I may have a deeper sense of my own insufficiency; and then, if God permit me to be useful, I shall freely ascribe to him all the glory. Lord, revive my love to thyself, and help me to abound in love to my fellow-creatures.

10. The Sabbath has past. In the evening the text was, "Call upon me in the day of trouble." I need to be often reminded of this delightful obligation. O to be favored with clear and scriptural views of the Almighty, so that every hard thought may be for ever done away! Who could hope to overcome such powerful enemies as the Christian has to contend with, had not God engaged to bring him safely through? but since he has promised to defend his people, who shall dare to despair? What a comfort, to be assured that God is on our side! Have I, however, any right to this consolation? I am often at a loss to discover any resemblance to the Saviour. If I do resemble him, the likeness is faint indeed; and yet I would still be aiming at the mark, and pressing forward for the prize.

12. Since I have been from home, I think I have learned to set a higher value on the means of grace. May I never forget, that, where much is given, much will be required. Truly I have been fed with the finest of the wheat! I expect to reach home in a few days. From this period may I patiently suffer, and cheerfully obey the will of God! O my Father, fulfil my *spiritual* desires; as to my temporal concerns, I would have no will but thine.

What an unfeeling heart I possess; my ingratitude overwhelms me. Lord, undertake for me!

17. What a changing scene is this! Parting from some friends and saluting others. Be anxious, then, my soul, more than ever, to prepare for that world where there is no change!

18. What a variety there is in nature—we had some delightful prospects to-day! If our world is so beautiful, what must heaven be? Why, then, have I so little inclination to dwell upon its glories!

> "Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings—
> Thy better portion trace."

19. Arrived at home in safety. O for gratitude to our preserving God! How innumerable have been thy mercies while away! How many calamities might have befallen me! O that the kindness of Jehovah may influence my spirit!

20. Went to the funeral of a person to-day, who for some years previous to his death was blind and deranged. May I learn from this to be thankful that I am exempted from such awful calamities!

23. My mind is much relieved. I came home full of anxiety; but God has dissipated my fears, and in the day of temptation he has made a way for my escape. How *seasonable* is divine assistance! Help me, O Lord, to be very thankful for all thy mercies.

24. I am afraid I do not cordially approve the plan of salvation. This compels me to say, "Lord, search my heart, and try me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

25. My mind was much impressed this morning with the shortness of life; consequently I saw more beauty in the figures employed by the sacred writers when they describe its vanity. We may well be compared to a *shadow*, and the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cut down! How consolatory is the thought that Jehovah is the same, and that his years change not.

26. How sadly impatient I am at a trifling indisposition. O that I could properly feel my dependance upon God! Health and all our comforts are at his disposal. This is a pleasurable reflection. Does he behold me cleaving to the earth, and depending on the streams instead of the fountain, he can immediately imbitter them, or cause them to be dried up! Does he behold me bowed down with sorrow, and distracted by disappointments, how soon can he scatter every cloud, and lead me by a way I knew not. Do I believe this?—then let me confide in Jehovah, and fear nothing. O how elevated is the Christian's life, when he lives up to his privileges!

29. My mind has been much harassed of late with spiritual enemies, and anxiety for those who are dear to me. But I hope God has imparted a confidence in himself that will still bear me up. To-morrow is the Sabbath; and on that hallowed day I trust we shall experience the renewal of our spiritual strength.

—— I am very weary to-night. What a mercy to have a bed to lie on, and reason to hope I shall

have a good night's rest. Blessed Spirit, deign to prepare my heart for the morrow: favor us with such a view of the Saviour's glories as shall overwhelm us with love and gratitude! May self be subdued at the foot of the cross to rise no more; there may our souls find a settled peace! May temptations lose their power, while we are enabled to praise the Lord, and go forward!

—— It is time to prepare for the solemnities of the morrow; to dismiss worldly thoughts, and contemplate my approaching duties. First, I am to instruct the children; let me seek to have my mind deeply impressed with the value of their souls; let me pray fervently for wisdom to communicate instruction with cheerfulness, affection, and simplicity, remembering that my utmost efforts can avail nothing without the divine blessing. Next, I am to hear the word of God; and since I stand in so much need of instruction, let me endeavor to hear with greater attention and prayerfulness. But this is not all; I am about to attend that ordinance which, above all others, has a tendency to subdue the powerful corruptions of my nature. Blessed Spirit, condescend to prepare me, by thy special influence, for these important solemnities.

Saturday morning. The Sabbath will shortly be here; how ought I to prepare for it? By fervent prayer, holy meditation, and leaving nothing undone of a worldly nature that would molest me. Is this, then, how I ought to prepare for the day of rest? Alas, how little I meditate! and when I attempt it, what disinclination I sometimes feel! O for repentance when I consider the past, and deep spirituality for the future. Amen.

—— How distressing to hear of the beauties of Jesus with eyes almost closed to them, and a heart, in a great measure, indifferent to his excellences! My fears at present rise high; but I know Jehovah is gracious and full of compassion. May we at all times *practically* believe it.

—— What cause have we as a church for thankfulness! Let me be careful that I am not satisfied with belonging to a prosperous body, without being myself in a flourishing condition.

—— O that I had but a right view of the character of Jehovah! I have been distressed all this day for the want of it.

—— In what a variety of ways may our comfort be destroyed; and when the mind is uncomfortable from outward circumstances, it is frequently unfitted for devotion, and thus spiritual troubles enter. What should we do at such times without the assurance that Jehovah constantly watches over us, and is never at a loss to accomplish our deliverance?

—— When Jehovah does not see fit to fulfil our wishes, how thankful we ought to be for any degree of acquiescence in his will.

—— This morning I enjoyed much in prayer, but alas! I soon found that spiritual pride had crept in. How transporting it is to think of being for ever free from sin! O that I may not fall short of that happiness!

—— Quite in a low mood this morning. I was thinking that I should always be the subject of sorrow. I took up a book, and in that I read an account of a singular turn of Providence for an individual, in raising her from sorrow to joy. This just suited my imagination, and I fell into a sleep, and dreamed of uninterrupted happiness. How great is my folly in both these instances. Why do I think so much of present things which are all uncertain, and so little of those which endure for ever? Nothing can ease a sorrowful heart like confidence in Jehovah.

—— How necessary does affliction seem to my real welfare. If things appear to be for a short time calm and fair, how ready am I to indulge in visionary schemes; and then I require something to awake me. When shall I learn to live, and think, and speak as a Christian! I do not quite despair of this, because God has promised to complete his work; but I fear, lest I should be still slow to learn.

—— I find in myself too great a desire to justify my conduct when any little fault is pointed out to me. Let me not only aim in future to discover my weak side, but when discovered, to set a double watch on it.

Jan. 1814. When languor of body and mind come together, they increase each other. O for faith to pray for the removal of these dark clouds, and then for patience to wait the Lord's time for an answer!

—— If I could but feel as I wish under afflictions, then—but ah, I do not! O for faith to confide in Jehovah!

—— We have just received a letter which says, that yesterday there was a little alteration for the better in our dear friend. This is a cause for lively gratitude. Whatever Jehovah sends to his people must be for the best, therefore it should quell every tumult of our minds to know "It is the Lord." With him too all things are possible. He can speedily restore health when he has taken it away. But I am afraid our hopes have not much foundation in this instance. O for proper feelings under this trial, and for wisdom so to conduct myself, as to mitigate in some small measure the acute sufferings of ——. Help me, Lord, to banish from my spirit whatever is trivial, and combine all my sympathies with his——

—— How hard it is to possess all that sympathy and solicitude for those we love which is desirable, and yet to be careful for nothing. Great have been the anxieties of the past week; but it is gone, and probably the circumstances of the next may almost obliterate them from my recollection.

In the same manner the anxieties of time will soon close, and be succeeded by the unalterable joys or sorrows of eternity! Why, then, am I discouraged with a few difficulties? Why this deep concern for *present* happiness, and comparative insensibility to the future?

—— I feel that trials are hardly worth the name, when we have those with us who bear the heaviest half.

—— How anxious we should be for a sense of the divine forgiveness while in health, that when we are called to suffer and die, we may not have the consolations of religion to seek.

A simple and active dependance on the Saviour is the great object of Christian experience. May my trials be sanctified to this end, and then I shall glory in tribulation.

How delightful it must be to contemplate the perfections of Jehovah, and to have the heart filled with his love! To be for ever exploring the mysteries of Providence and redemption. Let me accustom myself to these employments *now*.

—— If we commenced the journey of life with opposite feelings to those which are commonly excited, how much disappointment should we escape! It is in vain that we anticipate an Eden in the wilderness!

—— I have deeply to lament my want of solemnity in the service of God. There is great danger of resembling the children of Israel, who thought lightly of the manna, because it fell in such abundance.

I was much struck to-day with the life of Hannibal. How affecting it would be to trace the decline and fall of empires, did we not know that there is one which cannot be shaken, and that it is in subordination to this kingdom that every other is giving way.

—— O for such vigorous, constant, and glowing love to the Redeemer, as shall put our doubts completely to flight!

—— We should not be contented with looking at ourselves; let us attentively examine the condition of others. Who is there I can cheer by my sympathy, uphold by my charity, strengthen by my assistance, or relieve by my prayers? O for the Spirit of Christ to rest upon me! My dear * * * still promises fairly, but I want to see more decision of character. Our servants attend the means of grace, but I want them to feel more interested in their privileges. The dear children committed to my care are not so serious as I wish them to be. Let me aim to bless silently by my prayers, and wherever I can, let me second those prayers by my exertions.

—— When the love of Jesus fills the heart, there is nothing too hard to be endured. May this holy principle pervade my bosom! then I shall not only be ready to make great sacrifices occasionally, but be continually sacrificing my own will and desires.

—— The love of Jesus affects me little; but my mind is continually harassed with the idea of eternal punishment. O that God would prevent me from indulging hard thoughts of himself.

—— How thankful we ought to be, that the present state supplies such a mixture of pain and pleasure. Were it always painful, life would soon be useless and insupportable; were it always pleasant, we should consider death rather as an enemy than a friend. It is *every thing* to feel that the sorrows and uncertainties of the present state are overruled to fix our affections on the delightful realities of the next.

—— May I never sink below an humble reliance on the Saviour, nor be ever tempted to raise above it!

Oct. 1817. As I was walking along the road indulging in revery, I was suddenly affected by the distress of a paralytic. A brutal man was amusing himself with her awkwardness. Poor thing, her sufferings roused me to a sense of my own mercies.

30. The illness of my friend confines me to the house. O it is a luxury to be permitted in any way to contribute to the comfort of others.

Nov. Nature has lost her verdure, but the husbandman does not sit down in despair. On the contrary, he redoubles his exertions. Surely his example deserves my imitation.

3. The morning of this day was very wet and gloomy. I had no idea of its turning out fine. About two, however, the clouds were dispersed, the sun shone out in all his glory, and it was a most delightful evening. From this let me learn not to despair. However dark and gloomy the morning of life, yet the evening may be serene, peaceful, and happy.

4. This morning I awoke praying against selfishness. O that this may not only be my sleeping, but my waking prayer! I walked out in the morning, but had occasion to regret that it was not a walk of usefulness. How desirable it is to pass each day worthy of an immortal being.

5. Attended the Missionary Prayer Meeting. There was not that deep feeling for the poor heathen which I wished to have witnessed; still, however, there was enough to reprove me.

6. I have been pleased to-day with reading a short tale, entitled "The Governess," not only because it corresponded with my own views of education, but because it supplied me with some valuable hints. The more I see of children, the more I feel the great importance of early cultivation. How necessary is the formation of good habits with the inculcation of right principles, and how desirable it is that parents should concur in this great work.

7. This day has passed as most of my days have recently done, without doing any thing worth relating. It is proper, however, to distinguish between inability and disinclination. It is painful when Providence excludes us from activity, but it is only sinful when we exclude ourselves. When Providence interposes, it may probably be to prepare us eventually for greater good. Let me not, therefore, give way to discouraging thoughts, but endeavor to improve my afflictions so as to be the better for them; and while I am limited to a narrow sphere of exertion, let me be doubly careful to seize those trifling opportunities of glorifying God, which I may once have overlooked.

8. A lady and gentleman came to tea; they were strangers to me, but from every one we may learn something. In one of these persons, I saw a pattern of deep humility and deadness to the world. The other reminded me, that by nature we are without God.

11. How necessary it is to fulfil the duties of each day as they occur.

12. Walked to Enfield. Saw some dear little ones at school. Could not help thinking of the superior advantages of private education in early life. How surprising it is, that mothers can so easily banish their offspring, rather than enjoy the felicity of teaching them with their own hands.

14. Less time than usual for reading. The older I grow, the more anxiety I feel for mental improvement; but I must beware of impatience even here.

We have just established a working school in connection with our Sabbath day instructions. What *dispositions* of mind should I labor after in this undertaking?

An intense desire to promote the glory of Jehovah.

Tenderest pity for souls.

A deep sense of my infinite obligations to Almighty love, for making me a partaker of the blessings of redemption.

A lively feeling of my entire dependance on the divine blessing.

A fervent spirit of prayer.

Great watchfulness, and an affecting sense of the infinite value of an immortal spirit.

Behold the sea and the dry land; the mountains filled with treasures, and the valleys covered with the richest produce. The stars twinkling in the firmament, and the moon walking in all her quiet radiance. Behold too the meridian sun, riding in all his glorious majesty, imparting life, and light, and heat to the whole creation; and when thou hast beheld, and admired, and extolled these works of an Almighty hand, remember they are nothing, absolutely nothing, to one immortal spirit!

Turn from the contemplation of nature to Calvary, and while thou beholdest the dying agonies of the Redeemer—while thou hearest his groans—while thou art catching that expiring exclamation, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," learn, if thou canst, the value of one soul!

Let me inquire, in the next place, what *encouragements* I have.

God has commanded the use of means.

God has blessed these means.

God has given me a spirit of prayer.

God has promised to answer prayer.

God has repeatedly said, that nothing done from love to him shall lose its reward.

This is a period when our efforts to promote the Redeemer's cause are likely to be attended with peculiar success.

THE END.

THE GARDENER AND ROSE TREE.

A FABLE.

"In a sweet spot which Wisdom chose,
Grew an unique and lovely Rose;
A flow'r so fair was seldom borne—
A Rose almost without a thorn.
Each passing stranger stop'd to view
A plant possessing charms so new:
'*Sweet Flow'r!*' each lip was heard to say—
Nor less the Owner pleased than they;
Rear'd by his hand with constant care,
And planted in his choice parterre,
Of all his garden this the pride,
No flower so much admired beside.

"Nor did the rose unconscious bloom,
Nor feel ungrateful for the boon,
Oft as her guardian came that way,
Whether at dawn or eve of day,
Expanded wide—her form unveil'd,
She *double fragrance* then exhal'd.

"As months rolled on, the spring appear'd,
Its genial rays the Rose matur'd;
Forth from its root a *shoot* extends—
The parent Rose-tree downward bends,
And with a joy unknown before,
Contemplates the yet embryo flow'r.

"'Offspring most dear (she fondly said,)
'Part of myself! beneath my shade,
'Safe shalt thou rise, whilst happy I,
'Transported with maternal joy,
'Shall see thy little buds appear,
'Unfold and bloom in beauty here.
'What though the Lily, or Jonquil,
'Or Hyacinth no longer fill
'The space around me—All shall be
'Abundantly made up in thee.
'What though my present charms decay,
'And passing strangers no more say
'Of *me*, 'Sweet flower!' yet *thou* shalt raise
'Thy blooming head, and gain the praise;
'And this reverberated pleasure
'Shall be to me a world of treasure.
'Cheerful I part with former merit,
'That it my darling may inherit.
'Haste then the hours which bid thee bloom,
'And fill the zephyrs with perfume!'

"Thus had the Rose-tree scarcely spoken,
Ere the sweet cup of bliss was broken—
The Gard'ner came, and with one stroke
He from the root the offspring took;
Took from the soil wherein it grew,
And hid it from the parent's view.

"Judge ye who know a mother's cares
For the dear tender babe she bears,
The parent's anguish—ye alone
Such sad vicissitudes have known.

"Deep was the wound; nor slight the pain
Which made the Rose-tree thus complain;—

"'Dear little darling! art thou gone—
'Thy charms scarce to thy mother known!
'Remov'd so soon!—So suddenly,
'Snatch'd from my fond maternal eye!
'What hast thou done?—dear offspring! say,
'So *early* to be snatch'd away!
'What! gone for *ever!*—seen no more!
'For ever I thy loss deplore.
'Ye dews descend, with tears supply
'My now for ever tearful eye;
'Or rather come some northern blast,
'Dislodge my yielding roots in haste.
'Whirlwinds arise—my branches tear,
'And to some distant regions bear
'Far from this spot, a wretched mother,
'Whose fruit and joys are gone together.'

"As thus the anguish'd Rose-tree cry'd,
Her owner near her she espy'd;
Who in these gentle terms reprov'd
A plant, though murm'ring, still belov'd:—

"'Cease, beauteous flow'r these useless cries,
'And let my lessons make thee wise.
'Art thou not mine? Did not my hand
'Transplant thee from the barren sand
'Where once a mean unsightly plant,
'Expos'd to injury and want,
'Unknown, and unadmir'd, I found,
'And brought thee to this fertile ground;
'With studious art improv'd thy form,
'Secur'd thee from the inclement storm,
'And through the seasons of the year,
'Made thee my unabating care?
'Hast thou not blest thy happy lot,
'In such an owner—such a spot?
'But now because thy shoot I've taken,
'Thy best of friends must be forsaken.
'Know flow'r belov'd, e'en this affliction
'Shall prove to thee a benediction:
'Had I not the young plant remov'd,
'(So fondly by thy heart belov'd)
'Of me thy heart would scarce have thought,
'With gratitude no more be fraught:
'—Yea—thy own beauty be at stake
'Surrender'd for thy offspring's sake.
'Nor think, that, hidden from thine eyes,
'The infant plant neglected lies—
'No—I've another garden where
'In richer soil and purer air
'It 's now transplanted, there to shine,
'In beauties fairer far than thine.

"'Nor shalt thou always be apart
'From the dear darling of thy heart
'For 'tis my purpose thee to bear
'In future time, and plant thee there,
'Where thy now absent off-set grows,
'And blossoms a CELESTIAL Rose.
'Be patient, then, till that set hour shall come,
'When thou and thine shall in new beauties bloom
'No more its absence shalt thou then deplore,
'Together grow, and ne'er be parted more.'

"These words to silence hush'd the plaintive Rose,
With deeper blushes redd'ning now she glows,
Submissive bow'd her unrepining head,
Again her wonted, grateful fragrance shed—
Cry'd, 'Thou hast taken only what's thine own,
'Therefore, thy will, my Lord, not mine, be done.'"

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION,

AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

BY BLAISE PASCAL.

A NEW TRANSLATION, AND

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

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PREFACE.

The original manuscripts of Mons. Pascal's Thoughts are deposited in the Royal Library of Paris. They were in the library of the Abbey of St. Germain des Pres, but having been saved from the fire in the year 1794, which consumed that building, they were deposited where they now lie. They are arranged in one large folio volume; and there is with them a copy, made at the time of printing the first edition of the work, most probably by M. Guerrier, a Benedictine monk, which very materially assists the reading of the original; but even with this aid, the difficulty is not small.

When the MM. de Port Royal published their edition in 1670, they adopted an arrangement of the Thoughts into chapters, which was still very imperfect; and according to this arrangement, many other editions were published both in France and Holland. In the year 1776, Condorcet published an edition with notes, which, though better in the arrangement, was only a selection of about half the original Thoughts, such, in fact, as might answer his nefarious purpose of blunting the edge of Pascal's masterly arguments against infidelity; and by corrupting the text, and exposing it to ridicule in his comments, bringing his authority as a writer on the side of truth, into contempt. With this view, he appended to his edition a series of notes, of the profanity and wickedness of which, there can now be but one opinion. Some of these notes were Voltaire's; but two years afterwards, Voltaire published an edition of his own, with additional notes by himself, equally objectionable. In these editions, many of the Thoughts are mutilated and altered from the original text, to suit the particular purpose of these infidel writers, and almost all of them, on which any remark is made, are attacked by their keen and biting sarcasm.

Up to this period, therefore, no complete edition of the Pensees had appeared; but in the year 1779, an edition of the whole works of Pascal was sent forth, edited by M. Bossut. He had no occasion to leave out those passages, which the earlier editors withheld from fear of the Jesuits; and he had no wish to follow the dishonorable example of the two infidel philosophers. He printed, therefore, every thing which he could find, adding a number of Thoughts from the Histoire de Literature, of the Pere Desmolets, and collating the whole with the original papers. He adopted, in some measure, the order which Condorcet had chosen, but not without some improvements. Since then, two small editions of the Thoughts, with a few additional gleanings, were issued by M. Renouard, in the years 1803 and 1812; and in the year 1819, a very complete edition of the whole works was printed at Paris, the editor of which professes to have availed himself of every advantage which the labors of his predecessors set before him. From the text of this last edition, the present translation is made.

The translator is only aware of two English translations of the Thoughts being in existence. Neither of these is complete. They are both made from copies of the work, earlier than the edition of Bossut. One of them is a very antiquated version; and the other is little more than a reprint of it, a little modernized in the style of expression, together with a few additional Thoughts. Many of the passages in both these, are so very ill rendered, as to convey no definite meaning whatever.

A fresh and a complete translation of the whole of the published Thoughts became desirable, that Pascal might be really known in this country to the English reader, according to his real merits. As far as the moral and religious Thoughts extended, this has been now attempted.

To translate Thoughts so inaccurately and imperfectly expressed as many of these are, and to give a close and literal rendering that would, at the same time, convey the sense, which, in the original, is really in some instances enigmatical and questionable, was a task of serious difficulty. The translator does not profess to have accomplished this. If he has done something towards the ultimate attainment of such a faithful version of this valuable book, he will feel thankful. And in the mean time, he will readily avail himself of the critical remarks of those who may differ from him, as to his conception of the author's idea in any place, with a view to reconsider the passage, in case the work should ever reach another edition. He has certainly not satisfied himself.

The first three chapters of the original work have been left out, as not being connected immediately with its general object. And the translator does not hesitate to avow, that he has withheld a few passages, which occur occasionally, on the subject of the peculiar tenets of the Romish Church; because he did not feel warranted, by the mere wish to record faithfully in a translation, all the sentiments of an author, to circulate what he believes to be dangerous error, and which, from the strength and accuracy of other statements among which it was found, might lead some weak minds astray. Had the task of original publication devolved on him, he would have felt differently: for it is right that every man should have a fair opportunity of giving his opinions to the world. But in making a translation for the benefit of a subsequent age, it is perfectly equitable to select that which common consent has stamped with its approbation, and to leave out the few remains of prejudice and unscriptural opinion, which might borrow, from the sanction of such a name, an influence that they ought not to have.

Finally, the translator does not hesitate to say, that the intervals of time, which the duties of an active pastoral charge allowed him to give to this work, and to the meditations which its pages suggested, have been among the happiest and most gratifying portions of his life; and, that if this version, though imperfect, shall afford even a moderate share of such gratification to those readers who are shut out from the pages of the original, or shall lead others to seek for that pleasure in the original text, he will have realized an ample reward.

Great King Street, Edinburgh,
1st June, 1825.

MEMOIR OF BLAISE PASCAL.

Although the facts of Pascal's life cannot but be very extensively known, it seems scarcely correct to send forth a fresh translation of his Thoughts to the world, without a brief memoir of that extraordinary genius.

Blaise Pascal was born at Clermont in Auvergne, 19th June, 1623. His father, Stephen Pascal, was first president of the Court of Aids, and had, by his wife, Antoinette Begon, three other children, a son who died in infancy, and two daughters: Gilberte, married to M. Perier, and Jacqueline, who took the veil, in the convent of Port Royal in the Fields, and died there of grief, arising from the persecutions under which that community suffered.

Stephen Pascal was a superior and well educated man, and possessed an extensive knowledge of the law, of mathematics, and natural philosophy; to which he added the advantages of noble birth, and of manners peculiarly simple. Till the year 1626, he shared with an amiable wife, during the intervals of public occupation, the duties of educating his family; but in that year she died, and he then devoted himself exclusively to this object. For this purpose he retired from office; and having continued a few years in the country, in the year 1631, brought his family to Paris, to complete their education.

The attention of Stephen Pascal was, of course, chiefly occupied with his son, who gave promise, at a very early age, of superior genius, and readily received the elementary principles of language, and of the sciences in general; but one of the earliest features of those talents which were subsequently developed, was the eagerness, and the nice and accurate discernment with which, on all subjects, he sought for truth, and which would not allow him to feel satisfied till he had found it.

The circle of his father's acquaintance was of a superior order. He numbered among his friends, Mersenne, Roberval, Carcavi, Le Pailleur, &c. At their occasional meetings, for the discussion of scientific subjects, Blaise Pascal was sometimes allowed to be present, at which times he listened with great attention to what passed, and thus gradually formed the habit of scientific research. To trace effects up to their causes, was one of his chief pleasures; and it is stated, that at eleven years of age, having heard a plate give forth, on its being struck, a musical vibration, which ceased on its being touched again, he applied his mind to the subject which it presented to him, and at length produced a short treatise upon the nature of sounds.

His father, however, fearful that this evidently strong predilection for scientific pursuits would delay his progress in the attainment of classical learning, agreed with his friends that they should refrain from speaking on such topics in his presence; and this opposition to his evidently ruling tendency was, on principle, carried so far, that on his making an application to his father to be permitted to learn mathematics, the permission was positively withheld, till he should have mastered the Greek and Latin languages. In the mean time, he obtained no other information on the subject, but that geometry was a science which related to the extension of bodies—that it taught the mode of forming accurate figures, and pointed out the relations which existed between them. But beyond this general information, he was forbidden to inquire; and all books on the subject were positively forbidden to him.

This vague definition, however, was the ray of light which guided him onward in mathematical study. It became the subject of continued thought. In his play hours, he would shut himself up in an empty room, and draw with chalk on the floor, triangles, parallelograms, and circles, without knowing their scientific names. He would compare these several figures, and would examine the relations that their several lines bore to each other; and in this way, he gradually arrived at the proof of the fact, that the sum of all the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles, which is the thirty-second proposition of the first book of Euclid. The young geometer had just attained this point, when his father surprised him, deeply occupied in the prohibited study. But he was himself no less astonished than his son, when, on examining into the nature of his occupation, he ascertained the conclusion to which he had come; and on inquiring how he arrived at it, the child pointed out several other principles which he had previously ascertained, and at length stated the first principles which he had gathered for himself in the way of axioms and definitions.

To control, after this, such evident manifestations of superior mathematical genius, was quite out of the question. Every advantage was afforded to him, of which he eagerly availed himself. At twelve years of age, he read through the Elements of Euclid, without feeling the need of any explanation from teachers; and at sixteen, he composed a treatise on Conic Sections, which was considered to possess very extraordinary merit. He attained rapidly to a very high degree of knowledge and of celebrity as a mathematician; and before the age of nineteen, he invented the famous arithmetical machine which bears his name, and by which, through the instrumentality of a mechanical movement, somewhat similar to a watch, any numerical calculation might be performed. The main difficulty in arithmetic lies in finding the mode of arriving at the desired result. This must ever be a purely mental operation; but the object of this instrument was, that in all those numerical operations where the course to be pursued was fixed and certain, a mechanical process might relieve the mind from the monotonous and wearisome labor of the mere detail of calculation. Pascal's invention succeeded; but it was found too cumbrous for general use.

About this time, Stephen Pascal was appointed the Intendant of Rouen, to which place he removed his family. He remained there seven years; and during that period, his son diligently pursued his studies, although it was quite evident that his severe application had already affected his health, and marked him with the symptoms of decline.

Here his ardent mind, which had been turned during his retirement to the study of Physics, occupied itself with one of the most striking phenomena of the natural world, and did not rest till he had elicited a satisfactory explanation of it. This phenomenon was that in a pump, in which the piston played at a distance of more than thirty-two feet above the reservoir that supplied it, the water rose to the height of thirty-two feet, and no farther. On this question, Galileo had been consulted; and the explanation of this fact which was offered by him was, that the water rose to a certain height in the pipe because nature abhorred a vacuum; but that the force by which she resisted a vacuum was limited, and that beyond a height of thirty-two feet, it ceased to act. This answer, however, was not even

then satisfactory; and within a short period of that time, Torricelli, the disciple of Galileo, ascertained, by a series of experiments, that the cause of this ascent of the water in fountains and pumps, was the pressure of the weight of the atmosphere upon the surface of the reservoir. At this juncture, however, Torricelli died; but Pascal, to whom the result of his experiments had been communicated by Mr. Mersenne, through Mr. Petit, the Intendant of Fortifications at Rouen, having repeated the experiments of Torricelli, verified their results, and completely refuted the popular notion of the abhorrence of a vacuum. And in the year 1647, in a small tract dedicated to his father, he published the account of these experiments.

It does not however appear, that, at this time, he had arrived at a satisfactory solution of the phenomenon in question—he had done little more than ascertained, that it could not arise from the cause to which it had been attributed, according to the popular doctrine of the day, and that the notion of nature's abhorrence of a vacuum, had no foundation in fact. Pascal therefore followed out his inquiries most perseveringly; and in the year 1653, he wrote two pamplets, one on the equilibrium of fluids, and another on the weight of the atmosphere; in which, by a series of satisfactory experiments, he completely established that doctrine on the subject, which is now universally received. The most important and original of these experiments were those which showed that the rise of the water, or the mercury in the tube, varied in proportion to the height above the level of the sea, of the place where the experiment was tried. Many attempts have been made to rob Pascal of the merit of these discoveries, but they have altogether failed. It was, however, to be regretted, that the two latter tracts were not printed till 1663, the year following his death.

At the time, however, when M. Pascal issued his first tract on this subject, his health had manifestly given way before the severity of his studies; and at the close of the year 1647, he had an attack of paralysis, which deprived him, in a great measure, of the use of his limbs. He returned to Paris, and resided there with his father and sister, and, for some time, relaxed from study, and took several journeys by way of recreation. But in the year 1651, he lost his father; and in 1653, his sister Jacqueline, in the fulfilment of a wish which she had long cherished, joined the sisterhood of Port Royal; and being thus left alone at Paris, for his other sister and M. Perier then resided at Clermont, he returned without restraint to those habits of severe and excessive study which must, in a short time, had they not been interrupted, have brought him to the grave. But his friends interfered, and their advice, seconded by the severity of his bodily afflictions, constrained him for a time to lay aside his studies, and to mingle more than he had done with general society. Here he gradually regained his spirits, acquired a fresh relish for the fascinations of life, and began even to think of marriage. But an event which occurred about this time, and which we shall have occasion afterwards to mention, dissipated all these thoughts, and gave an entirely new color to his whole life, and tended especially to induce him to consecrate his splendid talents to the noblest of all employments—the service of God.

There is reason to suppose, that the paralytic attack that Pascal experienced in the year 1647, first led him to the serious consideration of the subject of religion. He read, at that time, some few devotional books, and the effect which they produced upon his mind, was a clear conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, and of the propriety of its high requirements. He saw that it enjoined upon men the necessity of living for God, and of making Him the supreme object of their attention and love; and so strong was his conviction of this, that he determined about that time to renounce the studies to which, up to that period, he had so eagerly applied himself, and thenceforth, to devote the powers of his mind, to that subject of supreme interest, which Jesus Christ has declared to be *the one thing needful.*

It is evident that the resolution then formed, did materially influence M. Pascal's whole character and habits, and that gradually he gave an increased attention to the subject of religion. Still there is reason to suppose, that the state of his mind underwent some material variations in this respect, and that, for several years, he was not altogether so entirely devoted to religious topics, nor so cordially separated from irreligious society, as he afterwards considered to be necessary. His residence at Paris, and his entrance into its society, with a view to recreation, tended, for a time, to dissipate in a degree his religious impressions, and to awaken a desire to return to the ways of that world, which he had professed to renounce, and to those pursuits and pleasures, the vanity and fruitlessness of which he had already confessed.

It does not follow necessarily, that a man convinced of the truth, and feeling, in some degree, the power of religion, does at once, from the time of that conviction, give himself unreservedly and entirely to the duties and the pleasures of a religious life. Experience shows that there is a wide difference between the most satisfactory conviction of the understanding in favor of such a course, and the effectual and habitual control of the strong passions of the heart, so as to accomplish it; and too frequently it is found, that even after an individual has really seen and loved the religion of the Bible, and made the path which it points out the object of his decided preference—the temptation to recur to the thoughtless and irreligious, but fascinating and seductive habits of the majority, again acquires fresh force; and though he may not be led aside sufficiently to allow his religious inconsistency to be seen, and reproved by less devoted men, yet he declines so far, as to exhibit to himself in a stronger light his own weakness, and to induce him to seek, when convinced of the need of recovery, for greater assurance, and more palpable assistance in the grace of the gospel of Christ.

This appears to have been the case with Pascal, during his residence in Paris. His sister, Jacqueline, witnessed with regret, on his occasional visits to her, at Port Royal, the deteriorating effect of the promiscuous society with which he associated; and she remonstrated faithfully and earnestly with him on the necessity of greater decision, and the need of a more real and marked separation from those who lived only for this present world.

The mind of Pascal, however, notwithstanding these minor aberrations, had taken a decidedly religious turn; and the power of Scriptural truth gradually gained a permanent influence over his heart, and gave a color to all his pursuits. His attention was drawn off from matters of merely sublunary importance, and fixed on the phenomena of the moral world, and the principles of that book which unveils to us the glories, and imparts the hope of an eternal existence; and this change gradually exhibited itself with greater distinctness.

The first public incident of his life which indicated this change, was of a controversial and scholastic nature. During his residence at Rouen, he attended a series of lectures on philosophy, in which the lecturer took occasion to advance some positions which tended to call in question the decisions

of the church, and which led him to infer that the body of Jesus Christ was not formed of the blood of the Virgin Mary. M. Pascal addressed himself boldly to the suppression of this heresy. He first remonstrated with the lecturer: but finding this useless, he denounced him to the Bishop of Rouen; and being foiled there by an equivocal confession, he carried the matter before the Archbishop, by whom the philosopher was compelled publicly to renounce the dangerous notions which he had advanced; and the whole of this process was conducted with so much temper, that the defeated philosopher never retained the least acrimonious feeling against his youthful antagonist. That Pascal should apply his extraordinary powers to combat and to give importance to such subtleties, is to be attributed to the genius of the times. In those days the grand and simple truths of revelation were much lost sight of, and theological knowledge and religious zeal, were shown in those metaphysical speculations, and those ready powers of logical discussion, which may gratify the pride of the understanding, but do not mend the heart.

Pascal was not, however, to be kept down by the trammels of the schools, and the semi-barbarous theology of the day. He read and thought for himself. It was impossible for a mind like his to do otherwise; and such was the practical influence of his religious studies on his character, that it was felt and acknowledged by all around him. Even his father, previously to his death, did not hesitate to learn at the feet of his son, and gradually reformed his own manner of life, and became more devoted to the subject of religion; and abounding in his later days in Christian virtues, at length died a truly Christian death.

The circumstance, however, which seemed in the providence of God most effectually to influence M. Pascal's mind in favor of religion—to dissipate all remaining attachment to this world, and to give the especial character to his remaining years, was an accident which happened to him in October, 1654. He was taking his usual drive in a coach and four, when, as they passed the bridge of Neuilly, the leaders became unmanageable at a point of the bridge where there was no parapet, and they were precipitated into the Seine. Happily the traces broke suddenly by the weight of the horses, and the carriage remained safely at the very verge of the bridge. Pascal's valuable life was preserved; but the shock which his frail and languishing frame sustained was very great. He fainted, and remained for a long time in a state of insensibility; and the permanent nervous impression which this alarm produced was so strong, that frequently afterwards, in moments of peculiar weakness, or during a sleepless night, he fancied that there was a precipice close to the side of his bed, into which he feared that he should fall.

It was after this event that Pascal's religious impressions regained that strength, which they had in a degree lost. His natural amiability of temper—his ready flow of wit—the fascinations of the best circles of Parisian society, and the insidious influence of well applied flattery, had, previously to this accident, succeeded in cooling, in some measure, the ardor of his piety, and had given him somewhat more of the air of a man, whose hopes and whose treasures were to be found within the limits of this transitory and imperfect existence. But this providential deliverance from sudden death, led to a very decided and permanent change of character. He regarded it as a message from heaven, which called on him to renounce all secular occupations, and to devote the remainder of his life exclusively to God. From that time, he bade adieu to the world. He entirely gave up his habits of general visiting, and retiring altogether from merely scientific society, retained only the connection which he had formed with a few religious friends, of superior intellectual attainments and devotional habits. In order to accomplish this the more effectually, he changed his residence, and lived for some time in the country.

He was now about thirty years of age; and it was at this time that he established that mode of life in which he persevered to the last. He gave up all search for earthly pleasure, and the use of all indulgences and superfluities. He dispensed as far as possible with the service of domestics. He made his own bed, and carried his own dinner to his apartment. Some persons may be disposed to consider this as a needless and ascetic peculiarity. Nor is it attempted here to justify the stress which he laid upon these minor and comparatively unimportant matters; but be that as it may, every one must admire the elevated piety with which these peculiar notions were associated, and the principle on which these acts of self-denial were performed. Prayer, and the study of the Scriptures became the business of his life, in which he found inexpressible delight. He used to say, that the Holy Scriptures were not a science of the understanding, so much as of the heart; and that they were a science, intelligible only to him whose heart was in a right moral state, whilst to all others they were veiled in obscurity. To this sacred study, therefore, Pascal gave himself, with the ardor of entire devotion; and his success in this line of study, was as eminent as it had been in matters of general science. His knowledge of the Scriptures, and his facility in quoting them, became very great. It was quite remarkable in that day. His increasing love for the truth of religion, led him also to exercise readily all the powers of his mind, both by his pen, and by his very great conversational powers, in recommending religion to others, and in demolishing whatever appeared likely to oppose its progress, or to veil and to deform its truth. An opportunity of the very first importance shortly afterwards occurred, which called forth the exercise of his splendid talents and extensive knowledge in that way which he most especially desired.

The sincere religion of M. Pascal, together with the connection of his family with the religious recluses of the Monastery of Port Royal, had gathered round him as his friends, many of the illustrious scholars and Christians who were associated together in that retirement. About the time when Pascal's mind had been led to the formation of his religious principles, and to the more serious adoption of his religious habits, the Monastery of Port Royal had risen into importance and notoriety, which were increased by the difficulties with which it had to contend. Under the superintendence of Angelique Arnauld, sister of M. Arnauld, the celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, the society of female recluses there, had undergone a very extensive and thorough reform; and many young persons of superior rank and exalted piety had gathered round this renowned leader, and risen under her instructions, and the pastoral guidance of a few excellent men of similar sentiments, the male recluses of the same society, to still loftier attainments in the love of God, and in conformity to his revealed will.

At the same time also, many men of the first talents and acquirements, disgusted with the world, with the fruitlessness of its service, and the falsehood of its promises, and sick of the heartless and dissipated state of society around them, came to dwell together in a retired mansion in the same neighborhood, and to seek in the solitude of the wilderness, that peace which the world cannot give. Among these were two brothers of the Mere An

gelique, her nephews Le Maitre and De Sacy, Nicole, Lancelot, Hermant, and others. Here they devoted themselves to the instruction of youth, both in literature and science, and in religion, and their seminaries soon rose into importance. From this little society of recluses, issued forth many elementary works of learning and science, which became the standard works of the day; and such was their progress and the celebrity of the Port Royal schools, and the Port Royal grammars, and other treatises, that they seriously threatened the Jesuits with ejection from that high station which they had long almost exclusively held as the instructors and spiritual guides and governors of all the young people of condition throughout France.

The true principle of the Romish apostacy from the simplicity of the Christian faith, has ever been a despotic dominion over the consciences of men. That fallen and false church has, in all the varying phases of its condition, ever held this point steadily in view; and if a few words may delineate the essential feature of her enormous and unchristian pretensions, it is the substitution in the stead of true religion, of a system of terror and power, founded upon unwarranted and unscriptural assumptions, altogether contrary to the spirit of the gospel of Christ, which is the rational dominion of Divine influence over the heart, through the medium of the doctrinal truths of Scripture. To veil, in some degree, this presumption, and to render it palatable to men in general, Rome has gathered round her, in the style of her buildings, the formularies of her worship, the splendor of her attire, and the fascinations of her choral music, every thing that is imposing and calculated to seduce the affections through the medium of the senses. But as knowledge spread among the nations, and the art of printing providentially rendered the suppression of knowledge more difficult, it became necessary to adopt a more efficient system of police to guard all the avenues of this widely extended dominion of priestcraft over ignorance. The court of Rome, therefore, eagerly availed itself of the plan of Loyola, and the order of the Jesuits was established for the defence of the Roman Catholic church; and never was any system more admirably organized for such a purpose.

Framed from infancy to intrigue, and hardened to all the evils of the morality of expediency, these emissaries of the Roman power formed a complete system of police spread over the whole extent of Papal Christendom; and thoroughly informed, by means of auricular confession, of the secret history of courts, families, and individuals, and bound to each other in the most solemn manner by the covenant of their order, they were prepared to adopt and to vindicate any measures, however infamous, that might advance the cause of the church with which they were identified. History furnishes an abundance of well-authenticated facts of the darkest dye, to show the boldness with which, at all risks, they rushed on to their object, and the dangerous errors with which they endeavored to justify their crimes. There is in the unsanctified heart a fiend-like delight in power. Union is power: and for the sake of feeling that they have that power, men are content to become even subordinate agents, according to their capacities, in a great scheme, that they may thereby realize, by combination, an influence extensive, irresistible, and terrific, which no one could have obtained alone. This is most probably the secret of the efficiency of that system of ecclesiastical espionage; and it certainly was carried to such an awful degree of success, that the thrones of Europe, and even the Papal tiara itself, trembled before it. It was not therefore to be wondered at, that this powerful body, whose reign over France, at that time, was almost uncontrolled, should behold, with bitter malice, the growing influence and success of a few retired pietists, who now threatened to invade their chartered rights, and by the simple principles of Scriptural truth, to divide, if not to annihilate their power.

But while the prejudices and hostilities of the Jesuits were thus roused against the Port Royalists, it would not have been a consistent Jesuitical ground of complaint against them, to say that they endangered their craft. It was needful to seek an objection against them in the things concerning their God. And they soon found ample food to nourish and to embitter their venom, and to lay the basis of a plot for their ruin, in the sound doctrinal sentiments, and practical piety of these separatists from the corrupt manners of the time. And though probably the sentiments of these gentlemen might have been left unnoticed, but for their interference with the secular interests of the disciples of Loyola, yet when once these artful men had found real ground of hostility in the success of the Port Royalists in education, they were thankful indeed to find a still more plausible ground of assault against them, in the peculiarity of their religious sentiments. They rejoiced at the opportunity afforded to them of covering that envy, which originated in the success of their opponents in a course of honorable rivalry on the field of science, by the more specious pretext of zeal for the purity of the faith, and the integrity of the pontifical power. On this ostensible ground, therefore, a series of persecutions was commenced, which terminated only by the entire destruction of the brightest ornaments that ever graced the church of France.

In the year 1640, the celebrated work of Jansenius,* bishop of Ypres, entitled, Augustinus, was published. It was published about two years after the death of the author, and is a very clear and luminous exposition of the doctrine of Scripture on the subject of the fall and redemption of man. It exhibits very prominently the opinions of St. Augustine, and as distinctly condemns the Pelagian errors.

The recluses of Port Royal, who were diligent students of the Scriptures, and had derived their opinions from that source only, were led to adopt views precisely similar to those of Augustine and Jansenius; and the more deeply they searched the Scriptures by the mutual aid of superior intellect and sound erudition, the more abundantly were they confirmed in these opinions, and in rooted aversion to the whole system of false and ruinous theology then prevalent in the schools of the Jesuits. These opinions they did not hesitate to avow; and the Jesuits beheld with dread, the progress of a doctrine so fitted for the enlightening and comforting of the human heart, and the consequent decline of their popularity and their dominion, before the simple, but powerful statements of Scriptural truth.

It is a well established fact, that however plainly the Scriptures speak on these subjects, the careless multitude who have not religion at heart, and especially those ecclesiastics, whose chief object in the sacred profession has been its emoluments, will not receive the truths which those Scriptures teach; and hence the prevailing opinion, even among the teachers of the Christian church, has always been hostile to the gospel declarations of human corruption, and Divine mercy. So that in those days of ignorance and irreligion, although the doctrine of St. Augustin had been formally sanctioned as the doctrine of the church of Rome, the authorities of

* His real name was Otto; but at Louvain he was called first Jansen, or the son of John, and this in the Latinized form became Jansenius,

that church were fully prepared by the corrupt bias of the irreligious mind, to act in direct opposition to dogmas which the church itself had recognized. To those who have not looked closely into ecclesiastical history, this may seem extraordinary. But the fact is not uncommon. And the present state of religion, both in the English and Scottish Establishments, exhibits a case of a similar kind; the larger portion of the clergy in both churches holding doctrines decidedly opposed to the dogmatical statements of their standard documents, and in the strength of their majority, denouncing, as heretical, those members of the church whose opinions precisely and literally accord with their Articles and Confessions.

The Jesuits, therefore, relying on the preferences and strong prejudices of the great body of the priesthood, boldly assailed the writings of Jansenius, and the opinions of the Port Royalists; and a long and tedious controversy arose, in which M. Arnauld and several other members of the society of Port Royal abundantly distinguished themselves; but which did not appear at all likely to draw to a close, except as it threatened the Port Royalists with ruin, when Pascal was induced to take up his pen in defence of his persecuted friends, and of those scriptural truths to which he was sincerely attached.

In the year 1656, M. Pascal published the first of his twenty celebrated letters, on the subject of the morality of the Jesuits, and which have been improperly called "The Provincial Letters." They were published first under the title, "Letters written by Louis de Montalte to a Provincial, and to the Reverend the Fathers of the Jesuits, on their moral and political principles;" and from this they acquired the erroneous title by which they are universally known. Of the merit of these letters, nothing need be said here. They are known to every one. Even Voltaire has said of them, that "Moliere's best comedies are not so pungent in their wit as the earlier letters; and that Bossuet has nothing more sublime than the latter." They are now regarded as the first book which purified and fixed the French language. The effect of them was wonderful. The whole edifice of the reputation of the society fell before the power of Pascal's genius. The boldest casuists fled from the two edged sword of his manly and honest sarcasm. An universal clamor rose against them. They were on every side regarded as the corrupters of morals; and after having, in one or two pamphlets, most unwisely and vainly endeavored to justify the system of casuistry which Pascal had exposed, they were compelled for a time to shrink before the scourge with which he had chastised them, and to bear in silence the general indignation of the more virtuous portion of society, which he had effectually roused against their errors.*

Enmity, however, such as theirs did not languish, because for a time, it was repressed. Though the multitude had now seen and abhorred the immoral principles of the Jesuits, they had not the means to overthrow their power. These were men who could resolutely and pertinaciously maintain their position after their character was gone. Their channels to influence over men of power, were too effectually occupied for any one to shake their dominion over the court and the government; and in the mysterious providence of God, a few years gave to this intriguing society a complete and bitter revenge. The history of the persecution, dispersion, and ruin of the saints of Port Royal, is perhaps one of the most interesting points in the annals of the Christian church. It does most powerfully establish the truth, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and that the reward of the true servants of God is reserved for another.

The contest of M. Pascal with the Jesuits continued for about three years, during which time, he was very much occupied. To expose their errors required a very diligent study of their voluminous and useless writings; and though, in this respect, Pascal was much indebted to the labors of Arnauld and Nicole, yet much application on his own part was absolutely necessary. He says, "I have been asked if I had read all the books which I have quoted? I answer, No. To do this, I must have spent a large portion of my life in reading very bad books. But I have twice read the works of Escobar through; the others, my friends read for me. But I have never made use of a single passage, without having read it in the book from which I quoted, and without having studied the ground on which it was brought forward, and examined the context both before and after, that I might not run the risk of citing that as an averment, which was brought forward as an objection."

Application so close, could not but materially affect a constitution already seriously enfeebled by disease; and the evils which were gathering, were doubtless aggravated by the severe mode of life to which he rigidly adhered. His food was of the plainest kind. His apartment cleared of every thing like luxury, or even comfort; and in order to check the risings of vanity, or any other evil suggestion, he wore beneath his clothes a girdle of iron, with sharp points affixed to it, the inconvenience of which must have been at all times great; but whenever he found his mind wandering from the one great subject, or taking delight in the things around him, he struck this girdle with his elbow, and forced the sharp points of the iron more deeply into his side. This fact cannot be recorded with approbation. It is one of the strong evidences of the evil occasioned by the false doctrines of the Church of Rome, that even a genius so elevated and liberal as that of Pascal, could not altogether free itself from the errors of education. What a far more effectual principle of reform is the love of Christ! All the bodily suffering which we can inflict upon ourselves, will not be sufficient alone to inspire one holy, or restrain one unholy thought; but a faithful, affectionate lifting up of the soul to the God of all grace, is blessed by Divine appointment as the means of victory over temptation; and they who have sincerely tried this "more excellent way," have realized its success. They know what is the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free.

But though Christians, in a day of clearer light and richer privilege can discern the error into which Pascal had been led, and can mourn over the bondage in which he was still retained, yet they who know the difficulty of a sincere and uncompromising service of God, will look with reverence at these evidences of a serious devotion to the cause of holiness, and admire the resolute self-denial which dictated and endured such extraordinary sufferings. It is surely not becoming in the careless, sensual professor of the Christian faith, who in any degree makes his liberty a cloak for licentiousness, to look with contempt on these striking proofs, that Pascal hated vain thoughts, more than he loved his own flesh. It has been well said, that "a poor mistaken Papist, wounded by a girdle, or bleeding under a scourge, with a broken and a contrite heart, is nearer to the kingdom of God, than a proud, insolent, intolerant professor of religion, who, with a less exceptionable creed, is lamentably deficient in the graces of humility, self-denial, and charity." Happy will that man be, who, if he is working upon sound principles, and has renounced the notion of

* No serious attempt was made to answer the Provincial Letters for forty years.

human merit before God, shall find, in his daily conduct, proofs equally strong with those which the life of Pascal furnishes, of a sincere desire to *mortify the deeds of the body*, and to silence the impure suggestions of carnal inclination.

Worn down, however, by rigid self-denial, and painful devotion to study, the frame of Pascal began to exhibit serious symptoms of decline. The constitutional disease, which had shown itself in earlier years, gained ground; and after five years of active exertion, his general health completely gave way, and he became, in several respects, a very great sufferer. One part of his affliction was a severe, and almost unceasing pain in the teeth, so that he was unable to sleep, and was compelled to lie whole nights in thought, in order, if possible, to divert his attention from the agony that he endured.

At this time, however, an incident occurred which must not be omitted, because it tends to exhibit, in a striking point of view, the originality and superiority of his mind. During one of his wakeful and painful nights, some propositions respecting the curve, called the Cycloid,* recurred to his recollection. He had, for a long time, given up all mathematical study; but the train of thought to which these recollections led, interested him, and beguiled the pain under which he was suffering. He allowed himself, therefore, to be led on by the beauty of the thoughts which occurred to him, and at length pressed his examination of the subject to such important results, that even now the discoveries which he made that night, are regarded among the greatest efforts of the human mind. Yet so completely had his attention been turned away from such speculations, and occupied with those religious contemplations, which, as relating to God and eternity, he thought far more important, that he did not attempt to commit to paper these interesting and splendid discoveries, till speaking one day of them to the Duke de Roannez, it was suggested to him that they might be made useful in support of the cause of the true religion, at that time persecuted in the persons of the Jansenists; and he then consented to the mode of publication which was subsequently adopted.

In June, 1658, therefore, Pascal issued a paper, under the signature of Amos Dettonville, which is an anagram of the name of Louis de Montalte, the signature affixed to the Provincial Letters, proposing certain questions for solution, respecting the properties of the Cycloid, and offering two rewards if the questions were solved, and the mode of solution were exhibited, by a given day, to certain judges chosen for the purpose. The proposal gave rise to much discussion, and called forth much mathematical talent. Only two persons, however, claimed the prize, the Jesuit, Lallouere, and Dr. Wallis, the Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford; but at the expiry of the given time, they had not satisfied the judges that a proper solution of the questions had been offered, and then immediately Pascal printed his own treatise on the subject, which completely established his claim to the discovery of the right method of solution.

How far this mathematical discovery could aid the cause of religion, is very questionable. Probably the Duke de Roannez wished it to be inferred, that the highest gifts of superior intellect are bestowed by a kind providence upon the servants of God, as a mark of approbation, and a proof of the nobler gifts of grace; but this is, to say the least of it, a very questionable position, and one not borne out by fact; for generally speaking, the children of this world, are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light. The event, however, has its use in a different way. It tends to confirm our confidence in the superior mind of Pascal, as one of those lights that God has graciously vouchsafed to his church, to mark out the path of truth, amidst the mazes of error. And it exhibits, in a very interesting manner, the reality of Pascal's religion, that discoveries so calculated to gratify a mind like his, and to call out the ambitious desire of giving them to the world, should have appeared of little importance to him, compared with the general course of pious meditations, in which his days and nights were spent, and only worthy to occupy him seriously when it could be made to appear to him, however erroneously, that the publication might subserve the interests of that religion which was, of all things, nearest to his heart. There is very little indeed of this practical elevation above the world. There are few who really feel it; and whenever it is seen, it is worthy of reverence; for few proofs of the realizing consciousness of another existence, and of a rational hope of happiness in it, are more satisfactory and impressive than the calm and composure with which some superior minds loose their grasp upon those things of the present scene that are naturally precious to them, and find their highest delight in the promises of holiness and glory, beyond this scene of death. As St. Paul says, *Yea doubtless, and I count all things but dung that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith: that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead.*

In Pascal, turning aside from the career of fame to which his acute and active mind almost involuntarily led him, and neglecting those imposing discoveries which spontaneously opened to the energies of his genius, even in the very agonies of disease, to occupy himself with prayer and meditation on the Divine perfections, and with designs for the moral and religious improvement of his fellow-creatures, an instance of true magnanimity presents itself, which nothing but the reality of the great subject of his hopes can at all explain. Skeptics may profess to smile at what they call the superstitions of weaker minds, and they may find ample food for unholy mirth in the errors and imbecilities of many faithful Christians, but when they see the loftiest spirits of the age, men whose comprehensive grasp of intellect makes all their boasted philosophy look mean and meagre, making light of all that the material world can offer to their notice, and eagerly holding forth the torch of revelation, to catch, as their worthiest prospect, a view of the realities of the eternal world, they are compelled to admit that there is, at least, no small probability that the testimony of that book is true, and that it is not folly to carry inquiry farther.

The most interesting and important of the productions of this great mind, remains to be noticed. It has been seen, that the original tendencies of Pascal's mind, aided by the habits of his early education, had peculiarly fitted him for patient and accurate investigation into any subject that came before him. He grappled with the difficulties of his subject, and never was satisfied till he had discovered the truth. Subsequently, the decline of his health, and some other providential circumstances, followed up by the advice of his pious relatives, gave a decidedly religious bias to his mind, and with all his native ardor and acumen, and patience and perseverance in inquiry, he applied himself to

* It is the curve, described by a nail upon the felly of a wheel of a carriage in motion.

the study of the Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and every book of importance on the subject, on which he could lay his hand. In this way, following up his reading, according to his usual method, with frequent and mature reflection on the points in question in all the variety of their bearings, he gradually became completely master of the subject of the Christian religion, of the evidence for its truth, the suitability of the remedy to the state of man, the poverty and want of solidity in all the skeptical objections brought against it, and the true method of confuting each. The abstract which he has given of the opinions of Montaigne and Epictetus, shows how diligent had been his research into the opinions of other men, and how admirably fitted his mind was for unravelling their sophistries, and exposing their errors.

Pascal, feeling no doubt master of his subject, and conscious, in a degree, of the fitness of his powers for it; at all events, tracing in his own mind a clear road to conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, determined to write a comprehensive work on the subject. Like most of his subjects of thought, he revolved it repeatedly in his mind, and sometimes spoke of it. On one occasion, he was requested to give in conversation, an outline of his plan, before a number of his friends. He consented; and in an extempore discourse of from two to three hours, developed the plan of his work. He pointed out the subject on which he purposed to treat; he gave a concise abridgment of the mode of reasoning, and a synoptical view of the order in which the different branches of the subject were to be treated; and his friends, who were themselves as capable as most men of judging in such a case, declared, that they had never heard any thing more admirable, or more powerfully convincing. It is recorded, that, from the hasty conversational view which he then gave them of the work, they anticipated a splendid performance from that mind, the powers of which they well knew, and whose assiduity they knew to be such, that he never contented himself with his first thoughts, but wrote and rewrote, even eight or ten times, tracts, which any one but himself, would have thought excellent at first.

For this work, Pascal had been preparing several years; but the circumstances which occurred, in connection with the supposed cure of his niece, Mademoiselle Perier at Port Royal,* and which peculiarly directed his attention to the subject of miracles, accelerated his efforts to accomplish it. He gave himself entirely to the work; and for a whole year, previously to the general breaking up of his health, he was occupied in collecting materials, and noting down his thoughts for the purpose. From that time, however, his life was an almost unbroken continuance of suffering, during which, he was able to do little towards the furtherance of his object. Worn down with pain, and oppressed by extreme languor, he could not occupy himself in lengthened meditation, and his utmost effort was, during the short intervals of relief from pain that were granted him, to write down his thoughts on the first morsel of paper that came to hand; and at times, when he could not hold the pen, he dictated to his servant.

In this way Pascal accumulated materials for his work. The whole subject came repeatedly before him in the detail of its different parts; and any thought which it might be needful to work into the general scheme, was committed to paper as it arose, and with a degree of accuracy or inaccuracy, according to the state of his mind or body at the time, and the degree of attention that he was enabled to give. Hence some of them were expressed in a manner peculiarly short, imperfect, and enigmatical; while others were evidently labored, and made out with care.

But in the mysterious providence of God, this work was not to be completed. The health of the author rapidly declined; and at his death, nothing was found of it but this mass of detached Thoughts, written on separate pieces of paper, which were evidently the raw material, out of which he had purposed to erect the fabric that he had planned.

It may be thought by some surprising, that after several years of study, for the express purpose, nothing more connected was found among his writings; but the habit of his mind explains this. It had always been his custom to reflect much on the subjects on which he wrote, and completely to arrange the matter in his mind before he embodied it on paper, in order that he might ascertain carefully the order in which the different parts should be disposed, so as to produce the effect which he desired; and having a memory so retentive, that as he used to say, no thought which he had once strongly impressed on his mind, ever escaped him, it appears probable, that, confiding to the clear analytic view which he had of his plan, he went on, using the intervals of rest from pain, to collect the specific thoughts, and looking to a period of greater freedom from disease, to bring them forth according to the general arrangement on which he had determined. That period, however, did not arrive; and instead of a luminous and comprehensive defence of the whole Christian scheme, we have in his Thoughts, as published, only some imperfect attempts, expressive of his intentions. These are, however, admirably calculated to suggest subjects of interesting speculation to other minds, on many important points of the great question which he had in view, and from their almost unrivalled excellence as far as they go, must ever give rise to sincere and deep regret, that their author left his work unfinished.

As to the plan of the work, we are left entirely to conjecture, except so far as he unfolded it in the conversation before mentioned; but of that abridged statement, one of his friends who was present, has given from memory the following account:—

"After having shown them what modes of proof produce the greatest impression on the minds of men, and are most effectual as means of suasion, he undertook to show that the Christian religion had marks of certainty as decided, and evidence in its favor as strong, as any of those things which are received in the world as unquestionable.

"He began by a delineation of man, in which he omitted nothing which might tend to give him a minute and comprehensive knowledge of himself, both within and without, even to the most secret emotions of his soul. He then supposed the case of a man, who, having lived in that state of ignorance in which men generally live, and in indifference to most things around him, but especially to those which concern himself, comes, at length, to consider himself in the picture which he had previously drawn, and to examine what he really is. He is surprised with the discovery which he makes there of a multitude of things, on which he had never previously thought; and he cannot notice without astonishment, all that Pascal's description causes him to feel of his greatness and his vileness, his power and his weakness, of the little light that

* The facts of the case are very curious; and there is no doubt that M. Pascal believed the truth of the miraculous cure; but to go into a minute examination of the circumstances, would far exceed the limits of this memoir, and must be reserved for a more extensive work in contemplation, but which may perhaps never be accomplished.

lingers with him, and the thick darkness which almost entirely surrounds him, and of all those wonderful contrarieties which are found in his nature. After this, however weak his intellectual powers may be, he can no longer remain in indifference; and however insensible he may have been hitherto to such questions, he cannot but wish, after having ascertained what he is, to know also whence he came, and what is to become of him.

"Pascal having, as he supposed, thus awakened in him the disposition to seek for information on a subject so important, proposed to direct his attention, first to the philosophers of this world; and having unfolded to him all that the wisest philosophers of all the different sects have said on the subject of man, to point out to him so many defects, weaknesses, contradictions, and falsehoods, in all that they have advanced, that it would not be difficult for the individual in question, to determine, that it is not in the schools of human philosophy that he must seek for instruction.

"He then carries his disciple over the universe, and through all the ages of its history, and points out to him the variety of religions which have obtained in it; but he shows him, at the same, by strong and convincing reasons, that all these religions are full of vanity and folly, of errors, extravagance and absurdity, so that here also he finds nothing which can give him satisfaction.

"Then Pascal directs his attention to the Jewish people, and points out a train of circumstances so extraordinary, that they easily rivet his attention. And having called his attention to all the singularities of that nation, he fixes it especially on the one book by which that people are guided, and which comprehends at once their history, their law, and their theology.

"Scarcely has he opened this book, when he learns that the world is the work of God, and that the same God has made man in his own image, and endowed him with all the powers of body and mind, adapted to this state of being. Although he has not yet attained to a conviction of these truths, they are a source of gratification to him; and reason alone is sufficient to discover to him more probability in the supposition, that one God is the creator of men, and of all things in the universe, than in all the wild inventions which tradition offers elsewhere to his notice. He soon perceives, however, that he is far from possessing all the advantages which belonged to man, when he first came from the hands of his Maker. But his doubt in this matter is speedily cleared up; for on reading further, he ascertains, that after man had been created in a state of innocence, and gifted with many perfections, his first act was to rebel against his Maker, and to use his new created powers in offending him.

"Pascal proposed then to show him, that this crime being one of the most aggravated in all its circumstances, it was punished, not only in the first man, who, having fallen by that sinful act, sunk at once into misery, and weakness, and blindness, and error, but also in all his descendants, in all time following, to whom he transmits, and will transmit, his own corrupt nature.

"His plan was then to point out to him several passages of this book, in which he must discover the averment of this truth. He shows him that it never speaks of man but with reference to this state of weakness and disorder; that it is frequently said there, that all flesh is corrupt; that men are become sensual, and that they have a bias to evil from their birth. He shows him that this first fall is the origin, not only of all that is otherwise incomprehensible in the nature of man, but also of many effects which are external to him, and of which the cause is otherwise unknown. In fact, it would be his object to point out man, as so accurately depicted in this book, that he would appear in no respect different from the character which he had previously traced.

"But merely to teach man the truth of his misery, would not be enough. Pascal proposed to show him, that in this same book also he might find his consolation. He would point out that it is said there, that the remedy of this evil is with God; that we must go to him for strength; that he will have compassion, and will send a deliverer who will make a satisfaction for guilty man, and be his support in weakness.

"After having set before his disciple a number of important remarks on the sacred book of this peculiar people, he proposed to show him that this was the only book which had spoken worthily of the Supreme Being, and that had given the idea of an universal religion. He would point out what should be the most evident marks of such a religion; which he would then apply to those which this book inculcated, and would direct his attention especially to the fact, that these Scriptures make the essence of religion to consist in the love of God, which is a feature entirely peculiar to themselves, and distinguishes them from all other religious writings in the world, the falsehood of which appears manifestly detected by the want of this essential characteristic.

"Hitherto, although Pascal might have led his scholar so far onward towards a disposition for the adoption of the Christian religion, he had said nothing to convince him of the truth of the things which he had discovered; he had only induced in him the disposition to receive them with pleasure, if he could be satisfied that it was his duty; he had led him to wish with his whole heart, that these things were substantial and well-founded truths, since he found in them so much that tended to give him repose, and to clear up his serious and distressing doubts. And this, M. Pascal considered, is the state in which every reasonable man should be, who has once seriously entered on that train of considerations that he wished to set before the mind of his disciple; and that there is reason to believe, that a man in such a state of mind, would then easily admit all the proofs which might be brought to confirm the reality of those important truths of which he had spoken.

"Then in the way of proof, having shown generally that these truths were contained in a book, the genuineness and authenticity of which, could not reasonably be doubted, he proposed to look minutely into the writings of Moses, in which these truths are especially taught, and to show by an extensive series of unquestionable proofs, that it was equally impossible that Moses had left a written statement of untruths, or that the people to whom he left them, could have been deceived as to the facts, even though Moses himself had been an impostor.

"He would speak also of the miracles recorded there, and he would prove that it was not possible that they could not be true, not only by the authority of the book that relates them, but by the many attendant circumstances which made them, in themselves, unquestionable.

"Then he would proceed to show, that the whole law of Moses was figurative; that all which happened to the Jews, was but a type of the realities accomplished at the coming of Messiah; and that the veil which covered these types having been withdrawn, it had become easy now to perceive the complete fulfilment of them, in those who had received Jesus Christ as the promised teacher come from God.

"He then undertook to prove the truth of religion

by prophecy; and, on this point, he spoke more fully than on some others. Having thought and examined deeply on this subject, and having views which were quite original, he explained them with great accuracy, and set them forth with peculiar force and brilliancy.

"And then having run through the books of the Old Testament, and made many powerful observations, calculated to serve as convincing proofs of the truths of religion, he proposed to speak of the New Testament, and to draw from it the proofs which it afforded of the truth of the gospel.

"He began with Jesus Christ; and although he had already triumphantly proved his Messiahship by prophecy, and by the types of the law which he showed to have in him their perfect accomplishment, he adduced further proofs still, drawn from his person, his miracles, his doctrine, and the events of his life.

"He then came down to the apostles; and in order to show the truth of that faith which they had so generally preached, he *first* established the notion that they could not be accused of supporting a false system, but upon the supposition, either that they were deceivers, or were themselves deceived; and then in the *second* place, he showed that the one and the other of these suppositions were equally impossible.

"Finally, he took a very comprehensive view of the evangelical history, making some admirable remarks on the gospel itself—on the style and character of the evangelists—on the apostles and their writings—on the great number of miracles—on the saints and martyrs of the early church, and on all the various means by which the Christian religion had obtained a footing in the world: and although it was quite impracticable in such a discourse, to treat such an extensive range of material at length, and with the minuteness, accuracy, and collective force which he purposed in his work, he said enough to exhibit most luminously, the conclusion to which he wished to come, that God only could have so conducted the issue of so many different agents and influences, as that they should all concur in supporting the religion which he himself wished to establish among men."

This is the short abstract which has been handed down of the plan of M. Pascal's work; and short as it is, it gives us some faint view of the comprehensiveness of his genius—of the grasp that he had of his subject, and of the irresistible mass of evidence in existence for the support of the Christian religion, if it could be thus brought to bear upon the question by the energies of one great mind adapted for the purpose. It must remain a matter of wonder to short-sighted mortals, why a work apparently so important, should not have been permitted to reach its completion. Perhaps the explanation of this difficulty may, in some measure, be obtained from one of M. Pascal's Thoughts, in which he says, "So many men make themselves unworthy of God's clemency, that he is willing to leave them ignorant of those blessings for which they do not care to seek. It was not right that he should appear in a mode unequivocally divine, so as to force conviction upon all men. Nor was it right that he should be so entirely concealed, as not to be recognized by those who sincerely seek him. To such he wished to be known; and willing therefore to be discovered by those who seek him with their whole heart, but hidden from those who as heartily avoid him, he has so regulated the discovery of himself, that he has given evidences which will be clear and satisfactory to those who really seek him, but dark, and doubtful, and depressing to those who seek him not." On this ground probably it is, that the evidences for our religion which do exist, have never yet been accumulated with all their force and brilliancy, so as to exhibit one comprehensive and conclusive testimony to the truth.

But though Pascal did not live to complete his work, the fragments that he left behind him were too valuable to be lost. It was necessary that they should be given as a posthumous work to the public. His friends, therefore, who were aware of his design to write such a work, were peculiarly careful after his death, to collect every thing which he had written on the subject; and they found only the Thoughts which are published, with others yet more imperfect and obscure, written, as has been mentioned, on separate pieces of paper, and tied up in several bundles, without any connection or arrangement whatever, but evidently being, in the greater proportion of instances, the mere rough expression of the thought as it first entered his mind. He had been often heard to say, that the work would require ten years of health to complete it; and he had only been able to devote to it the short intervals of comparative ease, or rather of less acute suffering, which he enjoyed during four or five years of a complicated mortal disease.

At first, from their confused and imperfect state, it seemed almost impossible to give these papers publicity; but the demand for them, even as they were, was so impatient, that it became necessary to gratify it; and the labor of editing them was committed to his leading confidential friends, the Duc de Roannez, and Messieurs Arnauld, Nicole, De Treville, Dubois, De la Chaise, and the elder Perier.

And here a serious difficulty was to be encountered on the threshold. In what form should these fragments be given to the world? To print them precisely in the state in which they were found, would be worse than useless. They would have been a mass of mere confusion. To complete them as far as possible, by adding to the imperfect Thoughts, and enlightening the obscure, would have produced a very interesting and useful work; but it would not have been the work of Pascal, even supposing the editors able to enter fully into his original design. Both these methods, therefore, were rejected; and a third plan was adopted, according to which they are now reprinted. The editors selected from a great number of Thoughts, those which appeared the most perfect and intelligible; and these they printed as they found them, without addition or alteration, except that they arranged them as nearly as might be in that order, which, according to the Syllabus that Mr. Pascal had formerly given of his plan, they conceived would come nearest to his wishes.

The first editions of the work were comparatively imperfect; but subsequently, many other valuable Thoughts were gleaned from the MSS. and in the later editions an accurate collation with the original papers, has secured, as far as possible, the meaning of the author. The first edition was printed in 1669, and was surprisingly successful. Tillemont, in speaking of it, says, "It has even surpassed all that I expected from a mind which I considered the greatest that had appeared in one century. I see only St. Augustine that can be compared with him." And most unquestionably, however imperfect the work remains, or rather, though it falls entirely short of being the efficient defence of the Christian religion which Pascal had contemplated; yet even now, this collection of scattered Thoughts stands forth to claim the meed of praise, as a work of unrivalled excellence. It bears the marks of the most extraordinary genius. It exhibits a master's hand in touching the difficult questions of the evidences for our religion, and in probing the secrets of the human heart. It exhibits many points of the argument with great originality and force, and contains the

germ of many new and valuable speculations. Many of these thoughts, hastily and imperfectly expressed as they are, have been the native ore, out of which other students have drawn the most valuable and elaborate treatises on different points of the extensive argument which he purposed to consider.*

But one of the finest features of the work, is, the mastery which his mighty mind had over the human heart. Pascal had been a diligent student of his own heart; he knew its tendencies, its weaknesses, its errors. He knew what were its natural resources for comfort, and he knew their vanity; and having gone down into the depths of this question for his own sake, he was able to deal with a resistless power with the children of sin and folly. He could strip their excuses of all vain pretence. He could exhibit their lying vanities in all their poverty and comfortlessness; and he could set forth man in all the reality of his misery, as a dark and cheerless being, without hope or solace, except he find it in the mercy of his God, and in the revealed record of his compassion.

It is this extensive knowledge of human nature which constitutes the peculiar charm of the Pensees. They who read it, feel that the writer gets within their guard; that he has, from experience, the power of entering into the secret chamber of their conscience, and of exhibiting to them the many evils which would otherwise lie there unmolested, but which, seen in the light in which he placed them, must be recognized as their own. The arguments of such a writer must have weight; and it is almost natural to feel, that he who has so thorough a knowledge of the disease, may be followed also in his recommendation of a remedy.

The close, however, of M. Pascal's life, demands our attention. His infirmities and sufferings rapidly increased; and at length unfitted him for any exertion whatever; but they had a most blessed effect upon himself as the means of preparing him more manifestly and entirely for a holier world. It was evidently his wish to detach himself as much as possible from the present material scene; and, with this view, he made it a matter of conscience to check the indulgence of all his appetites and affections. His disease rendered it absolutely necessary that his food should be very delicate, but he was always anxious to take it without occupying his mind with it, or remarking upon its flavor. All this he considered as savoring strongly of sensuality. He objected therefore to the introduction of any kind of sauces, even the juice of an orange into his food, and rigidly regulated the quantity which he thought he ought to take daily for his sustenance; and this he would not exceed. He watched with an anxious jealousy over the still stronger passions, lest the slightest indulgence should be given to them, in himself or others. His views of the necessity of purity in general conversation, were of the highest kind; and he would not even allow his sister to remark on the personal beauty of any one whom she had seen, lest in the minds of his servants, of young people or himself, it should give rise to a questionable thought.

M. Pascal felt it necessary, even to detach himself still more from the present world, and to restrain within himself those excessive attachments to lawful objects here, to which he was by nature strongly disposed. His most ardent affections for any thing in this life, were given to his sister Jacqueline; yet so effectually had he, by Divine contemplation, become elevated above the common views which men take of separation by death, and so entirely was he absorbed in approbation of the will of God, that when her death was announced to him, an event which occurred about six months anterior to his own, he merely said, "May God give us grace to die as she died;" and thenceforth, he never spoke of her, but to remark on the grace with which God had blessed her during her life, and the peculiar mercy of her death at that time, in the crisis of the afflictions and persecutions of the Port Royal establishments; concluding always with the passage of Scripture, "*Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.*"

But this endeavor to break loose from all earthly attachments, did not arise in him, as it does in some stoical minds, from a proud sense of superiority, and a dominant feeling of satisfaction in himself. On the contrary, he powerfully felt his own defects—he was equally anxious that others should not form any attachment to him. On this point he became so determined, and so conscientiously strict, that his manner seriously grieved his sister, Madame Perier, during his last illness, who complained of the evident coldness and reserve with which he received her tenderest and most assiduous attention to his infirmities. Madame Perier states, that this dryness and reserve were to her very enigmatical, because she saw, notwithstanding the coldness of his general manner, that whenever an opportunity occurred in which he could serve her, he embraced it with all his original ardor; and she mentions, that the difficulty on her mind in this respect, was never cleared up till the day of his death, when he stated his views to a friend, that it was highly criminal, for a human being, full of infirmities, to attempt to occupy the affections of a heart which should be given to God only, and that it was robbing God of the most precious thing that this world afforded.

Nor did Pascal's endeavor to rise superior to earthly attachments, originate in hard-heartedness or misanthropy. On the contrary, in proportion as he separated himself from the ties of affection to relatives, and well known individuals, his affections towards the poor and the afflicted of his fellow-creatures increased. And herein he obtained an eminent degree of assimilation to the Divine mind. When a stone is thrown into the water, the ripple occasioned nearest to the centre of impulse, is the largest; and as the circles widen and recede, it diminishes. This is an emblem of human affection. The nearer the relation of the object to ourselves, the warmer is our love; and as the objects become remote, our love declines, till it is scarcely perceptible. Perfect love, the love of God, is the same to all; and with him, nearness of relation, or position makes no difference. All God's creatures are loved by him, with an affection proportioned to their real worth: and the more fully we are assimilated to the Divine Being, the more shall we realize of this reigning principle of love; we shall love, not because we are loved, or because we receive any thing again, or because, in the person of our relatives, we bestow our affection remotely on our own flesh; but we shall love souls for their own sake, for their intrinsic value as the creatures of God, and as sharers with us in the same necessities and distresses.

M. Pascal's regard for the necessities of the poor was so great, that he could not refuse to give alms, even though he was compelled to take from the supply necessary to relieve his own infirmities.

* A work of very superior talent on Prophecy has been lately sent forth by the Rev. John Davidson, of Oriel Coll. Oxon. of which the germ is to be found in the following Thought of M. Pascal. "The prophecies are composed of particular prophecies, and prophecies relating to the Messiah; in order that the prophecies of Messiah might not be without collateral proof, and that the prophecies relating to particular cases, might not be useless in the general system."

And when at times he exceeded his income, and his friends remonstrated with him on account of it, he would answer, "I have invariably found, that however poor a man is, he has something left when he dies." He was often reduced to the necessity of borrowing money at interest, to indulge himself in these charitable donations. And at one time, when there was a prospect of his income being increased, he proposed to borrow a large sum in advance, upon the strength of his expectations, that he might send it to the poor of Blois, whose distresses were then peculiarly severe.

His views on the subject of charity towards the poor, are thus given by Madame Perier. "His regard for the poor had always been great; but it was so far increased towards the close of his life, that I could not please him better than by indulging it. For four years he continued to press upon me the duty of dedicating myself and my children to the service of the poor. And when I replied, That I feared this would interfere with the proper care of my family, he answered, 'That this was only the want of good-will, and that this virtue might be practised without any injury to domestic concerns.' He said that charity was generally the vocation of Christians, and that it needed no particular mark to indicate a call to it, for it was certain, that on that very ground, Christ would judge the world; and that when we consider that the mere omission of this duty will be the cause of the soul's eternal ruin, this one thought, if we have faith, should lead us willingly to suffer the privation of all things. He said also, that the habit of going among the poor, is extremely useful, because we acquire a practical conviction of the miseries under which they suffer; and we cannot see them wanting, in their extremity, the common necessaries and comforts of life, without being willing to part with our own luxurious superfluities.

"Such sentiments led us to adopt some general plan, according to which, the necessities of all might be supplied; but this he did not approve. He said, we were not called to act on general principles, but to meet particular cases; and he believed, that the most pleasing method of serving God, was in serving the poor out of our poverty; that each should relieve the poor around him, according to his several ability, without occupying his mind with those great designs, which aim at a fancied and probably unattainable excellence of operation, and leave the practicable good undone; and that instead of intermeddling with great enterprises which are reserved for but few, Christians generally were called to the daily assistance of the poor in the particular cases which occurred within the sphere of their own immediate influence."*

One very interesting instance of Pascal's benevolence occurred about three months before his death. As he returned one day from the Church of St. Sulpice, he was accosted by a young person about fifteen years of age, and very beautiful, who asked charity. He felt the danger of her situation, and inquired into her circumstances; and having learned that she came from the country—that her father was dead, and that her mother being ill, had been that day brought to the Hotel Dieu for medical assistance; he regarded himself as sent of God to her relief, in the crisis of her necessity; and he took her, without delay, to a seminary, where he placed her under the care of a pious clergyman, provided for her support, and, through the assistance of a female friend, settled her, at length, in a comfortable situation.

Another instance of the extreme force of the principle of charity in his mind, occurred subsequently to this. He had been seized with such a degree of nausea, that his medical attendant had required him to abstain from all solid food; and he was, in consequence, reduced to great weakness. He had in his house at the time, a poor man, with his wife and family, for whose accommodation, he had given up one of his rooms. One of the children had fallen ill of the small-pox; and Pascal, who needed at the time, on account of his great debility, the attendance of his sister, was unwilling that she should come to him, from the risk of infection to her children. It became necessary, therefore, that he and his sick inmate should separate; but considering the probability of danger to the child, if he were removed, he preferred to submit to the inconvenience himself, and consequently, allowing the poor family to retain possession, he left his own house, never to return, and came to die at Madame Perier's. Whether this be viewed in the light of an act of tenderness to the poor, or of self-denial for the comfort and the safety of his relatives, it is equally lovely, and worthy of regard and veneration.

Three days after this circumstance, Pascal was visited by that attack of disease which removed him out of this present world. It began with violent internal pain; the severity of which, he endured with wonderful patience and composure. His medical attendants perceived, that his sufferings were very great; but finding his pulse good, and no appearance of fever, they ventured to assure his friends, that there was not the least shadow of danger. Pascal however felt that owing to the severity of his sufferings, and the exhaustion of constant sleeplessness, he was becoming much enfeebled, and on the fourth day of his illness, sent for the curate of the parish, and confessed. The report of this spread rapidly among his friends; and they gathered round him, overwhelmed with apprehension. The medical men were so surprised by this, that they said, it was an indication of fear on his part, which they did not anticipate from him; and, notwithstanding his suspicions, they persisted in maintaining a favorable opinion of his case. In the mean time, however, he became much more emaciated; and believing, in opposition to all their representations, that he was really in danger, he communicated freely and repeatedly with the curate, on the subject of his religious hope.

At this time also he made his will, on which occasion he stated, that if M. Perier had been at Paris, and would have consented, he would have given all his property to the poor. He said to Madame Perier, "How is it that I have done nothing for the poor, though I have always loved them?" To which she replied, "Your means have not been such as to enable you to do much for them." "But," said he, "if I could not give them money, I might, at least, have given my time and my labor. Here I have come short indeed! And if the physicians are right, and God permits me to recover, I am determined to have no other employment all the rest of my life."

There are multitudes of persons gifted with both wealth and leisure, who know nothing whatever of the wants and miseries of the poor, and of those scenes of distress and death which occur around them, and which, a little attention on their part, might materially alleviate. To float upon the stream of pleasure—to indulge a luxurious and sel-

* This thought will recall to the attention, the lessons of a modern school of no little celebrity; and the peculiar, but important and convincing statements of one great mind, from which that school has originated. It is impossible to be well acquainted with the writings of Pascal and of Chalmers, and not to feel in more instances than one, the striking coincidence of thought between them

fish listlessness, in the expenditure of all the means that they can command—to turn away from, and forget that others are miserable, this seems with many the great object of life. Let such persons look at Pascal, at the close of a life of disease, the small intervals of which, he had dedicated to useful and charitable purposes; let them consider his sincere and penitential regrets, that he had done so little for his poorer fellow-creatures; and then let them ask themselves, how they will meet the solemn scrutiny of that hour, when God will enter into judgment with them? It is an awful sentence, "In as much as *ye did it not*, to the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me." The truly Christian view of duty in this respect is, that the gifts of a bounteous Providence, are not bestowed on us for personal indulgence; but that while we take a moderate and rational enjoyment of the comforts of life, we should regard ourselves as stewards of the manifold gifts of God, to dispense blessings to those who suffer, and to make the opportunity of relieving temporal distresses, the channel for a gift still more valuable, in the instruction of the soul in righteousness. To live for this, is duty and happiness.

The Saviour of mankind lived among the poor of this world, and labored for their relief and their salvation. Pascal endeavored to follow in the steps of his blessed Master, and only regretted, that he had done this so imperfectly. And whoever shall strive sincerely to follow the lovely example of Christ's most holy life, will find in it, both here and hereafter, an abundant blessing—a blessing which no contingency can alter—the present sense of Divine favor on earth, and the approving smile of his gracious and compassionate Lord in heaven.

The patience with which Pascal endured pain, was equally remarkable with his overflowing love to the poor. When some one observed to him the distress which they felt at seeing him suffer, he answered, "It does not grieve me. I only fear to be relieved. I know both the dangers of health, and the benefit of suffering. Do not mourn for me; disease is the natural and proper state for Christians. Then we are, as we ought to be—in a state of affliction, by which we become alienated from the joys and the pleasures of sense, and delivered from those passions which disturb all other periods of our life; we are freed from ambition and from avarice, and looking perpetually for death. Is not this the life that a Christian should live? Is it not a privilege to be brought into a state that makes it imperative so to live; and that requires only the duty of humble and thankful submission? For this reason, I desire no other blessing now of God, than that he would continue to me the grace of sanctified affliction."

He was so simple and child-like in his spirit, that he would listen to any one who pointed out a fault in him, and yielded implicitly to their advice. The exquisite sensitiveness of his mind, sometimes betrayed him into impatience; but if this was mentioned to him, or if he discovered that he had grieved any one, he instantly addressed himself to the reparation of his fault, by acts of the most unqualified tenderness and kindness. The curate of St. Etienne, who attended him during the whole of his illness, used to say repeatedly, "He is an infant—humble and submissive as an infant." And another ecclesiastic who came to see him, and remained an hour with him, said to Madame Perier when he left him, "Be comforted, Madame; if God calls him, you have good reason to bless him for the grace bestowed on your brother. I have always admired many noble points about his character; but I have never noticed any thing superior to the child-like simplicity which he now exhibits. In a great mind like his, this is incomparably lovely. I would gladly change places with him."

As the time drew on, he earnestly desired to receive the sacrament; but the medical men opposed it, on the ground that they could not justify the administering *the viaticum*, because he was not in immediate danger of death; and because he was too weak to receive it with fasting, according to the customary method of persons not dangerously ill; and that it was preferable, that he should wait till he was able to receive it at the church. His sufferings, however, continued to increase; and though they yielded, in a degree, to the influence of medicine, they were, at length, attended with severe pain and giddiness in the head, which distressed him greatly, and induced him to press on his friends with the greatest earnestness, that they would allow him to partake of the Lord's Supper, and cease to make those objections by which he had hitherto been prevented from receiving it. He said, "They do not feel what I suffer; and they will find themselves mistaken about me. There is something very extraordinary about this pain in my head." When, however, he found that his wish was still opposed, he ceased to importune, but said, "Since they will not grant me this favor, let me, at least, substitute something else in its stead. If I may not communicate with the head, at least, let me have communion with the members. Let a poor person be brought into the house, and treated with the same attention as myself, that in the confusion with which I am overwhelmed at the abundance of my mercies, I may, at least, have the gratification of knowing, that one poor creature shares them with me. For when I think of my own comforts, and of the multitude of poor who are in a worse state than I am, and are destitute of the merest necessaries, I feel a distress which I cannot endure." And when he found that this wish could not be granted, he entreated to be carried out to the Hospital of the Incurables, that he might die among the poor. He was told, that the physicians could not consent to his being removed, at which he was much grieved, and made his sister promise, that if he at all revived, this indulgence should be granted to him.

About midnight, however, of the 17th of August, he was seized with violent convulsions, at the termination of which, he appeared to be rapidly sinking; and his friends began to fear, that although Madame Perier had, of her own accord, made arrangements for his partaking of the Lord's Supper on that day, he must at length, die without the comfort of that sacred ordinance, which he had so earnestly requested, and which they, at the instance of the medical advisers, had withheld. But, as if God was willing graciously to indulge his request, his convulsions subsided, and his senses became as perfectly collected, as if he were in health; and just at this moment, the curate arrived with the sacred elements. As the curate entered the room, he said, "Now you shall be indulged in your earnest wish." This address completely roused him. He raised himself by his own strength on his elbow, to receive the communion with greater outward reverence. On being questioned previously as to the leading points of the faith, he answered distinctly to each question, "Yes, sir, I believe this with all my heart." He then received the *viaticum*, and *extreme unction*, with sentiments of the tenderest emotion, and with tears. He repeated the several responses; he thanked the curate for his attention; and when he received his blessing, said, "May my God never forsake me." Excepting a short expression of thanksgiving, these were his last words. Immediately afterward, the convulsions again returned, and continued till his death, about twenty-four hours after, without any returning interval of consciousness. He died on

the 19th of August, 1662, at one o'clock in the morning, aged thirty-nine years, and two months.

On examination, his stomach and liver were found very much diseased, and his intestines in a state of mortification.

Thus died a man who was one of the brightest ornaments that the church of Rome could ever boast. If nothing else were wanting, there is, in the life and death of Pascal ample proof, that notwithstanding all the wretched errors and criminal abominations of that apostate church, and the fearful wickedness, hypocrisy, and pretence of a large portion of its ecclesiastics, there have been some faithful men, sincere servants of God, who have adhered to its communion. In proof of this it is fashionable and popular now, for the friends of Rome, to make a parade of the virtues and merits of Pascal; but then, it must ever be remembered, that though he remained in the communion of the Romish church, and cordially submitted to its discipline, and respected what he considered as the unity of the church, never was any man a more determined enemy of its errors. He was hated as the very scourge of its abominations; and there is good reason for suspicion, that the man of whom now they make their boast, was not permitted by them to continue the exercise of those commanding talents, which would have gone far towards working a reformation in the church of France, at least, if not elsewhere. Louis de Montalte could never be forgiven, by that deep designing body of men, whom he had exposed; and who have always regarded poison among the most legitimate modes of silencing an adversary.

Most probably Pascal fell the slow but certain victim of their enmity. The circumstances of his disease were very peculiar. They were evidently unintelligible to his physicians, who had no conception that he was so near his end; and the extensive decay that had taken place within, can scarcely be referred to any one specific disease, without the symptoms of it having been such, as to render its nature unequivocal. To these grounds of suspicion are to be added, the unquestionable sentiments of the school of the Jesuits, on this method of removing an obnoxious person, and the many authenticated instances of murder in which they are implicated. It would be cruel indeed to charge the Jesuits as a body, with more than the enormous load of guilt which lies upon their heads; but knowing as we do historically, their dark machinations, their bitter and unmitigable hate, and their bold admission of the principle, that the end sanctifies the means—knowing also that no individual ever did more than Pascal did to sting them to the quick, and to bring all their rancor and malice in its deadliest form upon his head, it is impossible to look at the suspicious circumstances of his death-bed, without fear and indignation. This is, however, one of those mysteries which must be referred, with many other scenes of horror and treachery, in which Rome has borne a part, to that day when "the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain." It is impossible, however, to leave this subject without recalling to the recollection, that the society of the Jesuits is revived—that their principles of morals and of policy are precisely the same as ever—that they have never disclaimed a single sentiment of all their code of vice; and that at this moment, they have large educational establishments, not only in Ireland, but in the very heart of Britain.

But to return; it does seem strange, that Pascal and his friends should now be made the prominent subject of praise, by the friends of the Papacy, when, in fact, they were treated when living, as its bitterest enemies, and their works proscribed in the Index of prohibited books. And if the history of the MM. de Port Royal were well known, it would be seen that the Jesuits never ceased from their political intrigues, till they had succeeded in expelling this last remnant of pure religion from the church of France. The Protestants were murdered by thousands. This need not be wondered at. But in proof that the hostility of the Jesuits was not against names and sects, so much as against principles, we have their inflexible hostility and unrelenting persecution of these great and holy men, who were faithful and regular members of their communion, but who differed from the Jesuits, mainly in this, that instead of making a religious profession a cloak for personal aggrandizements, for the accumulation of wealth, the attainment of power, and the secret command of every sensual indulgence, they were, in the midst of a corrupt church with which they were conscientiously associated, faithful, humble, self-denied followers of the blessed Jesus. The fact is a valuable one. It teaches, that there may be in remote corners, and in private life, and possibly even in the priesthood, some individuals in the communion of Rome, who are the sincere servants of God; yet that wherever they are, they must, in their conscience, protest against and renounce some of the evils by which they are surrounded; but that the grand scheme and system of its hierarchy is a mere pretence—a forcing upon men of a human system of policy and power, garnished with every trick and trapping that art can invent, and blind and childish superstition receive, to conceal its real deformity, infidelity, and cool intentional iniquity from its deluded followers. Through all this mass of mischief, it is just possible, that in the mercy of God, a man may find his way to the Saviour, and repose his soul upon the simple promise of salvation through him; but he who does so, must first renounce those other grounds of confidence which the Romish church puts far more prominently forward, the merit of his own works and penances—the blasphemous indulgences of the Pope and his vicars—the value of money as a coin current at the gate of heaven—the impious adoration of a woman, who has herself entered heaven only as a forgiven sinner, and the idolatrous worship, and the fabled intercession of the whole Calendar of Saints, many of whom, it is to be feared, are not in heaven, and never will be. Not one of these vital errors stained the creed of Pascal. His great mind threw them all off as utterly inconsistent with the simplicity of the Christian faith. But how few must they be, who have strength for this! How few are likely to discern, through these mists of error, the simple object of worship and confidence in the incarnate Son of God, or to break through all this bondage, to the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free!

The man who is saved in the Romish church, must be essential *protestant* against its errors; and till the whole body of its hierarchy shall be brought to this, and to lay their unscriptural and unholy honors at the feet of Him whose power they have usurped, and whose truth and purity they have libelled and insulted, this must continue to be the case. And if this be the fact, then it must ever be a subject of mourning, that any portion of our empire is so criminally left to this meagre chance of salvation in her communion. However men may differ as to their opinion of the rights of men, as subjects of a human government, it becomes them to remember what the Church of Rome has ever been, and what in all its avowed sentiments and public documents it still is—the patron of ignorance and debasing superstition in the mass of its members; and if they see it right to give liberty to her sons with one hand, they should be yet more strenuous to give them light with the other. Nothing can be more awful, and to the British empire more disgraceful,

than that 300 years after the reformation, four millions of its subjects, at our very doors, should be in a state of the most melancholy ignorance of the first principles of the pure word of God, worshipping idols, doing meritorious penances, wearing charms and consecrated amulets, trusting purchased indulgences, vowing allegiance to a foreign potentate, as the representative of their God, and denouncing certain perdition on all those who are not partakers of their folly. When will the spirit of our fathers come upon us again? Where is the mantle of our Elijahs of former days? When will a truly Protestant heart return again to the British people? When will the day come, in which we shall be prepared, as a people, in the simplicity of a scriptural faith, to leave the message of mercy unfettered by the safeguards of human prudence, to win its own triumphant way to the hearts of men? When will the churches of this favored land, rise, as with one consent, against the vile and debasing superstitions which the influence of Rome still pours as a poisonous deluge over so fair a portion of the British dominions; when they shall go forth, not to increase or to perpetuate the political rigors of former days—nor to punish, by the privation of civil rights, the errors of an uninformed and misguided conscience; but to visit these sad victims of priestcraft and delusion, with the kindly offices of mercy and love, to remonstrate affectionately, to reason calmly, to open and explain the Scriptures, to preach in their highways and hedges the unsearchable riches of the gospel of Christ, and to triumph as the Head and High-priest of our profession triumphed, by *turning them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.*

Pascal was a very striking instance of the superiority of a great mind, enlightened by the reading of Scripture, to the errors and superstitions of his age and country. Though he was a layman, yet to him, as a man of learning, those Scriptures were open, from which the common people are, by authority, excluded; and the promised blessing of God attended the obedient study of His word. The progress of his mind was rapid, in the perception of religious truth, and in the discrimination of it from the essential and destructive errors with which it had been mixed up, in the avowed doctrinal sentiments of the Romish Church. His views were clear, perspicuous, and liberal; and, at the same time, he maintained a chastened, child-like, and humble spirit. But there was in him that inflexible rectitude of mind, by which he saw almost intuitively, the prominent and essential features of truth; and grasping these with gigantic firmness, he was prepared, in the seraphic strength which they imparted, to combat for them against the world. Of course, the accuracy and keenness with which he detected error was equally remarkable, and only equalled by the honesty with which he went forth against it. He knew his own principles too well to be inconsistent. He knew the power and the promises of God too well, to be any other than undaunted. He was prepared equally to defend Divine truth against infidelity or superstition, or against that worst, and most frequent of all opponents in the Romish Church, against him who upholds for sinister purposes, the superstitious practices which, in the secret of his heart, he holds in contempt.

To this unbending rectitude of spirit, Pascal united talents peculiarly adapted to make him a powerful and efficient controversialist. The readiness which brings all his powers up at the moment of necessity; the perspicuity which facilitates the communication of ideas, and the playful wit which adorns them; the habitual humility which is the best safeguard against betraying himself by the indulgence of any evil passion, and the simple, affectionate reliance upon the blessing of a Divine power, which makes a man regardless of consequences, as long as he does his duty—these were the qualities which fitted him, in an especial manner, to be the champion of scriptural truth, in the fallen church of the Papacy. Had he been gifted with health and strength, he was the man, of all others, adapted to accomplish a general return to the Christian principles from which that church had strayed; and if views, simple and scriptural as his, had spread and become popular—if the bad parts of the Romish system had, with others, as with him, fallen into dissuetude and contempt; and its ministers, instead of being the fawning supporters of an unchristian tyranny over the consciences of men and the sceptres of the earth, had become like him, the faithful advocates of the leading features of scriptural truth—such a change would have gone far to satisfy the Christian world. There can be no wish, on the part of the universal church of Christ, to unchurch the Church of Rome, or needlessly to interfere with any of its views or non-essential points, which are harmless in their nature, and are, in fact, ground on which charity requires all to be neutral; and though, upon some points, that church might still be regarded by some as too superstitious, yet had she openly and honestly maintained and preached the doctrine of her Pascals, and Arnaulds, and Quesnels, and Fenelons, the leading features of quarrel with her on the part of the Protestant churches, would have almost ceased to exist.

But it is not so. These men must now be looked on only as extraordinary exceptions, from the dominant evils of that community. They are not specimens of the brilliant attainments in knowledge and piety of the disciples of the Papacy. They are anomalies to the universality of error. They are only a few scattered lights, that have been permitted occasionally to shine out amidst the surrounding gloom—to make the palpable thickness of the darkness that covers the multitude more visible. They are only proofs of what the Romish clergy should have been, and might have been, even while they remained conscientiously in communion with that church. But they stand forth as a swift witness against the errors, that have almost universally been sanctioned and encouraged by its authorities; and perhaps, no condemnation more fearful will issue in the last day against the antichristian errors of Rome, than that which marks, with Divine approbation, the solemn protestation of Pascal and his friends, and recognizes the melancholy fact, that sound scriptural truth was hunted down and persecuted, and condemned in their persons, and the true religion of the Saviour once more sacrificed in them to the worldly policy and intrigue, to the pride and passion of the Jesuits.

With the death of Pascal, and the banishment of his friends, all rational hope of the reformation of the French church ceased. "Darkness covered the people—gross darkness that might be felt." And from that day to this, successive woes have fallen, in almost unmingled bitterness, on that irreligious and careless people. What further evils may yet assail them, time will unfold; but even now, increasing darkness gathers round. The sad lessons of experienced suffering, are already thrown aside; and darker superstition frowns, while she forges for them new and heavier chains. In the prospect of the gloom that lowers upon that melancholy country, and in the belief that the torch of truth in the hand of the Jansenists, and of their great champion, might have dispelled it, the friends of true religion may well take up the friendly lamentation which mourned over the tomb of Pascal, the loss sustained by his country in his untimely fall, and say, *Heu! Heu! Cecidit Pascalis.*

Pascal was buried at Paris, in the parish church of St. Etienne du Mont, behind the main altar, near to, and directly before the pillar on the left hand, entering the Chapel of the Virgin. A Latin epitaph, remarkably quaint and original in its style, written by Aimonius Proust de Chambourg, Professor of Law in the University of Orleans, was laid over the grave; but as it lay in a very frequented part of the church, it was speedily effaced; and a second inscription, engraved on a marble tablet, was affixed to the pillar immediately adjoining. This second inscription, owing to some repairs in the church, was afterwards removed, and placed over the side door at the right side of the church. During the revolution, it was carried away to the Museum of French Monuments; but on the 21st of April, 1818, it was restored to its original pillar, in the presence of the Prefect of the department of the Seine, a deputation of the academy, and many relations of the deceased.

Nobilissimi Scutarii Blasii Pascalis Tumulus.

D. O. M.
BLASIUS PASCALIS SCUTARIUS NOBILIS HIC JACET.

Pietas si non moritur, æternum vivet;
Vir conjugii nescius,
Religione sanctus, Virtute clarus,
Doctrina celebris,
Ingenio acutus,
Sanguine et animo pariter illustris;
Doctus, non Doctor,
Æquitatis amator,
Veritatis defensor,
Viginum ultor,
Christianæ Moralis Corruptorum acerrimus hostis.
Hunc Rhetores amant facundum,
Hunc Scriptores norunt elegantem,
Hunc Mathematici stupent profundum,
Hunc Philosophi quærunt Sapientem,
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,
Hunc Pii venerantur austerum.
Hunc omnes mirantur, omnibus ignotum,
Omnibus licet notum.
Quid plura? Viator, quem perdidimus
PASCALEM,
Is Ludovicus erat Montaltius.
Heu!
Satis dixi, urgent lachrymæ,
Sileo.
Ei qui bene precaberis, bene tibi eveniat,
Et vivo et mortuo.
Vixit. An. 39. m. 2. Obiit an. rep. Sal. 1662.
14 Kal. Sept.
ΩΛΕΤΟ ΠΑΣΚΑΛΙΟΣ.
ΦΕΥ! ΦΕΥ! ΠΕΝΘΟΣ ΟΣΟΝ!
Cecidit Pascalis.
Heu! Heu! qualis luctus!
Posuit A. P. D. C. mærens Aurelian. Canonista.

Pro columna superiori,
Sub tumulo marmoreo,
Jacet Blasius Pascal, Claromontanus, Stephani Pascal in Suprema apud Arvernos Subsidiorum Curia Præsidis filius, post aliquot annos in severiori secessu et divinæ legis meditatione transactos, feliciter et religiose in pace Christi, vita functus anno 1662, ætatis 39, die 19 Augusti. Optasset ille quidem præ paupertatis et humilitatis studio, etiam his sepulchri honoribus carere, mortuusque etiamnum latere, qui vivus semper latere voluerat. Verum ejus hac in parte votis cum cedere non posset Florinus Perier in eadem subsidiorum Curia Consiliarius, ac Gilbertæ Pascal, Blasii Pascal sororis, conjux amantissimus, hanc tabulam posuit, qua et suam in illum pietatem significaret, et Christianos ad Christiana precum officia sibi et defuncto profutura cohortaretur.

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE.

When man considers himself, the first thing that claims his notice is his body; that is a certain portion of matter evidently appertaining to himself. But if he would know what this is, he must compare himself with all that is superior or inferior to him; and thus he will ascertain his own just limits.

But he must not rest contented with the examination of the things around him. Let him contemplate universal nature in all the height and fulness of its majesty. Let him consider that glorious luminary, hung as an eternal lamp, to enlighten the universe. Let him consider that this earth is a mere point, compared with the vast circuit which that bright orb describes.* Let him learn with wonder, that this wide orbit itself is but a speck compared with the course of the stars, which roll in the firmament of heaven. And if here our sight is limited, let the imagination take up the inquiry and venture further. It will weary with conceiving, far sooner than nature in supplying food for thought. All that we see of the universe is but an almost imperceptible spot on the ample bosom of nature. No conception even approaches the limits of its space. Let us labor as we will with our conceptions, we bring forth mere atoms, compared with the immensity of that which really is. It is an infinite sphere, whose centre is every where, and whose circumference is no where. And, in fact, one of the most powerful sensible impressions of the omnipotence of God is, that our imagination is lost in this thought.

Then let man return to himself, and consider what he is, compared with all else that is. Let him consider himself as a wanderer in this remote corner of nature; and then from what he sees of this narrow prison in which he lies—this visible world; let him learn to estimate rightly the earth, its kingdoms, its cities, himself, and his own real value. What is man in this infinity? Who can comprehend him?

But to show him another prodigy equally astonishing, let him search among the minutest objects round him. Let a mite, for instance, exhibit to him, in the exceeding smallness of its frame, portions yet incomparably smaller; limbs well articulated; veins in those limbs; blood in those veins; humors in that blood; globules in that humor; and gases in those globules;—and then dividing again their smallest objects, let him exhaust the powers of his conception, and then let the lowest particle that he can imagine become the subject of our discourse. He thinks, perhaps, that this is the minutest atom of nature, but I will open to him, within it, a new and fathomless abyss. I can exhibit to him yet, not only the visible universe, but even all that he is capable of conceiving of the immensity of nature, embosomed in this imperceptible atom. Let him see there an infinity of worlds, each of which has its firmament, its planets, its earth; bearing the same proportion to the other parts as in the visible world: and in this earth, animals, and even mites again, in which he shall trace the same discoveries which the first mites yielded; and then again the same in others without end and without repose. He is lost in these wonders, equally astonishing in their minuteness, as the former by their extent. And who would not wonder to think that this body, which so lately was not perceptible in that universe, which universe was itself an imperceptible spot on the bosom of infinity, should now appear a colossus, a world, a universe, compared with that ultimate atom of minuteness to which we cannot arrive.

He who thus thinks of himself, will doubtless be alarmed to see himself, as it were, suspended in the mass of matter that is allotted to him, between these two abysses of infinity and nothingness, and equally remote from both. He will tremble at the perception of these wonders; and I would think, that his curiosity changing into reverence, he would be more disposed to contemplate them in silence, than to scrutinize them with presumption. For what after all is man, in nature? A nothing compared with infinity—a universe compared with nothing—a mean between all and nothing. He is infinitely distant from both extremes. His being is not less remote from the nothing out of which he was formed, than from the infinity in which he is lost.

His mind holds the same rank in the order of intelligent beings, as his body in material nature; and all that it can do, is to discern somewhat of the middle of things, in an endless despair of ever knowing their beginning or their end. All things are called out of nothing, and carried onward to infinity. Who can follow in this endless race? The Author of these wonders comprehends them. No other can.

This state which occupies the mean between two extremes, shows itself in all our powers.

Our senses will not admit any thing extreme. Too much noise confuses us, too much light dazzles, too great distance or nearness prevents vision, too great prolixity or brevity weakens an argument, too much pleasure gives pain, too much accordance annoys. We relish neither extreme heat, nor extreme cold. All excessive qualities are injurious to us, and not perceptible. We do not feel them, we suffer them. Extreme youth and extreme age alike enfeeble the mind; too much or too little nourishment weakens its operation; by too much or too little instruction it becomes stupid. Extreme things are not ours, any more than if they were not; we are not made for them. Either they escape us, or we them.

This is our real condition. It is this which confines our knowledge within certain limits that we cannot pass, being equally incapable of universal knowledge, or of total ignorance; we are placed in a vast medium; ever floating uncertainly between ignorance and knowledge; if we attempt to go farther forward, our object wavers and eludes our grasp—it retires and flies with an eternal flight, and nothing can stay its course.

This is our natural condition; yet it is ever opposed to our inclination. We burn with desire to sound the utmost depth, and to raise a fabric that shall reach infinity. But all we build up crumbles, and the earth opens in a fathomless abyss beneath our deepest foundation.

2. I can readily conceive of a man without hands or feet; and I could conceive of him without a head, if experience had not taught me that by this he thinks. Thought then is the essence of man, and without this we cannot conceive of him.

What is it in us which feels pleasure? Is it the hand? the arm? the flesh? the blood? It must be something immaterial.

3. Man is so great, that his greatness appears even in the consciousness of his misery. A tree

* The Copernican system was not then generally received by the members of the Romish church.

does not know itself to be miserable. It is true that it is misery indeed to know one's self to be miserable; but then it is greatness also. In this way, all man's miseries go to prove his greatness. They are the miseries of a mighty potentate—of a dethroned monarch.

4. What man is unhappy because he is not a king, except a king dethroned. Was Paulus Emilius considered miserable that he was no longer consul. On the contrary every one thought that he was happy in having it over, for it was not his condition to be always consul. But Perseus, whose permanent state should have been royalty, was considered to be so wretched in being no longer a king, that men wondered how he could endure life. Who complains of having only one mouth? Who would not complain of having but one eye? No man mourns that he has not three eyes; yet each would sorrow deeply if he had but one.

5. We have so exalted a notion of the human soul, that we cannot bear to be despised by it, or even not to be esteemed by it. Man, in fact, places all his happiness in this esteem.

If on the one hand this false glory that men seek after is a mark of their misery and degradation, it is on the other a proof of their excellence. For whatever possessions a man has on the earth, and whatever health or comfort he enjoys, he is not satisfied without the esteem of his fellow-men. He rates so highly the human mind, that whatever be his worldly advantages, if he does not stand, as well also in man's estimation, he counts himself wretched. That position is the loveliest spot in the world. Nothing can eradicate the desire for it. And this quality is the most indelible in the human heart; so that even those who most thoroughly despise men, and consider them equal with the brutes, still wish to be admired by them; their feelings contradict their principles. Their nature which is stronger than their reasonings, convinces them more forcibly of the greatness of man, than their reason can do of his vileness.

6. Man is but a reed; and the weakest in nature; but then he is a reed that thinks. It does not need the universe to crush him: a breath of air, a drop of water will kill him. But even if the material universe should overwhelm him, man would be more noble than that which destroys him; because he knows that he dies, while the universe knows nothing of the advantage which it obtains over him.

Our true dignity then, consists in thought. From thence we must derive our elevation, not from space or duration. Let us endeavor then to think well; this is the principle of morals.

7. It is dangerous to show man unreservedly how nearly he resembles the brute creation, without pointing out, at the same time, his greatness. It is dangerous also to exhibit his greatness exclusively, without his degradation. It is yet more dangerous to leave him ignorant of both, but it is highly profitable to teach him both together.

8. Let man then rightly estimate himself—let him love himself, for he has a nature capable of good; but yet let him not love the evils that he finds there. Let him despise himself, because this capacity is without an object; but let him not on that account despise the natural capacity itself. Let him both love and hate himself. There is in him the power of discerning truth, and of being happy, but he is not in possession of certain and satisfying truth. I would lead man to desire to find truth, to sit loose to his passions, and to be ready to follow truth wherever he may find it; and knowing how sadly his powers of comprehension are clouded by his passions, I would wish him to hate in himself that concupiscence which overrules his judgment, that henceforth it may not blind him in making his choice, nor impede his progress when he has chosen.

9. I blame with equal severity those who elevate man, those who depress him, and those who think it right merely to divert him. I can only approve of those who seek in tears for happiness.

The stoics say, Turn in upon yourselves, and there you will find your repose. This however is not true. Others say, Go forth from yourselves, and seek for happiness in diversion. This is not true either. Disease will come. Alas! happiness is neither within us, nor without us. It is in the union of ourselves with God.

10. There are two ways of regarding human nature, one according to the end of man, and then it is grand and incomprehensible; the other according to his habits, as we judge of the nature of a horse or a dog, by the habit of observing his going, and then man is abject and vile. It is owing to these two different ways that philosophers judge so differently, and dispute so keenly; for one denies what the other assumes. One says, man is not born for this noble end; for all his actions are opposed to it. The other says, when he commits such base and grovelling actions, he wanders from the end of his being. Instinct and experience, taken together, show to man the whole of what he is.

11. I feel that I might not have been; for when I speak of myself, I mean my thinking being; and I, who think, would not have been, if my mother had been killed before I was quickened. Then I am not a necessary being, nor am I eternal, nor infinite; but I see clearly that there is in nature, a being who is necessary, eternal, infinite.

CHAPTER II.

THE VANITY OF MAN.

We are not satisfied with the life that we have in ourselves—in our own peculiar being. We wish to live also an ideal life in the mind of others; and for this purpose, we constrain ourselves to put on appearances. We labor incessantly to adorn and sustain this ideal being, while we neglect the real one. And if we possess any degree of equanimity, generosity, or fidelity, we strive to make it known, that we may clothe with these virtues that being of the imagination. Nay, we would even cast off these virtues in reality, to secure them in the opinion of others; and willingly be cowards, to acquire the reputation of courage. What a proof of the emptiness of our real being, that we are not satisfied with the one without the other, and that we often sacrifice the one to the other; for he is counted infamous who would not die to save his reputation.

Glory is so enchanting, that we love whatever we associate it with, even though it be death.

2. Pride countervails all our miseries, for it either hides them, or if it discloses them, it boasts of acknowledging them. Pride has so thoroughly got possession of us, even in the midst of our miseries and our faults, that we are prepared to sacrifice life with joy, if it may but be talked of.

3. Vanity is so rooted in the heart of man, that the lowest drudge of the camp, the street, or the kitchen, must have his boast and his admirers. It is the same with the philosophers. Those who write to gain fame, would have the reputation of having written well; and those who read it, would have the reputation of having read it; and I who am writing this, feel probably the same wish, and they who read this, feel it also.

4. Notwithstanding the sight of all those miseries which wring us, and threaten our destruction, we have still an instinct that we cannot repress, which elevates us above our sorrows.

5. We are so presumptuous that we wish to be

known to all the world, and even to those who come after us; and we are so vain, that the esteem of five or six persons immediately around us, is enough to seduce and satisfy us.

6. Curiosity is but vanity: too frequently we only wish to know more, that we may talk of it. No man would venture to sea, if he were never to speak about what he sees—for the mere pleasure of seeing, without ever speaking of it to others.

7. We do not care to get a name in the towns through which we are travelling: but if we come to sojourn there a short time, we soon become desirous of it: and what time is sufficient for this? a period proportioned to our vain and pitiful duration.

8. The nature of self-love and of human egotism, is to love self only, and to consult only self-interest. But to what a state is man reduced! He cannot prevent this object of his love from being full of defects and miseries. He wishes to be great, but he sees himself little: he wishes to be happy, but he sees himself miserable: he wishes to be perfect, but he sees that he is full of imperfections: he wishes to be the object of men's love and esteem, and he sees that his errors deserve their hatred and contempt. This state of disappointment generates in him the most wretched and criminal passion that can be imagined: he conceives a deadly hatred against that truth which reproves him, and convinces him of his faults: he desires to destroy it, and unable actually to destroy it in its essential nature, he blots it out as far as possible from his own knowledge and from that of others: that is, he does his utmost to conceal his faults both from others and from himself, and will not suffer others to exhibit them to him, or to examine them themselves.

It is surely an evil to be full of faults; but it is a far greater evil to be unwilling to know them, since that is to add to them the guilt of a voluntary delusion. We do not like others to deceive us; we do not think it right that they should wish to be esteemed by us beyond their deserts: it is not right then that we should deceive them, and that we should wish them to esteem us more than we deserve.

So that when they discover in us nothing but the imperfections and vices which we really possess, it is evident that in this they do us no wrong, because they are not the cause of those errors; and that they even do us good, since they aid us in avoiding a real evil—the ignorance of these our imperfections. We should not be indignant that they discover these errors if they really exist, nor that they should know us to be what we really are, and despise us, if we really are despicable.

These are the thoughts that would rise spontaneously in a heart full of equity and justice: what then shall we say of our own when we see its disposition to be just the reverse. For is it not true that we hate the truth, and those who tell it us; and that we love men to be deceived in our favor, and wish to be estimated by them very differently from what we really are?

There are different degrees of this aversion for truth; but we may affirm that in some degree it exists in every one, because it is inseparable from self-love. It is this vile sensitiveness to applause, which compels those whose duty it is to reprove another, to soften the severity of the shock, by so many circuitous and alleviating expressions. They must appear to attenuate the fault; they must seem to excuse what they mean to reprove; they must mix with the correction the language of praise, and the assurances of affection and esteem. Yet still this pill is always bitter to self-love: we take as little of it as we can, always with disgust, and often with a secret grudge against those who presume to administer it.

Hence it is that those who have any interest in securing our regard, shrink from the performance of an office which they know to be disagreeable to us; they treat us as we wish to be treated; we hate the truth, and they conceal it; we wish to be flattered, and they flatter; we love to be deceived, and they deceive us.

And hence it arises that each step of good fortune by which we are elevated in the world, removes us farther from truth; because men fear to annoy others, just in proportion as their good will is likely to be useful, or their dislike dangerous. A prince shall be the talk of all Europe, and he only know it not. I do not wonder at this. To speak the truth is useful to him to whom it is spoken, but sadly the reverse to him who speaks it, for it makes him hated. Now they who live with princes, love their own interests better than that of him whom they serve, and do not therefore care to seek his benefit by telling him the truth to their own injury. This evil is doubtless more serious and more common, in cases of commanding rank and fortune, but the very lowest are not free from it; because there is always some benefit to be obtained by means of man's esteem. So that human life is perpetual delusion—nothing goes on but mutual flattery and mutual deceit: no one speaks of us in our presence, as he does in our absence. The degree of union that there is among men, is founded on this mutual deception; and few friendships would subsist, if each one knew what his friend says of him when he is not present, although at the time he speaks sincerely and without prejudice.

Man, then, is nothing but disguise, falsehood, and hypocrisy, both towards himself and others. He does not wish them to tell him the truth—he will not tell it to them: and all these dispositions, so far removed from justice and sound reason, have their root naturally in his heart.

CHAPTER III.

THE WEAKNESS OF MAN.

That which astonishes me most is, that no man is astonished at his own weakness. Men act seriously; and each one follows his occupation, not because it is actually good to follow it, since that is the custom; but as if each one knew precisely where to find reason and truth. Each one however finds himself deceived repeatedly, and yet by a foolish humility thinks that the failure is in his own conduct, and not in the faculty of discerning truth, of which he continually boasts. It is well that there are so many of these persons in the world, since they serve to show that man is capable of holding the most extravagant opinions; inasmuch as he can believe that he is not naturally and inevitably in a state of moral weakness; but that on the contrary, he has naturally wisdom adequate to his circumstances.

2. The weakness of human reason appears more evidently in those who know it not, than in those who know it.

He who is too young will not judge wisely; no more will he that is too old. If we think too little or too much on a subject we are equally bewildered, and cannot discover truth. If a man reviews his work directly after he has done it, he is pre-occupied by the lively impression of it: if he reviews it a long time after, he can scarcely get into the spirit of it again.

There is but one indivisible point from which we should look at a picture; all others are too near, too distant, too high, or too low. Perspective fixes this point precisely in the art of painting; but who shall fix it in regard to truth and morals?

3. That queen of error, whom we call fancy and

opinion, is the more deceitful because she does not deceive always. She would be the infallible rule of truth if she were the infallible rule of falsehood: but being only most frequently in error, she gives no evidence of her real quality, for she marks with the same character both that which is true and that which is false.

This haughty power, the enemy of reason, and whose delight is to keep reason in subjection, in order to show what influence she has in all things, has established in man a second nature. She has her happy and her unhappy, her sick and her healthy, her rich and her poor, her fools and her sages; and nothing is more distressing than to see that she fills her guests with a far more ample satisfaction, than reason gives; since those who think themselves wise have a delight in themselves, far beyond that in which the really prudent dare to indulge. They treat other men imperiously; they dispute with fierceness and assurance—whilst others do so with fear and caution; and this satisfied air often gives them advantage in the opinion of the hearers: so much do the imaginary wise find favor among judges of the same kind. Opinion cannot make fools wise, but she makes them content, to the great disparagement of reason, who can only make her friends wretched. The one covers her votaries with glory, the other with shame.

Who confers reputation? who gives respect and veneration to persons, to books, to great men? Who but opinion? How utterly insufficient are all the riches of the world without her approbation!

Opinion settles every thing. She constitutes beauty, justice, happiness, which is the whole of this world. I would like much to see that Italian work, of which I have only heard the title. It is called "Opinion, the Queen of the World." It is worth many other books. I subscribe to it without knowing it, error excepted.

4. The most important concern in life, is the choice of an occupation; yet chance seems to decide it. Custom makes masons, soldiers, bricklayers, &c. They say, "That's a capital workman," or when speaking of soldiers, "What fools those men are:" others again say, "There is nothing noble but war, all men but soldiers are contemptible." And according as men, during their childhood, have heard those several occupations praised and others vilified, they make their choice; for naturally we love wisdom and hate folly. It is these words that influence us; we err only in the application of them; and the force of custom is such, that in some countries, the whole population are masons; in others, soldiers. Now we do not conceive that nature is so uniform. It is custom which does this, and carries nature with it. There are cases, however, in which nature prevails, and binds man to his specific object, in defiance of custom, whether bad or good.

5. We think very little of time present; we anticipate the future, as being too slow, and with a view to hasten it onward; we recall the past to stay it as too swiftly gone. We are so thoughtless, that we thus wander through the hours which are not here, regardless only of the moment that is actually our own:—so vain, that we dream of the times which are not, and suffer that only which does exist, to escape us without a thought. This is because, generally, the present gives us pain; we hide it from our sight, because it afflicts us; and even if it ministers pleasure, we grieve to see it flying: and hence we bring up the future to sustain it, and speculate on doing things which are not in our power, at a time which we can have no assurance that we shall ever see.

Let any man examine his thoughts; he will find them ever occupied with the past or the future. We scarcely think at all of the present; or if we do, it is only to borrow the light which it gives, for regulating the future. The present is never our object: the past and the present we use as means; the future only is our object. Thus in fact we never live, we only hope to live; and thus ever doing nothing, but preparing to be happy, it is certain that we never shall be so, unless we seek a higher felicity than this short life can yield.

6. Our imagination so magnifies this present existence, by the power of continual reflection on it; and so attenuates eternity, by not thinking of it at all, that we reduce an eternity to nothingness, and expand a mere nothing to an eternity; and this habit is so inveterately rooted in us, that all the force of reason cannot induce us to lay it aside.

7. Cromwell would have laid desolate all Christendom. The royal family was ruined; his own was completely established; but for a small grain of sand, which entered the urethra, even Rome would have trembled before him; but when only this atom of gravel, which elsewhere was as nothing, was placed in that spot, behold he dies, his family is degraded, and the king restored!

8. We see scarcely any thing, just or unjust, that does not change its quality with its climate. Three degrees of latitude upset all the principles of jurisprudence; a meridian determines what is truth, or a few years of settled authority. Fundamental laws may vary. Right has its epochs. Droll justice indeed, that ■ river or a mountain limits! Truth on one side of the Pyrenees is error on the other.

9. Theft, incest, parricide, infanticide, each has been ranked among virtuous actions. Is there any thing more ridiculous, than that a man has the right to kill me, because he lives across the water, and that his prince has a quarrel with mine, though I have none with him?

There are certainly natural laws, but this corrupted reason has corrupted every thing, *Nihil amplius nostri est; quod nostrum dicimus, artis est; ex senatus consultis et plebiscitis crimina exercentur, ut olim vitiis sic nunc legibus laboramus.*

From this confusion it arises that one affirms that the essential principle of justice is the authority of the legislature; another, the convenience of the sovereign; another, present custom; and this is the safest. There is nothing, if we follow the light of reason only, that is in itself, independently just. Time alters every thing; custom makes equity, simply because it is received. That is the mystic basis of its authority, and he who traces it to its origin, annihilates it. Nothing is so faulty as those laws which redress faults. He who obeys them because they are just, obeys that which he has conceived to be justice, but not the essence of the law. Its whole force lies in this, It is law and nothing more. He who looks into the principle will find it so weak and flimsy, that if he is not accustomed to the prodigies of the human imagination, he would wonder how ■ century could have nourished it with so much pomp and veneration.

The secret for overturning a state, is to shake to their foundation established customs, by going back to their origin, and showing the defect of the authority or the principle on which they rest. "We must return," say they, "to those fundamental and primitive laws of the state, which corrupt custom has abolished." This is a sure play for losing every thing. In such a balance nothing will appear right; yet the people listen eagerly to such discourses. They throw off the yoke as soon as they perceive it; and the great make their advantage of this to ruin both them and these curious inspectors of established customs. Yet there is an error directly the reverse of this, and there are men who think

that any thing can be done justly, which has a precedent in its favor.

Whence one of the wisest legislators said, "That for the welfare of man, he must frequently be deceived;" and another great politician says, *Cum veritatem qua liberetur ignoret, expedit quod fallatur.* Man should not ascertain the truth of the usurpation; for it was introduced in ancient times, without good reason. But now it must always be held up as authentic and eternal; we must veil its origin, if we wish it to be perpetuated.

10. Set the greatest philosopher in the world upon a plank, even broader than the space he occupies in walking on plain ground, and if there is a precipice below him, though reason convinces him of his safety, his imagination will prevail to alarm him: the very thought of it would make some perspire and turn pale. Who does not know that there are persons so nervous, that the sight of a cat, or a rat, or the crushing of a bit of coal, will almost drive them out of their senses.

11. Would you not say of that venerable magistrate, whose years command the respect of a whole people, that he is under the control of pure and dignified wisdom, and that he judges of things as they are, without being influenced by those adventitious circumstances which warp the imagination of the weak. But see him enter the very court where he is to administer justice; see him prepare to hear with a gravity the most exemplary; but if an advocate appears to whom nature has given a hoarse voice, or a droll expression of countenance—if his barber has but half shaved him, or an accidental splash of mud has fallen on him, I'll engage for the loss of the judge's self-possession.

12. The mind of the greatest man on earth, is not so independent of circumstances, as not to feel inconvenienced by the merest buzzing noise about him: it does not need the report of a cannon to disturb his thoughts. The creaking of a vane or a pully is quite enough. Do not wonder that he reasons ill just now; a fly is buzzing by his ear; it is quite enough to unfit him for giving good counsel. If you wish him to see the rights of the case, drive away that insect, which suspends his reasoning powers, and frets that mighty mind which governs cities and kingdoms.

13. The will is one of the principal sources of belief; not that it produces belief, but that things appear true or false to us according to the way they are looked at. The will, which inclines to one thing more than another, turns away the mind from considering the qualities of that which it does not approve; and thus the whole mind led by the will or inclination, limits its observation to what it approves, and thus forming its judgment on what it sees: it insensibly regulates its belief by the inclinations of the will, i. e. by its own preferences.

14. Disease is another source of error. It impairs the judgment and the senses: and if serious disorders do visibly produce this effect, doubtless minor ailments do so in proportion.

Self-interest also is a surprising means of inducing a voluntary blindness. Affection or dislike will alter our notions of justice. For instance, when an advocate is well paid beforehand, how much more just he thinks the cause which he has to plead. Yet owing to another strange peculiarity of the human mind, I have known men who, lest they should serve their own interest, have been cruelly unjust, through a contrary bias: so that the sure way to lose a good cause, was to get it recommended to them by one of their near relations.

15. The imagination often magnifies the veriest trifle, by a false and romantic preference, till it fills the whole soul; or in its heedless presumption, brings down the most elevated subjects to our own low standard.

16. Justice and truth are two points of such exquisite delicacy, that our coarse and blunted instruments will not touch them accurately. If they do find out the point, so as to rest upon it, they bruise and injure it, and lean at last more on the error that surrounds it, than on the truth itself.

17. It is not only old and early impressions that deceive us: the charms of novelty have the same power. Hence arise all the differences among men, who reproach each other, either with following the false impressions of their infancy, or with hastily running after new ones.

Who keeps the golden mean? Let him stand forth and prove it. There is not a single principle, however simply natural, and existing from childhood, that may not be made to appear a false impression, conveyed by instruction or the senses. Because, say they, you have believed from your infancy that a chest was empty when you saw that there was nothing in it, you have assumed that a vacuum is possible. But this is a strong delusion of your senses, confirmed by habit, which science must correct. Others on the contrary say, Because you have been taught in the schools, that there is no vacuum in nature, your common sense, which previous to this delusive impression, saw the thing clearly enough, has been corrupted, and must be corrected by a recurrence to the dictates of nature. Now, which is the deceiver here, our senses or our education?

18. All the occupations of men have respect to the obtaining of property; and yet the title by which they possess it, is at first only the whim of the original legislator: and after all, no power that they have, will insure possession. A thousand accidents may rob them of it. It is the same with scientific attainment: Disease takes it away.

19. What are our natural principles but the result of custom? In children, they are those which have resulted from the custom of their parents, as the chace in animals.

A different custom would give different natural principles. Experience proves this. And if there are some that custom cannot eradicate, there are some impressions arising from custom, that nature cannot do away. This depends on disposition.

Parents fear the destruction of natural affection in their children. What is this natural principle so liable to decay? Habit is a second nature, which destroys the first. Why is not custom nature? I suspect that this nature itself is but a first custom, as custom is a second nature.

20. If we were to dream every night the same thing, it would probably have as much effect upon us, as the objects which we see daily; and if an artisan were sure of dreaming every night for some hours' continuance, that he was a king, I think he would be almost as happy as a king, who should dream every night for twelve hours successively, that he was an artisan. If we should dream every night that we are pursued by enemies, and harassed by distressing phantoms, and that we passed all our days in different occupations, as if we were travelling; we should suffer almost as much as if this were true, and we should dread to sleep just as much as we dread to awake, when we fear to enter really upon such afflictions. In fact, these dreams would be almost as serious an evil as the reality. But because these dreams are all different, what we see in them afflicts us much less than what we see when awake, on account of its continuity;—a continuity, however, not so equal and uniform that it undergoes no change, but less violently, as in a voyage; and then we say, "I seem to myself to dream;" for life is a dream a little less variable.

21. We suppose that all men conceive and feel in the same way, the objects that are presented to them: but we suppose this very gratuitously, for we have no proof of it. I see plainly that the same word is used on the same occasion; and that wherever two men see snow, for example, they express their notion of the same object by the same word—both saying that it is white; and from this agreement of the application of terms, we draw a strong conjecture in favor of a conformity of ideas; but this is not absolutely convincing, though there is good ground for the supposition.

22. When we see an effect regularly recurring, we conclude that there is a natural necessity for it, as that the sun will rise to-morrow, &c. But in many things nature deceives us, and does not yield a perfect submission to its own laws.

23. Many things that are certain are contradicted; many that are false pass without contradiction: contradiction is no proof of falsehood, nor universal assent, of truth.

24. The instructed mind discovers that as nature carries the imprint of its author stamped on all things, they all have a certain relation to his twofold infinity. Thus we see that all the sciences are infinite in the extent to which their researches may be carried. Who doubts, for instance, that geometry involves in it an infinity of infinites of propositions? It is infinite also in the multitude and the delicacy of its principles; for who does not perceive, that any which are proposed as the last, must rest upon themselves, which is absurd; and that in fact they are sustained by others, which have others again for their basis, and must thus eternally exclude the idea of an ultimate proposition.

We see at a glance, that arithmetic alone furnishes principles without number, and each science the same.

But if the infinitely small, is much less discernible than the infinitely great, philosophers have much more readily pretended to have attained to it; and here all have stumbled. This error has given rise to those terms so commonly in use, as "the principles of things—the principles of philosophy;" and other similar expressions, as conceited, in fact, though not quite so obtrusively so as that insufferably disgusting title, *De omni scibili.**

Let us not seek then for assurance and stability. Our reason is perpetually deceived by the variableness of appearances, nothing can fix that which is finite, between the two infinites that enclose it, and fly from it; and when this is well understood, each man will, I believe, remain quietly in the position in which nature has placed him. This medium state, which has fallen to our lot, being always infinitely distant from the extremes, what matters it whether man has, or has not a little more knowledge of the things round him? If he has, why then he traces them a degree or two higher. But is he not always infinitely distant from the extremes, and is not the longest human life infinitely short of eternity?

Compared with these infinities, all finite things are equal; and I see no reason why the imagination should occupy itself with one more than another. Even the least comparison that we institute between ourselves and that which is finite, gives us pain.

25. The sciences have two extremities, which touch each other. The one is that pure natural ignorance in which we are born: the other is that point to which great minds attain, who having gone the whole round of possible human knowledge, find that they know nothing, and that they end in the same ignorance in which they began. But then this is an intelligent ignorance which knows itself. Out of the many, however, who have come forth from their native ignorance, there are some who have not reached this other extreme; these are strongly tinged with scientific conceit, and set up a claim to be the learned and the intelligent. These are the men that disturb the world; and they generally judge more falsely than all others. The crowd and the men of talent, generally direct the course of the world; the others despise it and are despised.

26. We think ourselves much more capable of reaching the centre of things, than of grasping the circumference. The visible expanse of the world, manifestly surpasses us; but as we visibly surpass little things, we think ourselves on a vantage ground for comprehending them; and yet it does not require less capacity to trace something down to nothing, than up to totality. This capacity, in either case, must be infinite; and it appears to me that he who can discover the ultimate principles of things, might reach also to the knowledge of the infinitely great. The one depends on the other; the one leads to the other. These extremities touch and meet in consequence of their very distance. They meet in God, and in God only.

If man would begin by studying himself, he would soon see how unable he is to go further. How can a part comprehend the whole? He would aspire probably to know, at least, those parts which are similar in proportion to himself. But all parts of creation have such a relation to each other, and are so intertwined, that I think it is impossible to know one without knowing the other, and even the whole.

Man, for instance, has a relation to all that he knows. He needs space to contain him—time for existence—motion that he may live—elements for his substance—warmth and food to nourish him, and air to breathe. He sees the light, he feels his material body. In fact, every thing is allied with him.

To understand man, therefore, we must know wherein it is that air is needful for his support; and to understand air, we must trace its relation to human life.

Flame will not live without air; then to comprehend the one, we must comprehend the other also.

Since, then, all things are either caused or causes, assisting or being assisted, mediately or immediately; and all are related to each other by a natural and imperceptible bond, which unites together things the most distant and dissimilar; I hold it impossible to know the parts, without knowing the whole, and equally so to know the whole, without knowing the parts in detail.

And that which completes our inability to know the essential nature of things is, that they are simple, and that we are a compound of two different and opposing natures, body and spirit; for it is impossible that the portion of us which thinks, can be other than spiritual; and as to the pretence, that we are simply corporeal, that would exclude us still more entirely from the knowledge of things; because there is nothing more inconceivable, than that matter could comprehend itself.

It is this compound nature of body and spirit which had led almost all the philosophers to confuse their ideas of things; and to attribute to matter that which belongs only to spirit, and to spirit, that which cannot consist but with matter; for, they say boldly, That bodies tend downwards; that they seek the centre; that they shrink from destruction; that they dread a vacuum; that they have inclinations, sympathies, antipathies, &c. which are all qualities that can only exist in mind. And in speak-

* The title of a thesis maintained at Rome, by Jean Pic de la Miranadole.

ing of spirits, they consider them as occupying a place, and attribute to them motion from one place to another, &c. which are the qualities of body.

Instead, therefore, of receiving the ideas of things, simply as they are, we tinge, with the qualities of our compound being, all the simple things that we contemplate.

Who would not suppose, when they see us attach to every thing the compound notions of body and spirit, that this mixture was familiarly comprehensible to us? Yet it is the thing of which we know the least. Man is, to himself, the most astonishing object in nature, for he cannot conceive what body is, still less what spirit is, and less than all, how a body and a spirit can be united. That is the climax of his difficulties, and yet it is his proper being.—*Modus quo corporibus adhæret spiritus comprehendi ab hominibus non potest, et hoc tamen homo est.**

27. Man, then, is the subject of a host of errors, that divine grace only can remove. Nothing shows him the truth; every thing misleads him. Reason and the senses, the two means of ascertaining the truth, are not only often unfaithful, but mutually deceive each other. Our senses mislead our reason by false impressions; and reason also has its revenge, by retorting the same trick upon our senses. The passions of the soul disturb the senses, and excite evil impressions; and thus our two sources of knowledge mutually lie and deceive each other.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISERY OF MAN.

Nothing more directly introduces us to the knowledge of human misery, than an inquiry into the cause of that perpetual restlessness in which men pass their whole lives.

The soul is placed in the body to sojourn there for a short time. She knows that this is only the prelude to an eternal progress, to prepare for which, she has but the short period of this present life. Of this the mere necessities of nature engross a large portion, and the remainder which she might use, is small indeed. Yet this little is such a trouble to her, and the source of such strange perplexity, that she only studies how to throw it away. To live with herself, and to think of herself, is a burden quite insupportable. Hence all her care is to forget herself, and to let this period short and precious as it is, flow on without reflection, whilst she is busied with things that prevent her from thinking of it.

This is the cause of all the bustling occupations of men, and of all that is called diversion or pastime, in which they have really but one object—to let the time glide by without perceiving it, or rather without perceiving self, and to avoid, by the sacrifice of this portion of life, the bitterness and disgust of soul, which would result from self-inspection during that time. The soul finds in herself nothing gratifying. She finds nothing but what grieves her when she thinks of it. This compels her to look abroad, and to seek, by devotion to external things, to drown the consciousness of her real condition. Her joy is in this oblivion; and to compel her to look within, and to be her own companion, is to make her thoroughly wretched.

Men are burdened from their infant years with the care of their honor and their property, and even of the property and the honor of their relations and friends. They are oppressed with the study of languages, sciences, accomplishments, and arts. They are overwhelmed with business, and are taught to believe that they cannot be happy unless they manage, by their industry and attention, that their fortune and reputation, and the fortune and reputation of their friends, be flourishing; and that a failure in any one of these things would make them miserable. And hence they are engaged in duties and businesses which harass them from morning to night. "A strange method this," you would say, "to make men happy; what could we do more effectually to make them miserable?" Do you ask what we could do? Alas! we have but to release them from these cares, for then they would see and consider themselves; and this is unbearable. And in proof of this we see, that with all this mass of cares, if they have yet any interval of relaxation, they hasten to squander it on some amusement, that shall completely fill the void, and hide them from themselves.

On this account, when I have set myself to consider the varied turmoil of life; the toil and danger to which men expose themselves at courts, in war, and in the pursuit of their ambitious projects, which give rise to so much quarrelling and passion, and to so many desperate and fatal adventures: I have often said that all the misfortunes of men spring from their not knowing how to live quietly at home, in their own rooms. If a man, who has enough to live on, did but know how to live with himself, he would never go to sea, or to besiege a city, merely for the sake of occupation; and he whose only object is to live, would have no need to seek such dangerous employments.

But when I have looked into the matter more closely, I have found that this aversion to repose, and to the society of self, originates in a very powerful cause, namely, in the natural evils of our weak and mortal state—a state so completely wretched, that whenever nothing hinders us from thinking of it, and we thoroughly survey ourselves, we are utterly inconsolable. Of course, I speak only of those who meditate on themselves without the aid of religion. For most assuredly it is one of the wonders of the Christian religion, that it reconciles man to himself, in reconciling him to his God; that it makes self-examination bearable, and solitude and silence more interesting than the tumults and the busy intercourse of men. But religion does not produce this mighty change by confining man to the survey of himself. It does this only by leading him up to God, and sustaining him, even in the consciousness of his present misery, with the hope of another existence, in which he shall be freed from it for ever.

But as for those who act only according to the impulse of those natural motives, that they find within them, it is impossible that they can live in that tranquillity which favors self-examination, without being instantly the prey of chagrin and melancholy. The man who loves nothing but self, dislikes nothing so much as being with himself only. He seeks nothing but for himself; yet he flies from nothing so eagerly as self; for when he sees himself, he is not what he wishes; and he finds in himself an accumulation of miseries that he cannot shun, and a vacuity of all real and substantial good which he cannot fill.

Let a man choose what condition he will, and let him accumulate around him all the goods and all the gratifications seemingly calculated to make him happy in it; if that man is left at any time without occupation or amusement, and reflects on what he is, the meagre, languid felicity of his present lot will not bear him up. He will turn necessarily to gloomy anticipations of the future; and except, therefore, his occupation calls him out of himself, he is inevitably wretched.

But is not royal dignity sufficient of itself to make its possessor happy, by the mere contemplation of what he is as a king? Must he too be withdrawn

* The union of mind with matter, is a subject utterly incomprehensible to man, and yet this is man's essential nature.

from this thought the same as other men? I see plainly that it makes a man happy to turn him away from the thought of his domestic sorrows, and to engage all the energy of his mind in the attaining of some light accomplishments, even such as dancing: but is it so with a king? Would he be happier in a devotion to these vain amusements, than in the thought of his own greatness? What object more satisfying can be given to him? Would it not be thwarting his joy, to degrade his mind to the thought how to regulate his steps by the cadence of a fiddle, or how to strike a billiard ball; instead of leaving him to enjoy in tranquillity the contemplation of the glory and the majesty with which he is invested? Try it: leave a king to himself without any delight accruing to him through the senses; leave him without any care upon his mind, and without society, to think at his leisure of himself, and you will see that a king who looks within, is a man equally full of miseries, and equally alive to them, with other men. Hence they carefully avoid this; and there is always about the person of kings, a number of menials, whose concern it is to provide diversion when business is done, and who watch for their hours of leisure to supply them with pleasures and sports, that they may never feel vacuity; that is, in fact, they are surrounded by persons who take the most scrupulous care, that the king shall not be left alone to be his own companion, and in a situation to think of himself; because they know that if he does, with all his royalty he must be wretched.

The principal thing which bears men up under those weighty concerns, which are, in other respects, so oppressive, is that they are thus perpetually kept from thinking of themselves.

For instance: What is the being a governor, a chancellor, a prime minister, but the having a number of attendants flocking on every side to prevent them from having a single hour in the day in which they can think of self? And when such men are out of favor, and are banished to their country-seats, where they have no want of either money or servants to supply their real wants, then indeed they are wretched, because then they have leisure to think of self without hinderance.

Hence it is that so many persons fly to play or to field sports, or to any other amusement which occupies the whole soul. Not that they expect happiness from any thing so acquired, or that they suppose that real bliss centres in the money that they win, or the hare that they catch. They would not have either as a gift. The fact is, they are not seeking for that mild and peaceful course which leaves a man leisure to speculate on his unhappy condition, but for that incessant hurry which renders this impracticable.

Hence it is, that men love so ardently the whirl and the tumult of the world; that imprisonment is so fearful a punishment; and that so few persons can endure solitude.

This, then, is all that men have devised to make themselves happy. And those who amuse themselves by showing the emptiness and the poverty of such amusements, have certainly a right notion of a part of human misery; for it is no small evil to be capable of finding pleasure in things so low and contemptible; but they do not yet know the full depth of that misery which renders these same miserable and base expedients absolutely necessary to man, so long as he is not cured of that internal natural evil, the not being able to endure the contemplation of himself. The hare that he buys in the market, will not call him off from himself, but the chase of it may. And therefore, when we tell them that what they seek so ardently will not satisfy them, and that nothing can be more mean and profitless, we know that, if they answered as they would do if they thought seriously of it, they would so far agree with us at once; only that they would say also, that they merely seek in these things a violent impetuous occupation, which shall divert them from themselves, and that with this direct intention, they choose some attractive object which engages and occupies them entirely. But then they will not answer in this way, because they do not know themselves. A gentleman believes sincerely that there is something noble and dignified in the chase. He will say it is a royal sport. And it is the same with other things which occupy the great mass of men. They conceive that there is something really and substantially good in the object itself. A man persuades himself that if he obtained this employment, then he would enjoy repose. But he does not perceive the insatiability of his own desires; and while he believes that he is in search of rest, he is actually seeking after additional care.

Men have a secret instinct leading them to seek pleasure and occupation from external sources, which originates in the sense of their continual misery. But they have also another secret instinct, a remnant of the original grandeur of their nature, which intimates to them that happiness is to be found only in repose; and from these opposite instincts, there eminates a confused project, which is hidden from their view in the very depth of the soul, and which prompts them to seek repose by incessant action; and ever to expect that the fulness of enjoyment, which as yet they have not attained, will infallibly be realized, if, by overcoming certain difficulties which immediately oppose them, they might open the way to rest.

And thus the whole of life runs away. We seek repose by the struggle with opposing difficulties, and the instant we have overcome them, that rest becomes insupportable. For generally we are occupied either with the miseries which now we feel, or with those which threaten; and even when we see ourselves sufficiently secure from the approach of either, still fretfulness, though unwarranted by either present or expected affliction, fails not to spring up from the deep recesses of the heart, where its roots naturally grow, and to fill the soul with its poison.

And hence it is plain, that when Cineas said to Pyrrhus, who proposed to himself, after having conquered a large portion of the world, then to sit down and enjoy repose with his friends, that he had better hasten forward his own happiness now, by immediately enjoying repose, than seek it through so much fatigue; he advised a course which involved very serious difficulties, and which was scarcely more rational than the project of this hero's youthful ambition. Both plans assumed that man can be satisfied with himself, and with his present blessings, and not feel a void in his heart, which must be filled with imaginary hopes: and here they were both in error. Pyrrhus could not have been happy either before or after the conquest of the world; and most probably the life of indolent repose which his minister recommended, was less adapted to satisfy him, than the restless hurry of his intended wars and wanderings.

We are compelled then to admit, that man is so wretched, that he will vex himself, independently of any external cause of vexation, from the mere circumstances of his natural condition; and yet with all this he is so vain and full of levity, that in the midst of a thousand causes of real distress, the merest trifle serves to divert him. So that on serious reflection, we see that he is far more to be commiserated that he can find enjoyment in things so frivolous and so contemptible, than that he mourns over his real sorrows. His amusements are infinitely less rational than his lamentations.

2. Whence is it that this man, who lost so lately

an only son, and who, under the pressure of legal processes and disputes, was this morning so harassed, now thinks of these things no more? Alas! it is no wonder. He is wholly engrossed in watching the fate of a poor deer, that his dogs have been chasing for six hours. And nothing more than this is necessary for a man, though he is brim full of sorrows! If he can but be induced to apply himself to some source of recreation, he is happy for the time; but then it is with a false and delusive happiness, which comes not from the possession of any real and substantial good, but from a spirit of levity, that drowns the memory of his real griefs, and occupies him with mean and contemptible things, utterly unworthy of his attention, much more of his love. It is a morbid and frantic joy, which flows not from the health of the soul, but from its disorder. It is the laugh of folly and of delusion. It is wonderful also to think what it is which pleases men in their sports and recreations. It is true, that by occupying the mind, they seduce it from the consciousness of its real sorrows: and so far is a reality. But then they are only capable of occupying the mind at all, because it has created for itself in them, a merely imaginary object of desire, to which it is fondly and passionately devoted.

What think you is the object of those men who are playing at tennis with such intense interest of mind and effort of body? Merely to boast the next day among their friends, that they have played better than another. There is the spring of their devotedness. Others again, in the same way, toil in their closets to show the *Sgavans* that they have solved a question in algebra, which was never solved before. Others expose themselves, with at least equal folly, to the greatest dangers, to boast at length of some place that they have taken: and others there are, who wear out life in remarking on those things; not that they themselves may grow wiser, but purely to show that they see the folly of them. And these seem the silliest of all; because they are conscious of their folly; whilst we may hope of the others, that they would act differently if they knew better.

3. A man will pass his days without weariness, in daily play for a trifling stake, whom you would make directly wretched, by giving to him each morning the probable winnings of the day, on condition of his not playing. You will say, "But it is the amusement he wants, and not the gain." Then make him play for nothing, and you will see that for want of a risk, he will lose interest, and become weary. Evidently, then, it is not only amusement that he seeks. An amusement not calculated to excite the passions, is languid and fatiguing. He must get warmth, animation, stimulus, in the thought that he shall be happy in winning a trifle, that he would not consider worth a straw, if it were offered him without the risk of play. He must have an object of emotion adequate to excite desire, and anger, and hope, and fear.

So that the amusements which constitute mens' happiness here, are not only mean—they are false and deceitful: that is to say, they have for their object a set of phantoms and illusions, which actually could not occupy the human mind, if it had not lost its taste and feeling for that which is really good—if it were not filled with low and mean propensities, with vanity, and levity, and pride, and a host of other vices. And these diversions only alleviate our present sorrows, by originating a misery more real and more humiliating. For it is they which mainly hinder us from thinking of ourselves, and make us lose our time without perceiving it. Without them, we should be unhappy, and this unhappiness would drive us to seek some more satisfactory way of peace. But amusement allures and deceives us, and leads us down imperceptibly in thoughtlessness to the grave.

Men finding that they had no remedy for death, misery, and ignorance, have imagined that the way to happiness was not to think of these things. This is all that they have been able to invent, to console themselves in the midst of so much evil. But it is wretched comfort; since it does not profess to cure the mischief, but merely to hide it for a short time. And it does so hide it, as to prevent all serious thought of an effectual cure. And thus a man finds, that by a strange derangement of his nature, *ennui*, which is the evil that he most strongly feels, is in a certain sense his greatest good; and that amusement which he regards as his best blessing, is, in fact, his most serious evil; because it operates more than any thing else to prevent him from seeking a remedy for his miseries; and both of them are a striking proof of the misery and corruption of man, and of his greatness also; since both that weariness which he feels in all things, and that restless search after various and incessant occupation, spring equally from the consciousness of a happiness which he has lost; which happiness, as he does not find it in himself, he seeks fruitlessly through the whole round of visible things; but never finds peace, because it is not in us, nor in the creature at all, but in God only.

Whilst our own nature makes us miserable in whatever state we are, our desires paint to us another condition as being happy, because they join to that in which we are, the pleasures of a condition in which we are not; and whenever we shall attain to those expected pleasures, we shall not be therefore happy, because other desires will then spring up conformed to some other condition, yet new and unattained.

Imagine a number of men in chains, and all condemned to die, and that while some are slaughtered daily in the sight of their companions, those who yet remain see their own sad destiny in that of the slain, and gazing on each other in hopeless sorrow, await their doom. This is a picture of the condition of human nature.

CHAPTER V.

THE WONDERFUL CONTRARIETIES WHICH ARE FOUND IN MAN WITH RESPECT TO TRUTH, HAPPINESS, AND MANY OTHER SUBJECTS.

THERE is nothing more extraordinary in the nature of man, than the contrarieties, which are discovered in it on almost every subject. Man is formed for the knowledge of truth; he ardently desires it; he seeks it; and yet, when he strives to grasp it, he so completely dazzles and confounds himself, that he gives occasion to doubt whether he has attained it or not.

This has given rise to the two sects of the Pyrrhonists and the Dogmatists, of whom the one would deny that men knew any thing of truth; the other professed to show them that they knew it accurately; but each advanced reasons so improbable, that they only increased that confusion and perplexity in which man must continue, so long as he obtains no other light than that of his own understanding.

The chief reasons of the Pyrrhonists are these, that we have no assurance of the truth of our principles (setting aside faith and revelation) except that we find them intuitively within us. But this intuitive impression is not a convincing proof of their truth; because, as without the aid of faith, we have no certainty whether man was made by a benevolent Deity, or a wicked demon, whether man is from eternity, or the offspring of chance, it must remain doubtful whether these principles are given

to us—are true or false; or like our origin, uncertain. Further, that excepting by faith, a man has no assurance whether he sleeps or wakes; seeing that in his sleep he does not the less firmly believe that he is awake, than when he really is so. He sees spaces, figures, movements; he is sensible of the lapse of time; he measures it; he acts, in short, as if he were awake. So that as one half of life is admitted by us to be passed in sleep, in which, however it may appear otherwise, we have no perception of truth, and all our feelings are delusions; who knows but the other half of life, in which we think we are awake, is a sleep also, but in some respects different from the other, and from which we wake, when we, as we call it, sleep. As a man dreams often that he is dreaming, crowding one dreamy delusion on another.

I leave untouched the arguments of the Pyrrhonists against the impressions of habit, education, manners, and national customs, and the crowd of similar influences which carry along the majority of mankind, who build their opinions on no more solid foundation.

The only strong point of the Dogmatists is, that we cannot, consistently with honesty and sincerity, doubt our own intuitive principles. We know the truth, they say, not only by reasoning, but by feeling, and by a quick and luminous power of direct comprehension; and it is by this last faculty that we discern first principles. It is in vain for reasoning, which has no share in discovering these principles, to attempt subverting them. The Pyrrhonists who attempt this, must try in vain. However unable we may be by reasoning to prove the fact, yet we know that we do not dream. And this inability may prove the feebleness of our reason, but not as they pretend, the want of reality and substance in the subjects of our knowledge. For the knowledge of first principles, as the ideas of space, time, motion, number, matter, is as unequivocally certain, as any that reasoning imparts. And, after all, it is on the perceptions of common sense and feeling, that reason must, at last, sustain itself, and found its own argument. I perceive that space has three dimensions, and that number is infinite, and reason demonstrates from this, that there are not two square numbers, of which one is just double of the other. Principles are perceived, propositions are deduced: each part of the process is certain, though in different ways. And it is as ridiculous that reason should require of feeling and perception proofs of these first principles before she assents to them, as it would be that perception should require from reason an intuitive impression of all the propositions at which she arrives. This weakness, therefore, will only serve to abase that reason which would become the judge of all things, but not to invalidate the convictions of common sense, as if reason only could be our guide and teacher. Would to God, on the contrary, that we had no need of reason, but that we knew every thing intuitively by instinct and feeling. But this blessing is withheld from us by our nature; our knowledge by intuitive impression is very scanty; and every thing else must be attained by reasoning.

Here then is war openly proclaimed among men. Each one must take a side; must necessarily range himself with the Pyrrhonists or the Dogmatists; for he who would think to remain neuter, is a Pyrrhonist *par excellence*. This neutrality is the very essence of Pyrrhonism. He who is not against them, is completely for them. What then must a man do in this alternative? Shall he doubt of every thing? Shall he doubt that he is awake, or that he is pinched or burned? Shall he doubt that he doubts? Shall he doubt that he is? We cannot get so far as this; and I hold it to be a fact, that there never has been an absolute and perfect Pyrrhonist. Nature props up the weakness of reason, and prevents her from reaching this point of extravagance. But then on the other side, shall man affirm that he possesses the truth with certainty, who, if you press him ever so little, can bring no proof of the fact, and is forced to loose his hold?

Who shall clear up this perplexity? Common sense confutes the Pyrrhonists, and reason the Dogmatists. What then must become of thee, O man, who searchest out thy true condition, by the aid of natural reason? You cannot avoid adopting one of these opinions; but to maintain either, is impossible.

Such is man in regard to the truth. Consider him now with respect to that happiness, which in all his actions, he seeks with so much avidity; for all men, without exception, desire to be happy. However different the means which they adopt, they aim at the same result. The cause of one man engaging in war, and of another remaining at home, is this same desire of happiness, associated with different predilections. He will never stir a step but towards this desired object. It is the motive of all the actions of all men, even of those who destroy themselves.

And yet, after the lapse of so many years, no one has ever attained to this point at which we are all aiming, but by faith. All are unhappy: princes and their subjects, noble and ignoble, the old and the young, the strong and the weak, the learned and the ignorant, the sick and the healthy of all countries, all times, all ages, and all conditions.

Experience so lengthened, so continual, and so uniform, might well convince us of our inability to be happy by our own efforts. But then here we get no profit from example. It is never so precisely similar, but that there is some slight difference, on the strength of which, we calculate that our hope shall not be disappointed, in this as in former instances. And thus while the present never satisfies us, hope allures us onward, and leads us from misfortune to misfortune, and finally to death and everlasting ruin.

It is remarkable, that in the whole range of nature, there is nothing that has not been accounted fit to become the chief end and happiness of man. The stars, the elements, plants, animals, insects, diseases, wars, vices, crimes, &c. Man having fallen from his original and natural state, there is nothing however mean on which he does not fix his vagrant affections. Since he lost that which is really good, any thing can assume the semblance of it, even self-destruction, though it is so manifestly contrary at once both to reason and to nature.

Some have sought happiness in power; some in science or in curious research; and some in voluptuous pleasure. These three propensities have given rise to three sects; and they who are called philosophers, have merely followed one or other of them. Those who have come nearest to happiness have thought, that *the universal good* which all men desire, and in which all should share, cannot be any one particular thing, which one only can possess, and which if it be divided, ministers more sorrow to its possessor, on account of that which he has not, than pleasure in the enjoyment of that which he has. They conceived that *the true good* must be such that all may enjoy it at once, without imperfection and without envy; and that no one could lose it against his will. They have rightly understood the blessing, but they could not find it; and instead of a solid and practical good, they have embraced its visionary semblance, in an unreal and chimerical virtue.

Instinct tells us, that we must seek our happiness within ourselves, Our passions drive us forth to

seek it in things external, even when those things are not actually present to minister excitement.—External objects are themselves also our tempters, and entice us even when we are not aware. The philosophers then will but vainly say, "Be occupied with yourselves, for there you will find your happiness." Few believe them; and the few who do, are more empty and foolish than any. For can any thing be more contemptible and silly, than what the Stoics call happiness? or more false than all their reasonings on the subject?

They affirm that man can do at all times what he has done once; and that since the love of fame prompts its possessor to do some things well, others may do the same. But those actions are the result of feverish excitement, which health cannot imitate.

2. The intestine war of reason against the passions, has given rise, among those who wish for peace, to the formation of two different sects. The one wished to renounce the passions and to be as gods; the other to renounce their reason, and become beasts. But neither has succeeded; and reason still remains, to point out the baseness and moral pravity of the passions, and to disturb the repose of those who yield to them; and the passions are still vigorously in action in the hearts of those who aim to renounce them.

3. This then is all that man can do in his own strength with regard to truth and happiness. We have a powerlessness for determining truth, which no dogmatism can overcome: we have a vague notion of truth, which no pyrrhonism can destroy.—We wish for truth, and find within only uncertainty. We seek for happiness, and find nothing but misery. We cannot but wish for truth and happiness; yet we are incapable of attaining either.—The desire is left to us, as much to punish us, as to show us whence we are fallen.

4. If man was not made for God, why is he never happy but in God? If man is made for God, why is he so contrary to God?

5. Man knows not in what rank of beings to place himself. He is manifestly astray, and perceives in himself the remnant indications of a happy state, from which he has fallen, and which he cannot recover. He is ever seeking it, with restless anxiety, without success, and in impenetrable darkness.—This is the source of all the contests of the philosophers. One class has undertaken to elevate man by displaying his greatness; the other to abase him by the exhibition of his wretchedness. And what is most extraordinary is, that each party makes use of the reasonings of the other to establish its own opinions. For the misery of man is inferrible from his greatness, and his greatness from his misery. And thus the one class has more effectually proved his misery, because they deduced it from his greatness; and the other established much more powerfully the fact of his greatness, because they proved it even from his misery. All that the one could say of his greatness, served but as an argument to the other, to prove his misery; inasmuch as the misery of having fallen, is aggravated in proportion as the point from which we fell is shown to be more elevated; and *vice versa*. Thus they have outgone each other successively, in an eternal circle; it being certain, that as men increased in illumination, they would multiply proofs, both of their greatness and their misery. In short, man knows that he is wretched. He is wretched, because he knows it. Yet in this he is evidently great, that he knows himself to be wretched.

What a chimera then is man. What a singular phenomenon! What a chaos! What a scene of contrariety! A judge of all things, yet a feeble worm; the shrine of truth, yet a mass of doubt and uncertainty: at once the glory and the scorn of the universe. If he boasts, I lower him; if he lowers himself, I raise him; either way I contradict him, till he learns that he is a monstrous incomprehensible mystery.

CHAPTER VI.

ON AVOWED INDIFFERENCE TO RELIGION.

It were to be wished, that the enemies of religion would at least learn what religion is, before they oppose it. If religion boasted of the unclouded vision of God, and of disclosing him without a covering or veil, then it were victory to say that nothing in the world discovers him with such evidence.—But since religion, on the contrary, teaches that men are in darkness, and far from God; that he is hidden from them, and that the very name which he gives himself in the Scriptures, is "a God that hideth himself;" and, in fact, since it labors to establish these two maxims, that God has placed in his church, certain characters of himself, by which he will make himself known to those who sincerely seek him; and yet that he has, at the same time, so far covered them, as to render himself imperceptible to those who do not seek him with their whole heart, what advantage do men gain, that, in the midst of their criminal negligence in the search of truth, they complain so frequently that nothing reveals and displays it to them? seeing that this very obscurity under which they labor, and which they thus bring against the Christian church, does but establish one of the two grand points which she maintains, without affecting the other; and instead of ruining, confirms her doctrines.

To contend with any effect, the opposers of religion should be able to urge that they have applied their utmost endeavors, and have used all the means of information, even those which the Christian church recommends, without obtaining satisfaction. If they could say this, it were indeed to attack one of her main pretensions. But I hope to show that no rational person can affirm this; nay, I venture to assert that none ever did. We know very well how men of this spirit are wont to act. They conceive that they have made a mighty effort towards the instruction of their minds, when they have spent a few hours in reading the Scriptures, and have put a few questions to a minister on the articles of the faith. And then they boast of having consulted both men and books without success. Really I cannot help telling such men, what I have often told them, that this negligence is insufferable. This is not a question about the petty interests of some stranger. Ourselves and our all are involved in it.

The immortality of the soul is a matter of such main importance, so profoundly interesting to us, that we must be utterly dead to every good feeling, if we could be indifferent about it. And all our actions and thoughts would take so different a course, according as we have or have not the hope of eternal blessings, that it is impossible for us to take one step discreetly, but as we keep this point ever in view, as our main and ultimate object.

It is, then, both our highest interest, and our first duty, to get light on this subject, on which our whole conduct depends. And here, therefore, in speaking of those who are skeptical on this point, I make a wide distinction between those who labor with all their power to obtain instruction, and those who live on in indolence, without caring to make any inquiry. I do heartily pity those who sincerely mourn over their skepticism, who look upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, and who spare no pains to escape from it, but who make their researches their chief and most serious employ. But as for

those who pass their life without reflecting on its close; and who, merely because they find not in themselves a convincing testimony, refuse to seek it elsewhere, and to examine thoroughly, whether the opinion proposed be such as nothing but a credulous simplicity receives, or such as, though obscure in itself, is yet founded on a solid basis, I regard them very differently. The carelessness which they betray in a matter which involves their existence, their eternity, their all, awakes my indignation rather than my pity. It is astonishing. It is horrifying. It is monstrous. I speak not this from the pious zeal of a blind devotion. On the contrary, I affirm that self-love, that self-interest, that the simplest light of reason, should inspire these sentiments; and, in fact, for this we need but the perceptions of ordinary men.

It requires but little elevation of soul to discover, that here there is no substantial delight; that our pleasures are but vanity, that the ills of life are innumerable; and that, after all, death, which threatens us every moment, must, in a few years, perhaps in a few days, place us in the eternal condition of happiness, or misery, or nothingness. Between us and heaven, hell or annihilation, no barrier is interposed but life, which is of all things the most fragile; and as they who doubt the immortality of the soul, can have no hope of heaven, they can have no prospect but hell or nonentity.

Nothing can be more true than this, and nothing more terrible. Brave it how we will, there ends the goodliest life on earth.

It is in vain for men to turn aside from this coming eternity, as if a bold indifference could destroy its being. It subsists notwithstanding. It hastens on; and death, which must soon unveil it, will, in a short time, infallibly reduce them to the dreadful necessity of being annihilated for ever, or for ever wretched.

Here then is a doubt of the most alarming importance; to feel this doubt is already, in itself, a serious evil. But that doubt imposes on us the indispensible duty of inquiry.

He, then, who doubts, and yet neglects inquiry, is both uncandid and unhappy. But if, notwithstanding his doubts, he is calm and contented; if he freely avows his ignorance; nay, if he makes it his boast, and seems to make this very indifference the subject of his joy and triumph, no words can adequately describe his extravagant infatuation.

Where do men get these opinions? What delight is there in expecting misery without end? What ground is there for boasting in the experience of nothing but impenetrable darkness? Or what consolation in despairing for ever of a comforter?

Acquiescence in such ignorance is monstrous, and they who thus linger on through life, should be made sensible of its absurdity and stupidity, by showing them what passes in their own breasts, so as to confound them by a sight of their own folly. For men who thus choose to remain ignorant of what they are, and who seek no means of illumination, reason in this way:—

"I know not who has sent me into the world, nor what the world is, nor what I am myself. I am awfully ignorant of all things. I know not what my body is, what my senses are, or what my soul is. This very part of me which thinks what I now speak, which reflects upon all other things, and even upon itself, is equally a stranger to itself, and to all around it. I look through the vast and terrific expanse of the universe by which I am encompassed; and I find myself chained to one petty corner of the wide domain; without understanding why I am fixed in this spot, rather than in any other; or why this little hour of life was assigned me at this point, rather than at any other of all that eternity which was before me, or of all that which is to come. On every side I see nothing but infinities, which enfathom me in their abysses as a mere atom, or as a shadow which lingers but a single instant, and is never to return. All that I know is, that I must shortly die; and that of which I know the least, is this very death, from which I cannot fly.

"As I know not whence I came, so I know not whither I go. This only I know, that when I leave this world, I must either fall for ever into nothingness, or into the hands of an incensed God; but I know not to which of these two conditions I shall be eternally doomed.

"Such is my state; full of misery, of imbecility, of darkness. And from all this, I argue that it becomes me to pass all the days of my life, without considering what shall hereafter befall me; and that I have nothing to do, but to follow the bent of my inclinations, without reflection or disquiet, and if there be an eternity of misery, to do my utmost to secure it. Perhaps inquiry might throw some light upon my doubts; but I will not take the pains to make it, nor stir one foot to find the truth. On the contrary, while I show my contempt for those who annoy themselves by this inquiry, I wish to rush without fear or foresight upon the risk of this dread contingency. I will suffer myself to be led imperceptibly on to death, in utter uncertainty as to the issue of my future lot in eternity."

Verily, religion may glory in having for its enemies, men so irrational as these; their opposition is so little to be dreaded, that it serves, in fact, to illustrate the main truths which our religion teaches. For our religious system aims chiefly to establish these two principles—the corruption of human nature, and redemption by Jesus Christ. Now, if these opposers are of no use in confirming the truth of redemption, by the sanctity of their lives; yet they admirably prove the corruption of nature, by the maintenance of such unnatural opinions.

Nothing is so important to any man as his own condition; nothing so formidable as eternity.—They, therefore, who are indifferent to the loss of their being, and to the risk of endless misery, are in an unnatural state. They act quite differently from this in all other matters; they fear the smallest inconveniences; they anticipate them; they feel them when they arrive; and he who passes days and nights in indignation and despair, at the loss of an employment, or for some fancied blemish on his honor, is the very same man who knows that he must soon lose all by death, and yet continues satisfied, fearless, and unmoved. Such an insensibility to things of the most tremendous consequences, in a heart so keenly alive to the merest trifles, is an astonishing prodigy, an incomprehensible enchantment, a supernatural infatuation.

A man in a dungeon, who knows not if the sentence of death has gone forth against him, who has but one hour to ascertain the fact, and that one hour sufficient, if he knows that it is granted, to secure its revocation, acts contrary to nature and to common sense, if he employs that hour, not in the needful inquiry, but in sport and trifling. Now, this is the condition of the persons whom we are describing; only with this difference, that the evils with which they are every moment threatened, do infinitely surpass the mere loss of this life, and that transient punishment which the prisoner has to dread. Yet they run thoughtlessly onward to the precipice, having only cast a veil over their eyes to hinder them from discerning it; and then, in a dreadful security, they mock at those who warn them of their danger.

Thus, not only does the zeal of those who seek God, demonstrate the truth of religion, but even

the blindness of those who seek him not, and who pass their days in this criminal neglect. Human nature must have experienced a dreadful revolution, before men could live contentedly in this state, much more before they could boast of it. For supposing that they were absolutely certain, that there was nothing to fear after death but annihilation, is not this a cause rather for despair than for gratulation? But seeing that we have not even this assurance, then is it not inconceivably silly to boast, because we are in doubt?

And yet, after all, it is too evident, that man is in his nature so debased, as to nourish in his heart a secret joy on this account. This brutal insensibility to the risk of hell or of annihilation, is thought so noble, that not only do those who really are skeptically inclined make their boast of it, but even those who are not, are proud to counterfeit a doubt. For experience proves, that the greater part of these men are of this latter kind, mere pretenders to infidelity, and hypocrites in atheism. They have been told that the spirit of high life consists in rising above these vulgar prejudices. They call this throwing off the yoke of bondage: and most men do this, not from conviction, but from the mere servile principle of imitation.

Yet if they have but a particle of common sense remaining, it will not be difficult to make them comprehend, how miserably they abuse themselves by seeking credit in such a course. For this is not the way to obtain respect, even with men of the world; for they judge accurately, and know that the only sure way to succeed in obtaining regard, is to approve ourselves honest, faithful, prudent, and capable of advancing the interest of our friends; because men naturally love none but those who can contribute to their welfare. But now what can we gain by hearing any man confess that he has thrown off the yoke; that he does not believe in a God, who watches over his conduct; that he considers himself as the absolute master of his own actions, and accountable for them only to himself. Will he imagine that we shall now repose in him a greater degree of confidence than before, and that henceforth we shall look to him for comfort, advice or assistance in the vicissitudes of life? Does he think that we are delighted to hear that he doubts whether our very soul be any thing more than a breath or a vapor, and that he can tell it us with an air of assurance and self-sufficiency? Is this, then, the topic for a jest? Should it not rather be told with tears, as the saddest of all sorrowful things?

If they thought seriously, they would see that this conduct is so contrary to sound sense, to virtuous principle, and to good taste, and so widely removed from the reality of that elevation to which they pretend, that nothing can more effectually expose them to the contempt and aversion of mankind, or more evidently mark them for weakness of intellect, and want of judgment. And indeed, should we require of them an account of their sentiments, and of their doubts on the subject of religion, their statements would be found so miserably weak and trifling, as to confirm, rather than shake our confidence. This was once very aptly remarked by one of their own number, in answer to an infidel argument: "Positively if you continue to dispute at this rate, you will actually make me a Christian." And he was right; for who would not tremble to find himself associated in his opinions and his lot, with men so truly despicable?

They also who do no more than pretend to hold these sentiments, are truly pitiable; for by the assumption of an insincere infidelity, they actually control their better natural tendencies, only to make themselves of all men the most inconsistent. If from their inmost heart they regret that they have not more light, why do they not confess it? Such a confession would be no disgrace; for there is really no shame, but in shamelessness. Nothing more completely betrays a weak mind, than insensibility to the fact of the misery of man, while living without God in the world. Nothing more strongly indicates extreme degradation of spirit, than not to wish for the truth of God's eternal promises. No man is so base as he that defies his God. Let them, therefore, leave those impieties to those who are vile and wretched enough to be in earnest. If they cannot be completely Christians, at least let them be honest men; and let them at length admit the fact, that there are but two classes of men who may be called truly rational:—those who serve God with all their heart, because they know him; and those who seek him with all their heart, because as yet they know him not.

If there are any who sincerely inquire after God, and who, being truly sensible of their misery, affectionately desire to emerge from it; for these we ought to labor, that we may lead them to the discovery of that light which they have not yet discovered.

But as for those who live without either knowing God or endeavoring to know him, they count themselves so little worthy of their own care, that they can hardly deserve the care of others: and it requires all the charity of the religion which they despise, not to despise them so far as to abandon them to their folly. But since our religion obliges us to consider them, while they remain in this life, as still capable of receiving God's enlightening grace, and to believe that in the course of a few days, they may possess a more realizing faith than ourselves; and that we, on the other side, may become as blind as they; we ought to do for them what we would wish them to do for us, if we were in their circumstances; we should entreat them to take pity on themselves, and at least to take some steps forward, and try if they may not yet find the light. Let them give to the reading of this work, a few of those hours which they would otherwise spend more unprofitably. Something they may gain: they can lose but little. But if any shall bring to this work a perfect sincerity, and an unfeigned desire of knowing truth, I would hope that they will find comfort in it, and be convinced by those proofs of our divine religion, which are here accumulated.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT THE BELIEF OF A GOD IS THE TRUE WISDOM.

Let us speak according to the light of nature. If there is a God, he is to us infinitely incomprehensible; because having neither parts nor limits, there is no affinity or resemblance between him and us. We are, then, incapable of comprehending his nature, or even knowing his existence. And under these circumstances, who will dare to undertake the solving of this question? Certainly not we, who have no point of assimilation with him.

2. I will not undertake here to prove by natural reason, either the existence of God, the doctrine of the Trinity, or the immortality of the soul, nor any other point of this kind; not only that I do not feel myself strong enough to bring forth from the resources of weak reason, proofs that would convince a hardened atheist; but that this knowledge, if gained without the faith of Jesus Christ, were equally barren and useless. Suppose a man to become convinced that the proportions of numbers are truths immaterial,* and eternal, and dependant on one first truth, on which they subsist, and which

* Existing independent of matter.

is called God: I do not find that man advanced one step further towards his own salvation.

3. It is surprising that no canonical writer has made use of nature to prove the existence of God. They all tend to establish the belief of this truth; yet they have not said, There is no void, then there is a God; it follows, then, that they were more intelligent than the ablest of those who have come after them, who have all had recourse to this method.

If it is a proof of weakness to prove the existence of God from nature, then do not despise the Scripture; if it is a proof of wisdom to discern the contradictions of nature, then venerate this in the Scripture.

4. Unity added to infinity does not augment it, any more than another foot does a line of infinite length. What is finite is lost in that which is infinite, and shrinks to nothing. So does our mind in respect of the mind of God, and our righteousness when compared with his. The difference between unity and infinity is not so great as that between our righteousness and the righteousness of God.

5. We know that there is an infinite, but we know not its nature. For instance, we know that it is false that number is finite. Then it is true that there is an infinity in number; but what that infinity is, we know not. It cannot be equal or unequal, for the addition of unity to infinity does not change its nature; yet it is a number, and every number is equal or unequal; this is the case with all finite numbers. In the same way, we may know that there is a God, without knowing what he is; and we ought not to conclude that God is not, because we cannot perfectly comprehend his nature.

To convince you of the being of a God, I shall make no use of the faith by which we know him assuredly, nor of any other proofs with which we are satisfied, because you will not receive them. I will only treat with you upon your own principles, and I expect to show you, by the mode in which you reason daily, in matters of small importance, how you should reason in this; and what side you should take in the decision of this important question of the being of a God. You say that we cannot discover whether there be a God or not. This however is certain, either that God is, or that God is not. There is no medium point between these two alternatives. But which side shall we take? Reason, you say, cannot decide at all. There is an infinite chaos between us and the point in question. We play a game at an infinite distance, ignorant whether the coin we throw shall fall cross or pile. How then can we wager? By reasoning we cannot make sure that it is the one or the other. By reasoning we cannot deny that it is the one or the other.

Do not then charge with falsehood those who have taken a side, for you know not that they are wrong, and that they have chosen ill. "No, say you, I do not blame them for having made this choice, but for making any choice whatever. To take a risk on either alternative, is equally wrong: the wise course is not to choose at all." But you must wager; this is not a matter of choice. You are inevitably committed; and not to wager that God is, is to wager that he is not. Which side then do you take? Let us see in which you are the least interested. You have two things to lose, truth and right; and two things to play with, your reason and your will—your knowledge and your happiness. And your nature has two things to shun, error and misery. Take your side, then, without hesitation, that God is. Your reason is not more annoyed in choosing one, than the other, since you cannot but choose one. Here then is one point settled. But now of your happiness? Balance the gain and the loss there. Upon taking the risk that God is, if you win, you win every thing. If you lose, you lose nothing. Believe then if you can.

Well, I see I must wager; but I may risk too much. Let us see. Where there is equal risk of loss or gain, if you have but two lives to gain, and but one to lose, you might venture safely. If again there were ten lives to gain, and the chances equal; then it were actually imprudent not to risk your one life to gain the ten. But in this case, where you have with equal chance of gain or loss, an infinity of lives, infinitely happy, to gain; and where the stake which you play, is a thing so trifling and transient, to hesitate from a false preference to it, is absolute folly.

For it answers no purpose to allege the uncertainty of winning, and the certainty of the risk; or to say that the infinite distance between the certainty of that which we hazard, and the uncertainty of that which we may gain, raises the value of the finite good which we stake, to an equality with the infinite good which is uncertain. For this is not the case. He who plays must risk a certainty for an uncertainty; and though he risks a finite certainty for a finite uncertainty, it can be shown he does not act foolishly. It is false that there is an infinite distance between the certainty we hazard, and the uncertainty of winning. Though it is true that there is an infinite distance between the certainty of gaining and the certainty of losing. But the uncertainty of winning is in proportion to the certainty which is hazarded, according to the proportion of the chances of gain or loss. And hence it follows, that if the risks be equal on both sides, then the match to be played is equal against equal; and then the certainty of that which is hazarded, is equal to the uncertainty of winning; so far is it from being infinitely distant. And thus our proposition is of infinite force, since we have but that which is finite to hazard, and that which is infinite to gain, in a play where the chances of gain or loss are equal. This is demonstration, and if men can discern truth at all, they should perceive this.

I admit this: but is there no mode of getting at the principles of the game? Yes, by the Scriptures, and by the other innumerable proofs of religion. They, you will say, who hope for salvation, are happy in that hope. But is it not counterbalanced by the fear of hell? But who has most reason to fear that hell? he who is ignorant that there is a hell, and is certain of damnation if there is; or he who is convinced of its existence, and lives in the hope of escaping it? He who had but eight days to live, and should conceive that the wisest course for him is, to believe that all this is a matter of mere chance, must be totally demented. Now, if we were not enslaved by our passions, eight days, or a hundred years are precisely the same thing.

And what harm will arise from taking this side? you would become faithful, pure, humble, grateful, beneficent, sincere and true. I grant that you would not be given up to polluting pleasures, to false glory, or false joys. But then, have you not other pleasures? I affirm that you would be a gainer, even in this life; and that every step you go forward, you will see so much of the certainty of what you will gain, and so much of the utter insignificance of what you will risk, that you will in the end discover, that you ventured for a good, both infinite and certain, and that to get it, you have given nothing.

You say that you are so constituted, that you cannot believe; and you ask, what you should do.—Learn, at least, your inaptitude to believe, seeing that reason suggests belief, as your wisdom, and yet you remain unbelieving. Aim, then, to obtain conviction, not by any increase of proof of the exist-

ence of God, but by the discipline and control of your own passions. You wish to obtain faith, but you know not the way to it. You wish to be cured of infidelity, and you ask for the remedy. Learn it, then, from those who have been, what you are, and who now have no doubt. They know the way for which you are seeking, and they are healed of a disease for which you seek a cure. Follow their course, then, from its beginning. Imitate, at least, their outward actions, and if you cannot yet realize their internal feelings, quit, at all events, those vain pursuits in which you have been hitherto entirely engrossed.

Ah, say you, I could soon renounce these pleasures, if I had faith; and I answer, you would soon have faith, if you would renounce those pleasures. It is for you to begin. If I could, I would give you faith, but I cannot; and consequently, I cannot prove the sincerity of your assertion; but you can abandon your pleasures, and thus make experiment of the truth of mine.

You say, this argument delights me. If so, if this argument pleases you, and appears weighty, know also that it comes from a man, who, both before and afterwards, went on his knees before Him who is infinite, and without parts, and to whom he has himself entirely submitted, with prayer, that he would also subject you to himself for your good, and his glory; and that thus Omnipotence might bless his weakness.

6. We ought not to misconceive our own nature. We are body as well as spirit; and hence demonstration is not the only channel of persuasion. How few things are capable of demonstration! Such proof, too, only convinces the understanding: custom gives the most conclusive proof, for it influences the senses, and by them, the judgment is carried along without being aware of it. Who has proved the coming of the morrow, or the fact of our own death? And yet what is more universally believed? It is then custom which persuades us. Custom makes so many Turks and Pagans. Custom makes artisans and soldiers, &c. True, we must not begin here to search for truth, but we may have recourse to it when we have found out where the truth lies, in order to imbue ourselves more thoroughly with that belief, which otherwise would fade. For to have the series of proofs incessantly before the mind, is more than we are equal to. We must acquire a more easy method of belief; that of habit, which, without violence, without art, and without argument, inclines all our powers to this belief, so that the mind glides into it naturally. It is not enough to believe only by the strength of rational conviction, while the senses incline us to believe the contrary. Our two powers must go forth together; the understanding, led by those reasonings which it suffices to have examined thoroughly once; the affections, by habit, which keeps them perpetually from wandering.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARKS OF THE TRUE RELIGION.

True religion should be marked by the obligation to love God. This is essentially right; and yet no religion but the Christian has ever enjoined it.

True religion ought also to recognize the depraved appetite of man, and his utter inability to become virtuous by his own endeavors. It should have pointed out the proper remedies for this evil, of which prayer is the principal. Our religion has done all this; and no other has ever taught to ask of God the power to love and serve him.

2. Another feature of true religion, would be the knowledge of our nature. For the true knowledge of our nature, of its true happiness, of true virtue, and true religion, are things essentially united. It should also recognize both the greatness and the meanness of man; together with their respective causes. What religion, but the Christian, has ever exhibited knowledge such as this?

3. Other religions, as the pagan idolatries, are more popular; their main force lies in external forms: but then they are ill suited to sensible men; whilst a religion, purely intellectual, would be more adapted to men of sense, but would not do for the multitude. Christianity alone adapts itself to all. It wisely blends outward forms, and inward feelings. It raises the common people to abstract thought; and, at the same time, abases the pride of the most intellectual, to the performance of outward duties; and it is never complete, but in the union of these two results. For it is necessary that the people understand the spirit of the letter, and that the learned submit their spirit to the letter, in the compliance with external forms.

4. Even reason teaches us that we deserve to be hated: yet no religion, but the Christian, requires us to hate ourselves. No other religion, therefore, can be received by those who know themselves to be worthy of nothing but hatred.

No other religion, but the Christian, has admitted that man is the most excellent of all visible creatures, and, at the same time, the most miserable. Some religions which have rightly estimated man's real worth, have censured, as mean and ungrateful, the low opinion which men naturally entertain of their own condition. Others, well knowing the depth of his degradation, have exposed, as ridiculously vain, those notions of grandeur, which are natural to men.

No other religion, but ours has taught that man is born in sin: no sect of philosophers ever taught this; therefore no sect has ever spoken the truth.

5. God is evidently withdrawn from us, and every religion, therefore, which does not teach this, is false; and every religion which does not teach the reason of this, is wanting in the most important point of instruction. Our religion does both.

That religion which consists in the belief of man's fall from a state of glory and communication with God, into a state of sorrow, humiliation, and alienation from God, and of his subsequent restoration by a Messiah, has always been in the world. All things else have passed away, but this, for which all other things exist, remains. For God, in his wisdom, designing to form to himself a holy people, whom he would separate from all other nations, deliver from their enemies, and lead to a place of rest, did promise that he would do this, and that he would come himself into the world to do it; and did foretell by his prophets, the very time and manner of his coming. In the mean while, to confirm the hope of his elect through all ages, he continually exhibited this aid to them in types and figures, and never left them without some evident assurances of his power and willingness to save.—For immediately after the creation, Adam was made the witness to this truth, and the depository of the promise of a Saviour, to be born of the seed of the woman. And though men at a period so near to their creation, could not have altogether forgotten their origin, their fall, and the divine promise of a Redeemer; yet since the world in its very infancy was overrun with every kind of corruption and violence, God was pleased to raise up holy men, as Enoch, Lamech, and others, who, with faith and patience, waited for that Saviour who had been promised from the beginning of the world. At the last, God sent Noah, who was permitted to experience the malignant wickedness of man in its highest degree; and then God saved him, when he drowned the whole world, by a miracle, which tes-

tified, at once, the power of God to save the world, and his willingness to do it, and to raise up to the woman the seed which He had promised. This miracle, then, sufficed to confirm the hopes of mankind: and while the memory of it was still fresh in their minds, God renewed his promises to Abraham, who dwelt in the midst of idolaters, and opened to him the mystery of the Messiah that was to come. In the days of Isaac and Jacob, the idolatrous abomination was spread over the whole earth; yet these holy men lived in faith, and when Jacob, on his death-bed, blest his children, he exclaimed with an extatic joy, that interrupted his prophetic discourse, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord."

The Egyptians were a people infected with idolatry and magic; and even the people of God were drawn aside by their example. Yet Moses and others were permitted to see him who was to them invisible, and they adored him, and had respect unto the eternal blessings which he was preparing for them.

The Greeks and Romans have bowed down to fictitious deities. The poets have invented different systems of theology. Philosophers have split into a thousand different sects; yet were there always in one small spot, and that the land of Judea, some chosen men who foretold the coming of that Messiah, whom no one else regarded.

At length, in the fulness of time, that Messiah came; and ever since, in the midst of heresies and schisms, the revolution of empires, and the perpetual change to which all other things are subject, the same church which adores him, who has never been without his chosen worshippers, still subsists without interruption or decay. And, what must be owned to be unparalleled, wonderful, and altogether Divine, this religion, which has ever continued, has subsisted in the face of perpetual opposition. A thousand times has it been on the very verge of total ruin; and as often as it has been so reduced, God has relieved it, by some extraordinary interposition of his power. This is a most wonderful feature of its history, that it should have been so maintained, and that too, even without any unconscientious submission or compromise to the will of tyrannical men.

6. Civil states would infallibly perish, if their laws did not yield sometimes to the control of necessity. But religion has never submitted to this: yet one step or the other is necessary, either compliances or miracles. It is no wonder that the kingdoms of this world should try to save themselves by yielding to circumstances; but, in point of fact, this is not preservation. It is change. And yet with all these variations, still they utterly perish. There is not one state that has lasted for 1500 years. If, then, this religion has always continued somewhere in existence, and continued firm and inflexible, is it not divine?

7. There would be too much obscurity over this question, if the truth had not some unequivocal marks. This is a valuable one, that it has always been preserved in a visible church. The proof would be too bright, if there were but one opinion in the Christian church. This, then, has not been the case; but in order to discover that which is truth, we have only to ascertain that which has always existed, for that which really is the truth, must have been there always, but that which is false, cannot.*

Now, the belief in the Messiah has been ever maintained in the world. The tradition from Adam was yet recent in the days of Noah, and even of Moses. Subsequently the prophets bore testimony to Him; at the same time predicting other things, which, being from day to day fulfilled, in the eyes of the world, established the truth of their mission, and consequently, of their unfulfilled promises concerning the Messiah. They unanimously declared that the law which had been given, was but preparatory to that of the Messiah; that, till then, it must continue; but that the law of Messiah should endure for ever: so that, either the law of Moses, or that of the Messiah, which it prophetically prefigured, should always continue upon earth. And, in fact, there has been that perpetuity. Jesus Christ came agreeably to all the circumstances of their predictions. He wrought miracles; so did his apostles, by whom he converted the Gentile world. And the prophecies being thus fulfilled, the proof of the Messiah's mission is for ever established.

8. I see many opposing religions. Necessarily, these are all false but one. Each seeks to be received on its own authority, and threatens the incredulous. I do not believe them on that account, for any one can say this. Any one may call himself a prophet. But in the Christian religion, I see many accomplished prophecies, and many miracles attested beyond all reasonable doubt; I find this in no other religion in the world.

9. That religion only which is contrary to our nature, in its present estate, which resists our pleasurable inclinations, and which seems, at first, contrary to the general opinion of mankind, that only has perpetually subsisted.

10. The whole course of things should bear upon the establishment and the exaltation of religion; the opinions and feelings of men should be found conformable to what religion enjoins; and, in a word, religion should be so manifestly the great object and centre towards which all things tend, that whoever understands its principles, should be enabled to account by it for the nature of man in particular, and for the government of the world at large.

Now, it is upon this very ground that wicked and profane men blasphemously revile the Christian religion, because they misunderstand it. They imagine that it consists simply in the adoration of God as great, powerful, and eternal; which is, in fact, merely Deism, and is almost as far removed from Christianity as Atheism, which is directly opposed to it. And then from hence they would infer the falsehood of our religion; because, say they, were it true, God would have manifested himself by proofs so palpable, that no man could remain ignorant of him.

But let them conclude what they will in this way, against Deism; this is no conclusive objection against Christianity; for our religion distinctly states, that, since the fall, God does not manifest himself to us with all the evidence that is possible. It consists properly in the mystery of a Redeemer, who, by uniting in himself the Divine and human natures, has delivered men out of the corruption of sin, and reconciled them to God in his own Divine person.

It inculcates on men these two truths; that there is a God whom they are capable of knowing and enjoying; and that there is a corruption in their nature, which renders them unworthy of the blessing. These truths are equally important; and it is equally dangerous for man, to seek God without the knowledge of his own misery, and to know his own misery without the knowledge of a Redeemer as his remedy. To apprehend the one without the other, begets either that philosophic pride which some men have had, who knew God, but not their own misery; or that despair which we find in Atheists, who know their own misery, but not their Saviour.

And as the knowledge of these two truths is

* How completely this simple rule condemns all the Romish superstitions.

equally necessary to man, so it is of the mercy of God to afford the means of knowing both. Now, the Christian religion does this, and that is its avowed and specific object.

Look into the order of things in this world, and see if all things do not directly tend to the establishment of these two fundamental principles of our religion.

11. If a man does not know himself to be full of pride, ambition, lust, weakness, misery, and unrighteousness, he is sadly blind. But, if with the knowledge of the evil, he has no wish to be delivered from it, what shall we say of such folly? Ought we not then to esteem highly a religion which so thoroughly understands our defects; and ardently to hope for the truth of a religion which promises so desirable a remedy?

12. It is impossible to meet all the proofs of the Christian religion, combined in one synoptical review, without feeling that they have a force which no reasonable man can resist.

Consider its first establishment. That a religion so contrary to our nature, should have established itself so quietly, without any force or constraint; and yet so effectually, that no torments could prevent the martyrs from confessing it; and that this was done, not only without the assistance of any earthly potentate whatever, but in direct opposition to all the kings of earth combined against it.

Consider the holiness, the elevation, and the humility of a Christian spirit. Some of the pagan philosophers have been elevated above the rest of mankind by a better regulated mode of life, and by the influence of sentiments in a measure conformed to those of Christianity; but they have never recognized as a virtue that which Christians call humility; and they would even have believed it incompatible with the other virtues which they proposed to cherish. None but the Christian religion has known how to unite things which previously appeared so much at variance; and has taught mankind, that instead of humility being inconsistent with the other virtues, all other virtues without it are vices and defects.

Consider the boundless wonders of the Holy Scripture; the grandeur, and the super-human sublimity of its statements, and the admirable simplicity of its style, which has nothing affected, nothing labored or recondite, and which bears upon the face of it, the irresistible stamp of truth.

Consider especially the person of Jesus Christ. Whatever may be thought of him in other respects, it is impossible not to discern that he had a truly noble and highly elevated spirit, of which he gave proof, even in his infancy before the doctors of the law. And yet, instead of applying himself to the cultivation of his talents by study, and by the society of the learned, he passed thirty years of his life in manual labor, and in an entire separation from the world: and during the three years of his ministry, he called and delegated as his apostles, men without knowledge, without study, without repute; and he excited as his enemies, all those who were accounted the wisest and the most learned of his day. This was certainly an extraordinary line of conduct, for one whose purpose it was to establish a new religion.

Consider also those chosen apostles of Jesus Christ: men unlettered and without study; yet who found themselves all at once sufficiently learned to confound the most practised philosophers, and sufficiently firm to resist the kings and tyrants who opposed that gospel which they preached.

Consider that extraordinary series of prophets, who have followed each other during a period of two thousand years; and who, in so many different ways, have predicted, even to the most minute circumstances, the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ; the mission of his apostles, the preaching of the gospel, the conversion of the Gentiles, and many other matters which regarded the establishment of the Christian religion, and the abolition of Judaism.

Consider the wonderful fulfilment of these prophecies, which have their accomplishment so accurately in the person of Jesus Christ, that none but he who is determined wilfully to blind himself, can fail to admit the fact.

Consider the state of the Jewish people, both previously and subsequently to the coming of Christ; how flourishing before his coming; how full of misery since they rejected him! Even at this day, they are without any of the peculiar marks of their religion, without a temple, without sacrifices, scattered over the whole world, the contempt and the scoffing of all men.

Consider the perpetuity of the Christian religion, which has even subsisted from the beginning of the world, either in the Old Testament saints, who lived in the expectation of Christ before his coming, or in those who have received and believed on him since. No other religion has been perpetual, and this is the chief characteristic of the true religion.

Finally, consider the holiness of this religion. Consider its doctrine, which gives a satisfactory reason for all things; even for the contrarieties which are found in man. And consider all those singular, supernatural, and divine peculiarities which shine forth in it on every side, and then judge from all this evidence, if it is possible fairly to doubt that Christianity is the only true religion; and if any other religion ever possessed any thing which could bear a moment's comparison with it.

CHAPTER IX.

PROOFS OF THE TRUE RELIGION, DRAWN FROM THE CONTRARIETIES IN MAN, AND FROM THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN.

The greatness and the misery of man are both so manifest, that it is essential to the true religion, to recognize the existence in man, of a certain principle of extraordinary greatness, and also a principle of profound misery. For that religion which is true, must thoroughly know our nature in all its grandeur, and in all its misery, and must comprehend the source of both. It should give also a satisfactory explanation of those astonishing contrarieties which we find within us. If also there be one essence, the beginning and the end of all things, the true religion should teach us to worship and to love him exclusively. But since we find ourselves unable to worship him whom we know not, and to love any thing beyond ourselves, it is essential that the religion which requires of us these duties, should warn us of our weakness, and guide us to its cure.

Again, religion, to make man happy, should teach him that there is a God; that we ought to love him; that it is our happiness to be his, and our only real evil to be separated from him. It should show us that we are full of gross darkness, which hinders us from knowing and loving him; and that our duty, thus requiring us to love God, and our evil affections alienating us from him, we are manifestly in a sinful state. It ought to discover to us also the cause of this opposition to God, and to our real welfare. It should point out to us the remedy and the means of obtaining it. Examine, then, all the religious systems in the world on these several points, and see if any other than Christianity will satisfy you respecting them.

Shall it be the religion taught by those philosophers, who offer to us as the chief good, our own moral excellence? Is this, then, the supreme good?

Have these men discovered the remedy of our evils? Have they found a cure for the presumption of man, who thus make him equal with his God? And they who have levelled us with the brutes, and held up as the chief good the sensual delights of earth; have they found a cure for our corrupt affections? These say to us, "Lift up your eyes to God, behold him whom you resemble, and who has made you for his worship. You may make yourselves altogether like him; and, if you follow the dictates of wisdom, you will become his equals." Those say, "Look to the dust, vile reptiles, and consider the beasts with whom you are associated." What then is to be the lot of man? Is he to be equal with God, or with the beasts that perish? How awful the scope of this alternative.—What shall be our destiny? Where is the religion that shall instruct us, at once to correct both our pride and our concupiscence? Where is the religion that shall teach us, at the same time, our happiness and our duty; the weaknesses which cause us to err, the specific for their removal, and the way to obtain it? Hear what the wisdom of God declares on this subject, when it speaks to us in the Christian religion.

It is in vain, O men! that you seek in yourselves the remedy of your miseries. All the light you have can only show you that you cannot find within yourselves either truth or happiness. The philosophers have promised you both; but they could give you neither. They know not your real happiness, nor even your real state. How could they cure those ills, who did not even know them. Your chief mischiefs are, that pride which alienates you from God, and that concupiscence which fetters you to earth; and they have invariably fostered, at least, one or other of these evils. If they set God before you, it was but to excite your pride, by making you believe that your nature was similar to his. And they who saw the folly of such pretensions, have but led you to an equally dangerous precipice. They have taught you that your nature was on a level with the beasts, and that happiness was only to be found in those lusts which you have in common with them. This was not the way to convince you of your errors. Seek not then from men, either truth or consolation. I made you at the first, and I only can teach you what you are. You are not now in the state in which you were created by me. I made man holy, innocent, and perfect. I filled him with light and understanding. I made known to him my glory, and the wonders of my hand. Then it was that the eye of man beheld the majesty of God. He was not then in the darkness which now blinds him. He knew not then mortality or misery. But he did not long enjoy that glory, without declining to presumption. He wished to make himself the centre of his own happiness, and to live independently of my aid. He withdrew from beneath my authority. And when, by the desire to find happiness in himself, he aimed to put himself on a level with me; I abandoned him to his own guidance; and causing all the creatures that I had subjected to him, to revolt from him, I made them his enemies: so that now man himself has actually become similar to the beasts, and he is so far removed from me, that he scarcely retains even a confused notion of the Author of his being: so much have his original impressions been obliterated and obscured. His senses uncontrolled by reason, and often overruling it, hurry him onward to pleasure and to indulgence. All the creatures round him, now minister only sorrow or temptation. They have the dominion over him, either subduing him by their strength, or seducing him by their fascinations; a tyrannical control, which is, of all others, the most cruel and imperious.

Behold then the present state and condition of men. On the one hand they retain a powerful instinctive impression of the happiness of their primitive nature; on the other hand, they are plunged in the miseries of their own blindness and lust; and this is now become their second nature.

2. In the principles which I have here stated, you may discern the spring of those wonderful contrarieties which have confounded, while they have distracted and divided all mankind. Watch attentively all the emotions of greatness and glory, which the sense of so many miseries has not been able to extinguish, and see if they must not have their source in another nature.

3. See, then, proud man, what a paradox thou art to thyself. Let impotent reason be humbled; let frail nature be silent. Know that man infinitely surpasseth man; and learn from thy Maker, thy real condition.

For, in fact, had man never been corrupted, he would have ever enjoyed truth and happiness, with an assured delight. And had man never been any other than corrupted, he would never have had any idea of truth and blessedness. But wretched as we are, (more wretched than if we had never felt the consciousness of greatness) we do now retain a notion of felicity, though we cannot attain it. We have some faint impression of truth, while all we grasp is falsehood. We are alike incapable of total ignorance and of sure and definite knowledge. So manifest is it, that we were once in a state of perfection, from which we have unhappily fallen. What then do this sense of want, and this impotency to obtain, declare to us, but that man originally possessed a real bliss, of which no traces now remain, except that cheerless void within, which he vainly endeavors to fill from the things around him; by seeking from those which are absent, a joy which present things will not yield—a joy which neither the present nor the absent can bestow on him; because this illimitable chasm, this boundless void, can never be filled by any but an infinite and immutable object.

4. It is an astonishing thought that of all mysteries, that which seems to be farthest removed from our apprehension, I mean the transmission of original sin, is a fact without the knowledge of which we can never satisfactorily know ourselves. For, undoubtedly, nothing appears so revolting to our reason as to say that the transgression of the first man should impart guilt to those, who, from their extreme distance from the source of the evil, seem incapable of such a participation. This transmission seems to us not only impossible but unjust. For what can be more repugnant to the rules of our despicable justice, than to condemn eternally an infant, yet irresponsible, for an offence, in which he appears to have had so little share, that it was committed six thousand years before he came into existence. Certainly nothing wounds us more cruelly than this doctrine. And yet without this mystery, to us of all others the most incomprehensible, we are utterly incomprehensible to ourselves. The complicated knot of our condition, has its mysterious folds in this abyss; so that man is more incomprehensible without this mystery, than is this mystery itself to man.

The notion of original sin, is foolishness to men. But then we should not condemn the want of reasonableness in this doctrine, for in fact it is not assumed to be within the province of reason. At the same time, this very foolishness is wiser than all the wisdom of men: (*The foolishness of God, is wiser than men.* 1 Cor. i. 25.) For without this, what explanation can we give of man! His whole condition hangs upon this one imperceptible point.—Yet how could he have discovered this by his rea-

son; seeing it is a matter above his reason; and that reason, far from discovering the fact, revolts from it, when it is revealed.

5. These two states of original innocence and subsequent corruption, being once presented to our view, it is impossible not to recognize them, and admit their truth. Let us trace our own emotions, and observe ourselves; and let us see whether we do not detect within, the living characters of both these different natures. Could such contrarieties exist in the subject of one simple nature?

This two-fold tendency of man is so visible, that some have conceived him to possess two souls: one soul appearing to them incapable of such great and sudden changes, from an immeasurable presumption, to the most debasing and abject depravity.

Thus we see that the several contrarieties which seem most calculated to alienate men from the knowledge of any religion whatever, are the very things which should most effectually avail to guide them to the true.

For my own part, I avow, that as soon as the Christian religion discloses this one principle—that human nature is depraved and fallen from God, my eyes open at once to discover the characters of this truth, inscribed on every thing around me. All nature, both within and without us, most manifestly declares the withdrawing of God.

Without this divine communication, what could men do, but either feed their pride on the inward impression yet remaining of their former greatness; or abjectly sink under the consciousness of their present infirmity? For as they do not discern all the truth, they can never attain to perfect virtue. Some regarding their nature as hitherto uncorrupted; others, as irrecoverably lost; they could not escape one of the two great sources of all vice—either pride or recklessness. They must either abandon themselves to vice, through negligence; or emerge from it by the strength of their pride. If they were alive to the excellency of man, they would be ignorant of his corruption: and though, by this means, they would avoid the guilt of reckless indifference, they would split upon the rock of pride; and if they recognize the weakness of human nature, they would be strangers to its dignity: and thus they would shun the dangers of a proud presumption, only to plunge themselves into the vortex of despair.

From this very source sprung all the various sects of the Stoics and Epicureans; of the Dogmatists, and the Academics, &c. The Christian religion only has been able thoroughly to cure these opposite vices; not by using the wisdom of this world to make one expel the other; but by expelling them both, through the means of the simple truth of the gospel. For while it exalts its votaries to be partakers of the divine nature, it teaches that even in this exalted state, they carry with them the source of all corruption, which renders them, during their whole life, liable to error and misery, to death and sin. At the same time, it assures the most impious, that even they might yet experience the grace of the Redeemer. Thus administering salutary dread to those whom it justifies, and needful encouragement to those whom it condemns; it so wisely tempers hope and fear, by means of this two-fold capability of sin and of grace, which is common to all mankind, that it humbles man far below what unassisted reason could do, without driving him to despair; and it exalts man far beyond the loftiest height of natural pride, without making him presumptuous. And hereby it is shown of the Christian religion, that inasmuch as it only is free from defect or error, to it alone belongs the task of instructing and correcting mankind.

6. We have no conception of the glorious state of Adam, nor of the nature of his sin, nor of the transmission of it to ourselves. These things occurred under circumstances widely different from our own; and they exceed the present limits of our comprehension. The comprehension of them would be of no avail for our deliverance from evil. All that we need to know is, that through Adam we are become miserable, corrupt, and alienated from God; but that by Jesus Christ we are redeemed. And of this, even in this world we have ample proof.

7. Christianity has its wonders. It requires man to acknowledge himself vile and abominable; it requires him also to emulate the likeness of his Maker. Unless these things had been accurately balanced, such an exaltation would have rendered him extravagantly vain; such a debasement, lamentably abject.

Misery leads to despair; aggrandisement to presumption.

8. The mystery of the incarnation shows to man the depth of his degradation, in the greatness of the necessary remedy.

9. The Christian religion does not recognize in us such a state of abasement, as renders us incapable of good; nor such a purity as is perfectly safe from evil. No doctrine is so well adapted to human nature as this, which declares man's capability of receiving and of forfeiting grace; because of the danger to which, on either hand, he is ever exposed, of despair and of presumption.

10. Philosophers have never furnished men with sentiments suited to these two features of their condition. They either infused notions of unalloyed greatness, which is certainly not man's real state; or they encouraged the idea of man's total depravity, which is equally an error. We want an actual abasement of soul, not by the indulgence of our own base nature; but by a real penitence: not that we may abide there, but that we may attain thereby to exaltation. We want the stirrings of greatness; not those which originate in human merit, but those which spring from grace, and follow humiliation.

11. No man is really happy, rational, virtuous, amiable, but the true Christian. How free from pride is his consciousness of union with the Deity! How free from meanness, the humility which levels him with the worms of the earth!

Who, then, can withhold from this celestial light, his confidence and veneration? For is it not clearer than the day, that we discover in ourselves the indelible traces of our excellence? And is it not equally clear, that we experience every moment the sad realities of our deplorable condition? And does not, then, this internal chaos, this moral confusion, proclaim with a voice mighty and irresistible, the truth of those two states, to which revelation bears testimony?

12. That which hinders men from believing that they may be united to God, is the conviction of their depraved state. But if they are sincere in this conviction, let them follow out the fact to its bearings as I have; and let them acknowledge that the effect of this degradation is, to render us incapable of judging rightly, whether God can make us fit to enjoy him or not. For I would like to know where this avowedly weak and degraded creature acquired the power of guaging the Divine compassions, and limiting them according to his own fancy. Man knows so little of what God is, that he does not know what he is himself: and yet, while unable to judge of his own real state, he presumes to affirm, that God cannot fit him for communion with him. But I would ask, Is not the very thing which God requires of him this, that he should know and love him? And why, then, since he is naturally capable of knowing and loving,

should he doubt the power of God to make himself the object of this knowledge and love. For it is unquestionable that he knows, at least, that he is, and that he loves something. Then, if in the darkness in which he is, he yet discerns something, and if he finds amidst earthly things some object of love; why if God should impart some rays of his own essence, should he not be capable of knowing him and of loving him, as he is discovered in that mode in which he has been pleased to reveal himself.

There is, then, an unjustifiable presumption in these reasonings. Though they appear to be founded in humility, yet that humility is neither sincere nor reasonable; but, as it leads us to acknowledge, that as we do not thoroughly know what we are ourselves, we can only learn it from God.

CHAPTER X.

THE DUE SUBORDINATION AND USE OF REASON.

The highest attainment of reason, is to know that there is an infinity of knowledge beyond its limits. It must be sadly weak if it has not discovered this. We ought to know where we should doubt, where we should be confident, and where we should submit. He who knows not this, does not comprehend the true power of reasoning.—There are men who fail severally on each of these points. Some from ignorance of what is demonstration, assume every thing to be demonstrable; others, not knowing where it becomes them to submit silently, doubt of every thing; and others again, unconscious of the right field for the exercise of judgment, submit blindly to all.

2. If we subject every thing to reason, our religion would have nothing in it mysterious and supernatural. If we violate the principles of reason, our religion would be absurd and contemptible.

Reason, says St. Augustine, would never submit, if it were not in its nature to judge, that there are occasions when it ought to submit. It is right, then, that reason should yield when it is conscious that it ought, and that it should not yield when it judges deliberately, that it ought not. But we must guard here against self-deceit.

3. Piety differs from superstition. Superstition is the death of piety. The heretics reproach us with this superstitious submission of the understanding. We should deserve their reproach, if we required this surrender in things which do not require it rightly. Nothing is more consistent with reason, than the repression of reasoning in matters of faith. Nothing more contrary to reason, than the repression of reasoning in matters which are not of faith. To exclude reasoning altogether, or to take no other guide, are equally dangerous extremes.

4. Faith affirms many things, respecting which the senses are silent; but nothing that they deny. It is always superior, but never opposed to their testimony.

5. Some men say, If I had seen a miracle, I should have been converted. But they would not so speak if they really understood conversion.—They imagine that conversion consists in the recognition of a God; and that to adore him, is but to offer him certain addresses, much resembling those which the pagans made to their idols. True conversion is, to feel our nothingness before that Sovereign Being whom we have so often offended; and who might, at any moment, justly destroy us. It is to acknowledge, that without Him we can do nothing, and that we have deserved nothing but his wrath. It consists in the conviction, that between God and us, there is an invincible enmity; and that, without a Mediator, there can be no communion between us.

6. Do not wonder to see some unsophisticated people believe without reasoning. God gives them the love of his righteousness, and the abhorrence of themselves. He inclines their heart to believe. We should never believe with a living and influential faith, if God did not incline the heart; but we do so as soon as he inclines it. This David felt, when he said, *Incline my heart, O Lord, unto thy testimonies.*

7. If any believe truly, without having examined the evidence of religion, it is, that they have received within, a holy disposition, and that they find the averments of our religion conformed to it. They feel that God has made them. They wish but to love him, and to hate only themselves. They feel that they are without strength; that they are unable to go to God, and that unless he comes to them, they can have no communication with him. And then they learn from our religion, that they should love only God, and hate only themselves, but that being utterly corrupt, and alienated from God, God became man, that he might unite himself to us. Nothing more is wanting to convince men, who have this principle of piety in their hearts, and who know also both their duty and their weakness.

8. Those whom we see to be Christians, without the inspection of the prophecies and other evidences, are found equally good judges of the religion itself, as others who have this knowledge. They judge by the heart, as others do by the understanding. God himself has inclined their hearts to believe, and hence they are effectively persuaded.

I grant that a Christian who thus believes without examining evidence, would probably not have the means of convincing an infidel, who could put his own case strongly. But those who know well the evidence for Christianity, can prove, without difficulty, that this belief is truly inspired of God, though the man is not able to prove it himself.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHARACTER OF A MAN WHO IS WEARIED WITH SEEKING GOD BY REASON ONLY, AND WHO BEGINS TO READ THE SCRIPTURES.

When I look at the blindness and misery of man, and at those appalling contrarieties which are apparent in his nature; and when I survey the universe all silent, and man without instruction, left alone, and, as it were, a lost wanderer in this corner of creation, without knowing who placed him here, what he came to do, or what becomes of him at death, I am alarmed as a man is, who has been carried during his sleep to a desolate and gloomy island, and who has awaked, and discovered that he knows not where he is, and that he has no means of escape. I wonder how any one can avoid despair, at the consideration of this wretched state. I see others round me having the same nature: I ask them if they know more on this subject than I; and they answer, no. And I see that these wretched wanderers, like myself, having looked around them, and discovered certain pleasurable objects, have given themselves up to them without reserve. For myself, I cannot rest contented with such pleasures; I cannot find repose in this society of similar beings, wretched and powerless as I am myself. I see that they cannot help me to die. I must die alone. It becomes me then to act as if I were alone. Now, if I were alone here, I should not build mansions. I should not entangle myself with tumultuous cares. I should not court the favor of any, but I should strive to the utmost to discover what is truth. With

this disposition, and considering what strong probability there is, that other things exist beside those which I see; I have inquired if that God of whom all the world speaks, has not given us some traces of himself. I look around, and see nothing but darkness on every side. All that nature presents to me, only suggests cause for doubt and distrust. If I saw nothing in nature that intimated a divinity, I would determine not to believe any thing concerning him. If I saw every where the traces of a deity, I would cherish at once the peaceful repose of faith; but seeing too much evidence to justify a denial, and too little to minister assurance, I am in a pitiable state, in which I have wished an hundred times, that if a God sustains nature, she might declare it unequivocally; and that if the intimations she gives are false, they may be entirely suppressed; that nature would speak conclusively, or not at all, so that I might know distinctly which course to take. Instead of this, in my present state, ignorant of what I am, and of what I ought to do: I know neither my condition nor my duty. My heart yearns to know what is the real good, in order to follow it. And, for this, I would count no sacrifice too dear.

I see many religious systems, in different parts and at different periods of the world. But I am not satisfied, either with the morality which they teach, nor the proofs on which they rest. On this ground, I must have equally refused the religion of Mahomet, of China, of the ancient Romans or the Egyptians, for this one reason, that any one of them, not having more marks of verity than another, and nothing which simply and positively determines the question, reason could never incline to one in preference to the rest.

But, whilst thus considering this varied and strange contrariety of religious customs and creeds at different periods, I find in one small portion of the world, a peculiar people, separated from all the other nations of the earth, and whose historical records are older, by several centuries, than those of the most ancient of other nations. I find this a great and numerous people; who adore one God, and who are governed by a law which they profess to have received from his hand. They maintain, that to them only, of all the world, has God revealed his mysteries: that all mankind are corrupt, and under the divine displeasure: that men are all given up to the guidance of their corrupt affections, and their own understandings; and that hence originate all the strange irregularities and continual changes among men, both in religion and manners, whilst *they* remained as to their rule of conduct unaltered; but that God will not leave even the other nations eternally in darkness; that a deliverer shall come forth for them; that they are in the world to announce him; that they were prepared expressly as the heralds of his advent, and to summon all nations to unite with them in the expectation of this Saviour.

The meeting with such a people surprises me, and on account of the many wonderful and singular events connected with them, they seem to me worthy of the greatest attention.

They are a nation of brethren; and whilst other nations are found of an infinite number of families, this people, though so extraordinarily populous, are all descended from one man; and being thus one flesh, and members one of another, they compose a mighty power, concentrated in one single family. This is an instance without parallel.

This is the most ancient people within the memory of man; a circumstance which makes them worthy of peculiar regard, and especially with reference to our present inquiry: for if God did in all previous time communicate with man, then it is to this, the most ancient people, that we must come to ascertain the tradition.

This people is not only considerable for its antiquity, but for its duration, which has ever continued from its origin till now: for whilst the nations of Greece, of Italy, of Lacedemon, Athens or Rome, and others that have arisen much later have long since passed away; this nation still subsists, and notwithstanding the efforts of many mighty kings, who, according to historic testimony, have tried a hundred times to destroy them; an event, also, which it is easy to suppose would have occurred in the natural course of events, in so many years; yet they have been always preserved; and their history, extending from the primitive times to the present, involves the period of all other histories within its own.

The law by which this people is governed, is at the same time the most ancient, the most perfect, and the only one which has been recognized without interruption in a state. Philo, the Jew, shows this in several places; and so does Josephus against Appion, where he observes that it is so ancient, that even the term of *law* was not known by the most ancient nations, till more than 1000 years afterwards; so that Homer, who speaks of so many nations, never uses it. And it is easy to form an idea of its perfection by simply reading it; where we see that it had provided for all things with so much wisdom, equity, and prudence, that the most ancient Greek and Roman legislators, having received a measure of its light, have borrowed from it their chief and best institutions. This appears from the twelve tables, and from the other proofs adduced by Josephus.

This law is also, at the same time, the most severe and rigorous of all; enjoining on this people, under pain of death, a thousand peculiar and painful observances, as the means of keeping them in their duty. So that it is very wonderful, that this law should have been preserved for so many ages, amidst a people so rebellious and impatient of the yoke; whilst all other nations have repeatedly changed their laws, though much more easy of observance.

2. This people also must be admired for their sincerity. They keep with affection and fidelity, the book in which Moses declares, that they have ever been ungrateful to their God, and that he knows they will be still more so, after his death; but that he calls heaven and earth to witness against them, that he had given them an ample warning; that at length God, becoming angry with them, would scatter them among all the nations of the earth; and that as they had angered him in worshipping those as Gods who were no Gods, he would anger them in calling a people who were not his people. Yet this book, which so copiously dishonors them, they preserve at the expence of their life. This is a sincerity which has no parallel in the world, and has not its radical principle in mere human nature.

Then, finally, I find no reason to doubt the truth of the book, which contains all these things; for there is a great difference between a book which an individual writes and introduces among a people, and a book which actually forms that people.

There can be no doubt that this book is as old as the nation. It is a book written by cotemporary authors. All history that is not cotemporary, is questionable, as the books of the Sybil, of Trismegistus, and many others that have obtained credit with the world, and in the course of time, have been proved to be false. But this is not the case with cotemporary historians.

3. How different this from other books! I do not wonder that the Greeks have their Iliad, or the Egyptians and Chinese their histories. We have only to observe how this occurs. These fabulous historians are not cotemporary with the matters

which they record. Homer writes a romance, which he sends forth as such; for scarcely any one doubts that Troy and Agamemnon no more existed, than the golden apple. His object was not to write a history, but a book of amusement. It was the only book of his day. The beauty of the composition preserved it. Every one learned it and spoke of it. It must be known. Every one knew it by heart. Then four hundred years afterwards, the witnesses of things have ceased to exist. No one knew by his own knowledge whether it was truth or fable. All they knew was, that they learned it from their ancestors. It may pass then for truth.

CHAPTER XII.

THE JEWS.

The creation and the deluge having taken place, and God not purposing again to destroy or to create the world, nor again to vouchsafe such extraordinary evidences of himself, began to establish a people on the earth, formed expressly to continue till the coming of that people whom Messiah should form to himself by his Spirit.

2. God, willing to make it evident that he could form a people possessed of a sanctity invisible to the world, and filled with eternal glory, has exhibited a pattern in temporal things, of what he purposed to do in spiritual blessings; that men might learn from his excellent doings in the things which are seen, his ability to do his will in the things which are not seen.

With this view, in the person of Noah, he saved his people from the deluge; he caused them to be born of Abraham; he redeemed them from their enemies, and gave them rest.

The purpose of God was not to save a people from the flood, and to cause them to spring from Abraham, merely that he might plant them in a fruitful land; but that as nature is in a measure symbolical of grace, these visible wonders might indicate the unseen wonders which he purposed to perform.

3. Another reason of his choosing the Jewish people is, that as he purposed to deprive his own people of carnal and perishable possessions, he would show by this series of miracles, that their poverty was at least not imputable to his impotence.

This people had cherished these earthly conceits, that God loved their father Abraham personally, and all who descended from him: that on this account, he had multiplied their nation, and distinguished them from all others, and forbidden their intermingling with them; and that therefore he led them out of Egypt with such mighty signs; that he fed them with manna in the wilderness; that he brought them into a happy and fruitful land; that he gave them kings, and a beautiful temple for the sacrifice of victims, and for their purification by the shedding of blood; and that he purposed ultimately to send them a Messiah, to make them masters of the whole world.

The Jews being accustomed to great and splendid miracles, and having considered the events at the Red Sea, and in the land of Canaan, but as a sample of the great things to be done by Messiah, expected from him the accomplishment of wonders far more brilliant, and compared with which, the miracles of Moses should be but as a spark.

When the Jewish nation had grown old in these low and sensual views, Jesus Christ came at the time predicted, but not with the state which they had anticipated; and, consequently, they did not think that it could be he. After his death, St. Paul came to teach men that all the events of the Jewish history were figurative; that the kingdom of God was not carnal, but spiritual; that the enemies of men were not the Babylonians, but their own passions; that God delighteth not in temples made with hands, but in a pure and penitent heart; that the circumcision of the body was unavailing, but that he required the circumcision of the heart.

4. God, not willing to discover these things to a people unworthy of them, but willing, nevertheless, to announce them that they might be believed, did clearly predict the time of their fulfilment, and did sometimes even clearly express the truths themselves; but ordinarily he did so in figures, that those who preferred the things which prefigured, might rest in them; whilst they who really loved the things prefigured, might discover them. And hence it followed, that at the coming of Messiah, the people was divided. The spiritually-minded Jew received him; the carnal Jews rejected him; and have been ordained to remain, to this day, as his witnesses.

5. The carnal Jews understood not either the dignity or the degradation of Messiah, as predicted by their prophets. They knew him not in his greatness; as when it is said of him, that Messiah, the son of David, shall be David's Lord; that he was before Abraham, and had seen Abraham. They did not believe him to be so great, as to have been from everlasting. Neither did they know him in his humiliation and death. "Messiah," they said, "abideth ever; and this man says that he must die." They did not believe him to be either mortal or eternal. They expected nothing beyond an earthly carnal greatness.

They so loved the material figure, and so exclusively devoted themselves to it, that they knew not the reality, even when it came both at the time and in the manner foretold.

6. Skeptical men try to find their excuse in the unbelief of the Jews. "If the truth was so clear," it is said, "why did they not believe?" But their rejection of Christ is one of the foundations of our confidence. We had been much less inclined to believe, if they had all received him. We should thus have had a much ampler pretext for incredulity and distrust. It is a wonderful confirmation of the truth, to see the Jews ardently attached to the things predicted, yet bitterly hostile to their fulfilment; and to see that this very aversion was itself foretold.

7. To establish the Messiah's claim to confidence, it required that there should be prophecies going before him, and that these should be in the hands of men altogether unsuspected, and of diligence, fidelity and zeal, extraordinary in their degree, and known to all men.

To attain this object, God chose this sensual nation, to whose care he committed the prophecies which foretell the Messiah as a deliverer, and a dispenser of those earthly blessings which this people loved. They felt, therefore, an extraordinary regard for their prophets, and exhibited to the whole world those books in which Messiah was foretold; assuring all nations that he would come, and that he would come in the mode predicted in those books, which they laid open to the inspection of the world. But being themselves deceived by the mean and ignominious advent of Messiah, they became his greatest enemies. So that we have the people which would be, of all mankind, the least suspected of favoring the Christian scheme, directly aiding it: and by their zeal for the law and the prophets, preserving with incorruptible scrupulosity, the record of their own condemnation, and the evidences of our religion.

8. Those who rejected and crucified Jesus Christ, as an offence to them, are they who possess the books that bear witness of him, and that testify that he would be rejected as an offence to them. Thus by

their rejection of him, they marked him as Messiah; and he has received testimony both from the righteous Jew who believed, and from the unrighteous who rejected him: both those facts being foretold in their Scriptures.

For the same reason, the prophecies have a hidden sense—a spiritual meaning, to which the people were adverse, concealed under the carnal meaning which they loved. Had the spiritual meaning been evident, they had not the capacity to love it: and as they would not have approved it, they would have had little zeal for the preservation of their Scriptures and their ceremonies. And even if they had loved these spiritual promises, and had preserved them uncorrupted to the days of Messiah, their witness, as the witness of friends, would have wanted its present importance. On this account, it seems good that the spiritual sense was concealed. But on the other hand, if this sense had been so hidden, as not to be seen at all, it could not have served as a testimony to the Messiah. What, then, has God done? In the majority of passages, the spiritual was veiled under the temporal sense, whilst in a few, it was clearly discovered. Moreover, the time and the state of the world, at the period of fulfilment, were so clearly foretold, that the sun itself is not more evident. The spiritual meaning also is in some places so plainly developed, that not to discover it, there needed absolutely such a blindness, as the flesh brings upon the spirit that is entirely enslaved by it.

This then is the way which God has taken. This spiritual meaning is in most places concealed; and in some, though rarely, it is disclosed. But then this is done in such a way, that the passages where the meaning is concealed, are equivocal, and equally admit both senses; whilst the places where the spiritual import is displayed are unequivocal, and will only bear the spiritual interpretation. So that this method could not properly lead to error, and that none but a people as carnal as they, could have misunderstood it.

For when good things are promised in abundance, what forbad them to understand the true riches, except that cupidity which at once eagerly restricted the sense to earthly blessings? But they who had no treasure but in God, referred them exclusively to God. For there are two principles which divide the human will, covetousness and charity. It is not that covetousness cannot co-exist with faith, or charity with earthly possessions: but covetousness makes its use of God, and enjoys the world; whilst charity uses the world, but finds its joy in God.

It is the ultimate end which we have in view, that gives names to things. Whatever prevents our obtaining this end, is called an enemy. Thus creatures, though in themselves good, are the enemies of the just, when they withdraw them from God; and God is accounted the enemy of those whose passions he counteracts.

Hence the word *enemy* in the Scripture, varies in its application with the end sought; the righteous understand by it their own passions, and carnal men, the Babylonians; so that these terms were only obscure to the wicked. And this Isaiah means when he says, *Seal the law among my disciples.*—And when he prophesies that Christ should be *a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, but blessed are they who shall not be offended in him.* Hosea says the same thing very plainly: *Who is wise, and he shall understand these things; prudent, and he shall know them. For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but transgressors shall fall therein.*

And yet this Testament which is so composed, that in enlightening some, it blinds others, did stamp the truth upon those whom it blinded, so plainly that others might read it. For the visible external blessings which they received from God, were so great and God-like, as to render it abundantly evident, that he could give them invisible blessings, and a Messiah, according to his word.

9. The time of Christ's first advent was accurately foretold; the time of the second is not; because the first was to be private, but the second was to be splendid, and so evident that even his enemies should acknowledge him. But since it became him to come in obscurity, and to be revealed only to those who sincerely search the Scriptures, God had so ordered things, that all contributed to make him known. The Jews bore witness to him, by receiving him, for they were the depository of the prophecies; and they confirmed the truth by rejecting him, for by this they fulfilled the prophecies.

10. The Jews had in their favor, both miracles and prophecies which they saw fulfilled; the doctrine also of their law required them to worship and to serve but one God. Their religion had been of perpetual duration. Thus it had every mark of being the true religion; and so it was. But we must distinguish between the doctrine of the Jews, and the doctrine of the Jewish law; for the doctrine actually held by the Jews, was not true; though associated with miracles, prophecies, and the perpetuity of their system; because it wanted the fourth essential characteristic—the exclusive love and service of God.

The Jewish religion, then, must be differently estimated, according as it appears in the traditions of their saints, and the traditions of the people. Its moral rule and its promised happiness, as stated in the traditions of the people, are quite ridiculous; but in the authentic traditions of their holy men, they are admirable. The basis of their religion is excellent. It is the most ancient, and the most authentic book in the world; and whilst Mahomet, to preserve his Scriptures from ruin, has forbidden them to be read; Moses, to establish his, ordered every one to read them.

11. The Jewish religion is altogether divine in its authority, its continuance, its perpetuity, in its morals, its practice, its doctrine, and its effects. It was framed as a type of the reality of the Messiah; and the truth of the Messiah was recognized by the religion of the Jews, which prefigured him. Among the Jews, the truth dwelt only typically. In heaven it exists unveiled. In the church, it is veiled, but made known by its symbolising with the figure. The type was framed according to the pattern of the truth, and the truth was disclosed by the type.

12. He who should estimate the Jewish religion by externals, would be in error. It may be seen in the Holy Scriptures; and in the traditions of their prophets, who have amply shown that they did not understand the law literally. Thus, our religion, seen in the gospels, the epistles, and in its traditions, is divine; but it is sadly distorted among the many who misuse it.

13. The Jews were divided into two classes. The dispositions of the one were only heathen; those of the other Christian.

Messiah, according to the carnal Jews, should have been a great temporal prince. According to the carnal Christians, he is come to release us from the obligation to love God, and to give us sacraments effective without our concurrence. The one is not the Jewish religion; the other is not the Christian.

True Jews and true Christians have equally recognized a Messiah, who inspires them with the love of God, and causes them by that love to overcome their enemies.

14. The veil that is upon the Scripture to the Jews, is there also to the false and faithless Christian, and to all who do not abhor themselves. But how well disposed are we to understand the record, and to know Jesus Christ, when we do cordially hate ourselves!

15. The carnal Jews occupy a middle place between Christians and heathens. The heathens know not God, and love this world only. The Jews know the true God, yet love this world only.—Christians know the true God, and love not the world. The Jew and the heathen love the same object. The Jew and the Christian know the same God.

16. Evidently the Jews are a people formed expressly to be witnesses to the Messiah. They possess the Scriptures, and love them, but do not comprehend them. And all this has been expressly foretold; for it is written, that the oracles of God are committed to them, but as a book that is sealed.

Whilst the prophets were continued for the preservation of the law, the people neglected it. But when the line of prophets failed, the zeal of the people arose in their stead. This is a wonderful providence.

17. When the creation of the world began to be a remote event, God raised up a cotemporary historian, and commissioned a whole nation to preserve his work; that this history might be the most authentic in the world; and that all men might learn a fact so necessary to be known, and which could be known in no other way.

18. Moses evidently was a man of talent. If then he had purposed to deceive, he would have adopted a course not likely to lead to detection. He has done just the reverse; for if he had put forth falsehoods, there was not a Jew that would not have discovered the imposture.

Why, for example, has he described the lives of the first men so long, and their generations so few? He might have veiled his fraud in a multitude of generations, but he could not in so few. It is not the number of years, but the frequent succession of generations, which gives obscurity to history.

Truth suffers no change, but by a change of men. And yet Moses places two events as memorable as possible—the creation and the flood—so near, that owing to the paucity of generations, they were almost tangible things. So that at the period when he wrote, the memory of these events must have been quite recent in the minds of all the Jews.

Shem, who had seen Lamech, who had seen Adam, lived at the least to see Abraham; and Abraham saw Jacob, who lived to see those who saw Moses. Then the deluge and the creation are facts. This is conclusive, to those who comprehend the nature of such testimony.

The length of the patriarchial life, instead of operating to the loss of historic facts, served to preserve them. For the reason why we are not well versed in the history of our ancestors, is commonly that we have seldom lived with them; or that they died before we reached maturity. But when men lived so long, children lived a long while with their parents, and necessarily conversed much with them. Now, of what could they speak, but of the history of their ancestors? For this was all the history that they had to tell: and as to sciences, they had none, nor any of those arts which occupy so large a portion of human intercourse. We see also, that in those days, men took especial care to preserve their genealogies.

19. The more I examine the Jews, the more of truth I find in their case, and the more plainly I discover this Scriptural mark, that they are without prophets, and without a king; and, that as our enemies, they are the best witnesses to the truth of those prophecies, in which both their continuance and their blindness is foretold. I see in their judicial expulsion, that this religion is divine in its authority, in its continuance, in its perpetuity, in its morals, in its practice, in its effects. And hence I stretch forth my hands to my deliverer, who, having been predicted for 4000 years, came at last to suffer and to die for me, at the time, and under all the circumstances that have been predicted; and, by his grace, I now wait for death in peace, hoping to be eternally with him. And I ever live rejoicing, either in the blessings which he is pleased to bestow, or in the sorrows which he sends for my profit, and which I learn from his own example to endure.

By that fact, I refute all other religions. By that, I give an answer to all objections. It is just that a pure and holy God should not reveal himself, but to those whose hearts have been purified.

I find it satisfactory to my mind, that ever since the memory of man, here is a people that has subsisted longer than any other people; that this people have constantly announced to man, that they are in a state of universal corruption, but that a deliverer will come; and it is not one man that has said this, but an infinite number: a whole people prophesying through a period of 4000 years.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF FIGURES.

Some figures are clear and demonstrative; others are less simple and natural, and tell only upon those who have been previously persuaded by other means. These last resemble the prophetic figures borrowed by some men from the Apocalypse, and, explained according to their own views. But between them and the true, there is this difference, they have no figures that are unquestionably established, by which to support their interpretation. It is very unjust, therefore, to pretend that theirs are as well sustained as ours, when they have no figures of established interpretation to refer to, as we have. The two cases are not parallel. Men should not parallelize and confound two things, because in one respect they appear similar, seeing that in another, they are so different.

2. One of the main reasons why the prophets have veiled the spiritual blessings, which they promised, under the type of temporal blessings, is that they had to deal with a carnal people, and to commit to their care a spiritual deposit.

Jesus Christ was typically represented by Joseph, the beloved of his father, sent by his father to seek for his brethren; innocent, yet sold by his brethren, for twenty pieces of silver; and, by that means, constituted their Lord, their Saviour; the Saviour of strangers; the Saviour of the world; which he could not have been, but for the purpose to destroy him, and the sale, and the abandonment, of which his brethren were guilty.

Joseph was innocent, and imprisoned with two criminals. Jesus was crucified between two robbers. Joseph foretold to men, in the same circumstances, the saving of the one, and the death of the other. Jesus saved one, and left the other to his fate, though both were guilty of the same crime. Joseph, however, could only foretell. Jesus fulfilled also. Joseph also requested him who was to be saved, to remember him when he was come to prosperity; and he whom Jesus Christ saved, prayed that he would remember him when he came to his kingdom.

3. Grace is the type of glory. It is not itself the ultimate end. Grace was typified by the law, and is itself typical of glory; but so as to be, at the same time, a means of obtaining that glory.

4. The synagogue is not altogether destroyed, because it was a type of the church; but because it was only a type, it has fallen into bondage. The type was continued till the reality came, that the church might be always visible, either in the shadow or the substance.

5. To prove, at once, the authority of both Testaments, we need only inquire, if the prophecies of the one, are accomplished in the other.

To examine the prophecies, we should understand them; for, if they have but one meaning, then certainly the Messiah is not come; but if they have a double sense, then as certainly he is come in Jesus Christ.

The question then is, Have they a twofold meaning? Are they types, or literal realities? that is, are we to inquire for something more than at first appears, or must we, invariably, rest satisfied with the literal sense which they directly suggest?

If the law and the sacrifices were the ultimate reality, they must be pleasing to God; they could not displease him. If they are typical, they must both please and displease him.* Now, throughout the Scripture, they appear to do both. Then they can only be typical.

6. To discern clearly that the Old Testament is figurative, and that by temporal blessings, the prophets mean something further, we need only notice, *First*, That it would be beneath the Deity, to call men only to the enjoyment of temporal happiness. *Secondly*, That the language of the prophets most distinctly expresses the promise of temporal good, whilst they, at the same time declare, that their discourses are really obscure; that the ostensible meaning is not the real one, and that it would not be understood till the latter days. (Jeremiah xxiii. 20.) Then evidently they speak of other sacrifices, and another Redeemer.

Besides, their discourses are contradictory and suicidal, if by the words *law* and *sacrifice*, they understood only the law and sacrifices of Moses. There would be a manifest and gross contradiction in their writings, and sometimes even in the same chapter; whence, it follows, that they must mean something else.

7. It is said that the law shall be changed; that the sacrifice shall be changed; that they shall be without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice; that a new covenant shall be established; that there shall be a new law; that the precepts which they had received were not good; that their sacrifices were an abomination; that God had not required them.

On the other hand, it is said, that the law shall endure for ever; that this covenant is an everlasting covenant; that this sacrifice shall be perpetual; that the sceptre should never leave them, seeing that it could not depart till the arrival of the Everlasting King. Do these passages prove the then present system to be the substance? No! Do they prove it to be figurative? No! They only show that it is either a substance, or a figure; but as the former passages conclude against the reality, they show that the law is a figure.

All these passages, taken together, cannot be predicated of the substance; all may be affirmed of the shadow. Then they do not relate to the substance, but to the shadow.

8. To ascertain whether the law and its sacrifices be the substance, or a figure, we should examine if the views and thoughts of the prophets terminated in these things, so that they contemplated only this original covenant; or whether they did not look for something beyond, of which these were a pictural representation; for in a portrait we see the thing presented typically. With this view, we have only to examine what they say.

When they speak of the covenant as everlasting, do they mean to speak of that covenant, of which they affirm, that it shall be changed? and so of the sacrifices, &c.

9. The prophets say distinctly, that Israel shall always be loved of God, and that the law shall be eternal. They say also, that their meaning in this is not comprehended, and that it is, in fact, hidden.

A cypher, for secret correspondence, has frequently two meanings. If, then, we intercept an important letter, in which we find a plain meaning, and in which it is said, at the same time, that the sense is hidden, and obscured, and that it is so veiled purposely, that seeing we might not see, and perceiving, we might not understand; what would we think, but that it was written in a cypher of two-fold signification, and much more so, if we found in the literal sense some manifest contradictions? How thankful should we be then to those who would give us the key to the cypher, and teach us to discern the hidden meaning, especially when the principles on which they proceed are quite natural, and approved principles! Jesus Christ and his apostles have done precisely this. They have broken the seal: they have rent the veil: they have disclosed the meaning: they have taught us that man's enemies are his passions; that the Redeemer was a spiritual Redeemer; that he would have two advents—the one, in humiliation to abase the proud, the other, in glory to elevate the humble; that Jesus Christ was both God and man.

10. Jesus Christ taught men, that they were lovers of themselves; that they were enslaved, blinded, sick, miserable, and sinful; that they needed him to deliver, enlighten, sanctify, and heal them; and, that to obtain this, they must deny themselves, and take up the cross, and follow him through suffering and death.

The letter killeth: the sense lies hidden in the cypher. A suffering Saviour; a God in humiliation; the circumcision of the heart; a true fast; a true sacrifice; a true temple; two laws; a twofold table of the law; two temples; two captivities;—there is the key to the cypher, which Jesus Christ has given to us.

Christ has at length taught us, that these things were but figures, and has explained the true freedom, the true Israelite, the true circumcision, the true bread from heaven, &c.

11. Each one finds in these promises, that which lies nearest to his heart, spiritual or temporal blessings, God or the creature; but with this difference, they who desire the creature, find it promised, but with many apparent contradictions—with the prohibition to love it, and with the command to love and worship God only; whilst they who seek God in the promises, find him without any contradiction and with the command to love him exclusively.

12. The origin of the contrarieties in Scripture, is found in a Deity humbled to the death of the cross; a Messiah, by means of death, triumphant over death; two natures in Jesus Christ; two advents; and two states of the nature of man.

As we cannot ascertain a man's character, but by reconciling its contrarieties, and as it is not sufficient to infer from a train of congruous qualities, without taking the opposite qualities into the account, so to determine the meaning of an author, we must show the harmony of the apparently contradictory passages.

So that to understand the Scripture, there must be a sense in which the seemingly contradictory passages agree. It is not enough to find a sense which is borne out by many analogous passages;

* That is according to the circumstances of different cases.

we must find one which reconciles those that seem to differ. Every author has a meaning with which all his seemingly incongruous passages harmonize, or he has no meaning at all. We cannot say that the Scriptures or the prophets have no meaning. They had too much good sense for that. Then we must look out for a meaning, which reconciles all their incongruities.

Now the Jewish interpretation is not that true meaning; but, in Jesus Christ, all the apparent contradictions completely harmonize.

The Jews would not know how to reconcile the termination of the kingdom and principality predicted by Hosea, with the prophecy of Jacob.

If we take the law, the sacrifices, and the kingdom for the ultimate reality, it were impossible to reconcile all the assertions of the same author, the same book, or the same chapter. This sufficiently indicates the meaning of the writer.

13. It was not allowed to sacrifice out of Jerusalem, which was the place that the Lord had chosen, nor even to eat the tenths elsewhere.

Hosea predicted that they should be without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, and without a teraphim. This is now accomplished, for they cannot legally sacrifice out of Jerusalem.

14. When the word of God, which is necessarily true, is false literally, it is true spiritually. *Sit thou on my right hand.* Literally this is false; it is spiritually true. The passage speaks of God after the manner of men, and means no more than that God has the same intention, as men have when they cause another to sit at their right hand. It indicates the purpose of God, not the mode of fulfilling it.

So when it is said, God has received the odor of your incense, and will recompense you with a good and fruitful land; it is only affirmed, that the same intention, which a man has, who, pleased with your incense, promises a fruitful land, God will have for you, because you have had the same intention with respect to him, that a man has to him to whom he gives perfume.

15. The end of the commandment is charity. Whatever in it appears to fall short of this end is figurative; for since there is but one end, all that does not bear upon it in express terms, must do so figuratively.

God diversifies the mode of inculcating this one precept, to satisfy that weakness in us, which seeks variety, by giving a variety which leads us ever towards the one thing needful. For one thing only is necessary, and we love variety; God has met both difficulties, by giving a variety which leads to that one thing needful.

16. The Rabbins only regard as figurative, the breasts of the spouse, and such things as do not literally express the sole object of temporal good which they have in view.

17. There are men who see plainly that the only enemy of man is his concupiscence, which leads him away from God; and that the only good is not a fertile land, but God. As for those who believe that man's supreme joy is in the flesh, and his bane in that which robs him of sensual delight, let them take their fill and die; but for those who seek God with all their heart, who have no sorrow but absence from him, and no desire but to enjoy him, no enemies but those who hinder their approach to him, and who mourn, that by such enemies, they are surrounded and oppressed; let them be comforted. For them there is a deliverer; for them there is a God. A Messiah has been promised to deliver man from his enemies. A Messiah is come, but it is to deliver him from his iniquities.

18. When David foretells that the Messiah shall deliver his people from their enemies, a carnal mind might understand him to mean the Egyptians; and in that case, I could not show that the prophecy was accomplished. But it is very possible also, to understand that he meant our iniquities. For in truth, the Egyptians are not men's real enemies, but their iniquities are. The term *enemy* then is equivocal.

But if, in common with Isaiah and others, he says also, that Messiah shall deliver his people from their *iniquities*, then the ambiguity is removed, and the equivocal sense of the word "enemy," is reduced to the simple sense of iniquities. If he had really meant sins, he might properly convey the idea by the term *enemies;* but if *enemies* were his simple meaning, iniquities would not express it.

Now, Moses, David, and Isaiah, all use the same terms. Who then is prepared to say that they have not the same meaning, and that the meaning of David, who, beyond a doubt, intends iniquities, when he speaks of enemies, is not the same with that of Moses, when he speaks of enemies?

Daniel in chapter ix. prays for the deliverance of his people from the bondage of their enemies; but he evidently meant their sins; and in proof of this, we find it said, that Gabriel came to assure him, that his prayer was heard, and that but seventy weeks were determined to finish the transgression, and to make an end of *sins;*—and that then the Redeemer—the Holy of Holies, should bring in an everlasting righteousness—a righteousness, not merely legal, but eternal.

When once this mystery of a twofold meaning is disclosed to us, it is impossible not to perceive it. Read the Old Testament with this notion, and see if the sacrifices were the true sacrifices; if descent from Abraham was the true cause of the love of God; if the land of promise were the true place of rest: certainly not. Then they were types. Look then in the same way at all the ordained ceremonies, and all the commandments which speak not directly of love; you will find them all typical.

CHAPTER XIV.

JESUS CHRIST.

The infinite distance between body and mind, figuratively represents the infinitely more infinite distance between mere intellect, and pure love; for that love is supernatural.

The pomp of external show has no attraction to men engaged deeply in intellectual research. The greatness of intellectual men is imperceptible to the rich, to kings and conquerors, who are but carnally great. The grandeur of that wisdom, which comes from God, is invisible both to merely sensual, and merely intellectual men. Here then are three different orders of distinction.

Great minds have their peculiar empire, their renown, their dignity, their conquests. They need not the sensual splendors of this world, between which, and the things that they seek, there is little similarity. It is the mind, and not the eye which appreciates their excellence; but then this satisfies them.

The saints also have their empire, their renown, their greatness, and their victories, and need not either sensual or intellectual splendor, to make them great. Such things are not of their order, and neither increase or diminish the greatness which they seek. God and his angels discern them, whilst, to the bodily eye, or the philosophic mind, they are alike invisible; but to them, God is every thing.

Archimedes is venerated independently of the distinction of his birth. He won no battles; but he has given some wonderful inventions to the world. How great, how illustrious, is he to the scientific mind!

Jesus Christ, without wealth, without the adven-

titious distinctness of scientific discovery, comes in his order—that of holiness. He publishes no inventions, he wears no crown; but he was humble, patient, holy in the sight of God, terrible to wicked spirits, and free from sin. But in what mighty splendor, and with what prodigious magnificence has he come forth before the eyes of the heart—the optics of true wisdom.

Although Archimedes was of princely birth, it would have been idle to have brought this forward in his book of geometry.

It had been useless also for our Lord Jesus Christ to come on earth as a monarch, in order to add dignity to the reign of holiness.* But how becoming is the peculiar lustre of his own order.

It is folly indeed to be offended at the low condition of Jesus Christ, as if that meanness were of the same order with the glory that he came to manifest. Contemplate that grandeur in his life, in his passion, in his obscurity, in his death, in the choice of his disciples, in their forsaking him, in his unseen resurrection, and all the other circumstances of his case; you will find him so truly great, that there is little cause to complain of meanness. It has no existence.

But there are men who can only admire the distinctions of external pomp, to the exclusion of all mental excellence. And there are others who reverence only intellectual greatness; as if in the true wisdom there were not a far loftier worth.

All organized bodies, the heavens, the earth, the stars, taken together, are not equal in value to the meanest mind; for mind knows these things; it knows itself: but matter knows nothing. And all bodies, and all minds united, are not worth one emotion of love. It is of an order of excellence infinitely higher.

We cannot elicit from universal matter a single thought. It is impossible. Thought is of a higher order of creation. Again, all bodies, and all spirits combined, could not give birth to a single emotion of real love. This also is impossible. Love is of another and still higher order of being. It is supernatural.

2. Jesus Christ lived in such obscurity, (we use the word in the worldly sense) that historians who record none but important events, scarcely discerned him.

3. What man ever had more renown than Jesus Christ? The whole Jewish people foretold his coming. The Gentiles when he came adored him. Both Jews and Gentiles look to him as their centre. And yet what man ever enjoyed so little of such a fame. Out of thirty-three years, he passed thirty unseen; and the remaining three, he was accounted an impostor. The priests and rulers of his nation rejected him. His friends and relations despised him: and at length, betrayed by one of his disciples, denied by another, and abandoned by all, he died an ignominious death.

In how much then, of this splendor, did he participate? No man was ever so illustrious; no man was ever so degraded: but all this lustre was for our sakes, that we might know him; none for his own.

4. Jesus Christ speaks of the most sublime subjects with such simplicity, that he seems not to have thought on them; and yet with such accuracy, that what he thought is distinctly brought out. This union of artlessness with perspicuity, is perfectly beautiful.

Who taught the evangelists the qualities of a truly heroic mind, that they should paint it to such perfection in Jesus Christ? Why have they told of his weakness during his agony? Could they not describe a resolute death? Undoubtedly. St. Luke himself paints St. Stephen's death with more of fortitude than that of Christ. They have shown him to be capable of fear, before the hour of death was come; but afterwards perfectly calm. When they tell of his being in affliction, that sorrow proceeded from himself; but when *men* afflicted him, he was unmoved.

The church has at times had to prove to those who denied it, that Jesus Christ was man, as well as that he was God; and appearances were as much against the one truth as against the other.

Jesus Christ is a God to whom we can approach without pride; and before whom we abase ourselves without despair.

5. The conversion of the heathen was reserved for the grace of the Messiah. Either the Jews did not try it, or they were unsuccessful. All that Solomon and the prophets said on this subject, was vain. Their wise men, also, as Plato and Socrates, could not lead them to worship the one true God.

The gospel speaks only of the virginity of Mary, up to the period of the Saviour's birth. Every thing has reference to Jesus Christ.

The two Testaments contemplate Jesus Christ; the one as its expectation; the other as its exemplar: both as their centre.

The prophets predict, but were not predicted. The saints were predicted, but do not predict. Jesus Christ predicts, and is predicted.

Jesus Christ for all men; Moses for one people.

The Jews are blessed in Abraham; *I will bless them that bless thee.* Gen. xii. 3. But all nations are blessed in his seed. Gen. xviii. 18. He is *a light to lighten the Gentiles.* Luke ii. 32.

He has not done so to any nation, (Psalm cxlvii. 20.) said David, when speaking of the law. But in speaking of Jesus Christ, we may say, He hath done so to all nations.

Jesus Christ is an universal blessing. The church limits her sacramental services to the apparently faithful. Christ gave himself a ransom for all.

Let us then open our arms to our Redeemer, who, having been promised for 4000 years, is come at length to suffer and to die for us, at the period, and under all the circumstances predicted. And while, through his grace, we await a peaceful death, in the hope of being united to him for ever, let us receive with joy either the prosperities which it pleases him to give, or the trials that he sends for our profit, and which, from his own example, we learn to endure.

CHAPTER XV.

PROPHETICAL PROOFS OF JESUS CHRIST.

THE most powerful evidence in favor of Jesus Christ, is the prophecies; and to them also God appears to have had the most special regard; for the occurrence of those events which fulfil them, is a miracle which has subsisted from the beginning of the church to the end. God raised up a succession of prophets, during a period of 1600 years, and during four subsequent centuries, he scattered these prophecies, with the Jews who possessed them, throughout all parts of the world. Such, then, was the preparation for the birth of Christ; for as his gospel was to be believed by all the world, it required not only that there should be prophecies to render it credible, but that these prophecies should be diffused throughout the world, in order that all the world might believe.

If one individual only had written a volume of predictions respecting Jesus Christ, and the time and manner of his coming, and then Jesus Christ

* That is, holiness exhibited alone and independent of all adventitious distinctions.

had come, in accordance to these predictions, the proof would be infinitely powerful. But we have more than this. In this case there is a series of men for 4000 years, who constantly and without discrepancy foretell successively the same advent. He is announced by a whole people, who subsist for 4000 years, to yield a successive cumulative testimony to their certain expectation of his coming; and from which neither threat nor persecution could turn them. This is much ampler proof.

2. The appointed period was predicted by the state of the Jews, by the state of the heathen, by the state of the temple, and by the precise number of years.

The prophets having given several signs which should happen at the coming of Messiah, it follows that all these signs should occur at the same time; and hence it followed, that the fourth monarchy should be come, at the expiration of the seventy weeks of Daniel; that the sceptre should then depart from Judah; and that then Messiah should come. At that very crisis, Jesus Christ came, and declared himself the Messiah.

It is predicted, that during the fourth monarchy, before the destruction of the second temple, before the dominion of the Jews had ceased, and in the seventieth week of Daniel, the heathen should be instructed and led to the knowledge of that God, whom the Jews worshipped, and that they who loved him, should be delivered from their enemies, and filled with his love and his fear.

And it did happen, that during the fourth monarchy, and before the destruction of the second temple, multitudes of the heathen worshipped God, and lived a heavenly life; women devoted to God their virginity, and their whole life; men renounced a life of pleasure; and that which Plato could not accomplish with a few chosen and well disciplined individuals, was now effected by a secret influence, operating through a few words, on hundreds of thousands of illiterate men.

And what is all this? It is that which has been foretold long before. *I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.* All men were lying in wretchedness and unbelief. Now the whole earth kindles into love. Princes laid aside their splendor: the wealthy parted with their abundance: girls submitted to martyrdom: children forsook their homes to live in the deserts. Whence is this energy? It is that Messiah is come. This is the effect and the proof of his arrival.

For 2000 years the God of the Jews was unknown to the countless multitudes of the heathen; but, at the time predicted, the heathen rushed in crowds to worship this only God. The temples are thrown down; and kings themselves bend before the cross. Whence comes this? The Spirit of God has been poured out upon the earth.

It was foretold that Messiah should come to establish a new covenant, which should cause them to forget their departure from Egypt. Jer. xxiii, 7. That he should write his law, not on an exterior tablet, but on their hearts, Isaiah li. 7.; and put his fear, which, till then, had been only superficial, in their hearts also. Jer. xxxi. 33. That the Jews should reject Christ, and that they should be rejected of God, because the chosen vine brought forth wild grapes only. Isaiah v. That the chosen people should be faithless, ungrateful, and incredulous —*an unbelieving and gainsaying people.* Isaiah lxv. 2. That God should smite them with blindness, and that they should stumble like blind men at noon-day. Deut. xxviii. That the church should be small at its commencement, and increase gradually. Ezek. xlvii.

It was foretold that then idolatry should be overthrown; that Messiah should overturn all the idols, and bring men to the worship of the true God.—Ezek. xxx. 13.

That the temples and the images should be caused to cease, and in every place a pure offering should be offered, and not the blood of beasts. Mal. i. 11.

That he should teach men the perfect way. Isa. ii. 3. Micah iv. 2. That he should be the king, both of Jews and Gentiles. Psalm ii. 6—8. Psalm lxxi. And never has there come either before Jesus Christ, or since, any man who has taught any thing like this.

And at length, after so many individuals have predicted this advent, Jesus Christ appeared and said, I am he, and the time is fulfilled. He came to teach men that they had no enemies but themselves; that their sinful inclinations separate them from God; that he came to deliver them, to give them grace, and to gather all men into one holy church; to unite in this church both Jews and Gentiles; and to destroy the idols of the one, and the superstitions of the other.

"What the prophets have foretold, my apostles," said he, "will shortly accomplish. The Jews shall be rejected; Jerusalem will soon be destroyed; the Gentiles shall come to the knowledge of God; and when you shall have slain the heir of the vineyard, my apostles shall turn from you to them."

Afterwards we find the apostles saying to the Jews: a curse is coming upon you; and to the Gentiles, you shall know the Lord.

To this dispensation all men were adverse, owing to the natural antipathy of their sinfulness. This king of both Jews and Gentiles, was oppressed by both, who conspired to kill him. All that was mighty in the world, the learned, the wise, the powerful, all confederated against this nascent religion. Some wrote, some censured, and others shed blood. But notwithstanding all opposition, in a short time, we see Jesus Christ reigning over both—destroying the Jewish worship in Jerusalem, which was its centre, and erecting there his first church; and destroying the worship of idols, at Rome, where idolatry centred, and establishing in it his principal church.

The apostles and the primitive Christians, a simple and powerless people, resisted all the powers of the earth; overcame monarchs, philosophers, and sages, and destroyed an established idolatry. And all this was wrought by the alone energy of that word which had foretold it.

The Jews, by slaying Christ, that they might not acknowledge him as Messiah, have completed the proof of his Messiahship. Their perseverance in denying him, makes them irrefragable witnesses in his behalf. And both by their killing him, and persisting to reject him, they have fulfilled the prophecy.

Who does not recognize Jesus Christ in a great variety of particulars predicted of the Messiah? For it is said,

That he should have a forerunner. Mal. iii. 1. That he should be born as an infant. Isaiah ix. 6. That he should be born in Bethlehem. Micah v. 2. That he should spring from the family of Judah and of David: that he should appear chiefly in Jerusalem. Mal. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 10. That he should hide these things from the wise and prudent, and reveal them to the poor and to babes. That he should open the eyes of the blind, should heal the sick, Isaiah xxxv.; and lead those who languished in darkness, into light. Isaiah xlii. 8, 9.

That he should teach a perfect way, and be the instructor of the Gentiles. Isaiah lv. 4.

That he should be the victim offered for the sins of the world. Isaiah liii.

That he should be the precious foundation stone. Isaiah xxviii. 26.

That he should be a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. Isaiah viii. 14.

That the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall fall on it. Isaiah viii. 15.

That the builders shall reject this stone, and that God shall make it the head stone of the corner. Psalm cxviii. 22. And that this stone shall become a great mountain, and fill the earth. Dan. ii. 35.

That he should be rejected, Psalm cxviii. 22.; disowned, Isaiah liii. 2.; betrayed, Psalm xl. 9.; sold, Zach. xi. 12.; stricken, Isaiah l. 6.; mocked and afflicted in many different ways, Psalm lxix. That they should give him gall to drink, Psalm lxix. 21.; that they should pierce his hands and his feet, Psalm xxii. 16.; that they should spit upon him, Isaiah l. 6.; and kill him, Dan. ix.; and cast lots for his vesture, Psalm xxii. 18. That he should rise again the third day, Psalm xvi. Hosea vi. 2. That he should ascend to heaven, Psalm xlvii. 5. lxviii. 18.; and sit down at the right hand of God. Psalm cx. 1. That the kings of the earth should take counsel against him. Psalm ii. That sitting at the right hand of God, he should make his foes his footstool. Psalm cx. 1. That all kings shall fall down before him—all nations shall worship him. Psalm lxxii. That the Jews should subsist perpetually as a people. Jer. xxxi. 36. That they should wander about, Amos ix. 9.; without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an altar, Hosea iii. 4.; and without prophets, Psalm lxxiv. 9.; looking for redemption, but looking in vain. Isaiah lix. 9. Jer. viii. 15.

3. The Messiah was to form to himself a numerous people, elect and holy; to lead them, to nourish them, to bring them into a place of rest and holiness; to make them holy to the Lord, to make them the temple of God; to reconcile them to God; to save them from the wrath of God; to rescue them from the slavery of sin, which evidently reigns over men; to give a law to them, and to write it in their hearts; to offer himself to God for them; to sacrifice himself for them; to be both the spotless victim, and the offering priest; he was to offer himself, both his body and his blood to God. Jesus Christ has done all this.

It was foretold that a deliverer should come, who should bruise the serpent's head, who should deliver his people from all their iniquities, Psalm cxxx. 8; that he should establish a new covenant, which should be everlasting; and a new priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, to abide for ever; that the Messiah should be glorious, powerful, and mighty, and yet so abject, as to be disowned; that he should not be esteemed for what he really was; that he should be rejected, that he should be slain; that his people who denied him, should be his people no longer; that the idolatrous Gentiles should believe, and fly to him for refuge; that he should abandon Zion, to reign in the centre of idolatry; that the Jewish nation, notwithstanding, should still subsist; and that this person so predicted, should spring out of Judah, at the time when the kingdom ceased.

4. Now consider, that from the beginning of the world, the expectation, or the actual worship of Messiah, has continued without interval; that he was promised to the first man, immediately after his fall; that other men appeared subsequently, who declared that God had revealed to them also, that a Redeemer should be born, who would save his people; that Abraham then came, who affirmed the fact of a revelation made to him, that the Redeemer should descend from him, by a son of his, who was yet unborn; that Jacob said, that out of his twelve sons, Judah should be the direct ancestor of the Messiah; that Moses and the prophets, at length pointed out the time and manner of his coming; that they declared the then present law, to be only a provisional appointment till the coming of Messiah; that, till then only it should endure, but that the other should last for ever; but so that either the old law, or that of Messiah, of which the first was a typical pledge, should be ever on the earth; that such has been the fact; and that at length Jesus Christ did come, in circumstances entirely conformed to all these minute predictions. Surely this is wonderful!

But it will be said, If all this was so clearly foretold to the Jews, why did they not believe, or why are they not utterly destroyed for having resisted so clear a testimony? I answer, that both these facts are in the prediction; both, that they would not believe this ample testimony, and that they should not be exterminated. And nothing could more effectually subserve the glory of Messiah; for it was not sufficient to have the testimony of prophecy on his behalf; but those prophecies must be preserved in circumstances actually free from the slightest taint of suspicion.

5. The prophetic writings have, blended with the predictions concerning Messiah, some others that were local and peculiar, in order that the prophecies, concerning Messiah, might not be without some other evidence; and that the local predictions might have their use in the system.

We have no king but Cæsar, said the Jews. Then Jesus was the Messiah. For their avowed king was an alien, and they recognized no other.

A doubt hangs on the beginning of the seventy weeks of Daniel, on account of the wording of the prophecy itself; and also on the termination of that period, owing to the differences among chronologists. But the utmost limits of the difference is not more than 200 years.

The prophecies which tell of Messiah's poverty, describe him also as lord of all nations.

The prophecies which announce the time of his advent, only speak of him as the king of the Gentiles, and as a sufferer; not as a judge coming in the clouds of heaven; and those which describe him as judging the nations on the throne of his glory, say nothing of the precise period of his coming.

When they speak of Messiah's advent in glory, it is evidently his coming to judge the world, not to redeem it. Isaiah lxvi. 15, 16.

CHAPTER XVI.

OTHER PROOFS OF JESUS CHRIST.

If we do not give credit to the apostles, we must hold either that they are deceived or deceivers. But either alternative has its difficulties. In the first case, it is scarcely possible to be cheated into a belief, that a dead man had risen again; and in the other, the supposition that they were themselves impostors, is very absurd. Let us follow out the case. Let us suppose these twelve men assembling after the death of Christ, and conspiring together to maintain that he had risen from the dead. We know, that by this doctrine, they attacked all the powers of this world. The heart of man also is strangely disposed to levity and to change, and easily influenced by promises and gifts. Now, if in these circumstances of risk, but one of them had been shaken by those allurements, or what is more likely, by imprisonment, torture, or the pain of death, they were all lost.

While Jesus Christ was with them, he could sustain them; but afterwards, if he did not appear to them, who did encourage them to action?

2. The style of the gospel is admirable in many respects; and, amongst others, that there is not a single invective indulged by the historians against Judas or Pilate, or any of the enemies or murderers of Jesus Christ.

Had this delicacy on the part of the evangelical historians been only assumed, together with all the other features of their amiable character; and had they only assumed it, that it might be observed—then, even though they had not dared in some way or other to point the attention to it themselves, they could not have failed to procure some friend to notice it to their advantage. But as they were quite unaffected and disinterested, they never provided any one to make such a comment. In fact, I know not that the remark was ever made till now; and this is a strong proof of the simplicity of their conduct.

3. Jesus Christ wrought miracles; so did his apostles. So also did the primitive saints; because, as the prophecies were not fulfilled, and were in fact only fulfilling in them, there was as yet no testimony to the truth but miracles. It was foretold that Messiah should convert the nations. How could this prophecy be fulfilled, but by the conversion of nations; and how were the first nations to be converted to Messiah, not seeing this conclusive result of the prophetic testimony in support of his mission? Till his death and resurrection, then, and even till some nations had been converted, the whole evidence was not complete; and hence miracles were necessary during the whole of that time. Now, however, they are no longer needed. Prophecy fulfilled is a standing miracle.

4. The state of the Jews strikingly proves the truth of our religion. It is wonderful to see this people, subsisting for so many centuries, and to see them always wretched: it being essential to the evidence in support of Jesus Christ, that they should subsist as witnesses to him; and that they should be miserable, because they slew him. And though their misery presses against their existence, they exist still in spite of their misery.

But were they not almost in the same state at the time of the captivity? No. The continuance of the sceptre was not interrupted by the captivity in Babylon; because their return was promised and predicted. When Nebuchadnezzar led them captive, lest it should be supposed that the sceptre had departed from Judah, it was previously declared to them, that they should be there for a short time only, and that they should be re-established. They had still the consolation of their prophets, and their kings were not taken away. But the second destruction of their polity, is without any promise of restoration, without prophets, without kings, without comfort, and without hope; for the sceptre is removed for ever.

That was scarcely a captivity which was alleviated by the promise of deliverance in seventy years; but now they are captive without hope.

God had promised them, that even though he scattered them to the ends of the earth, yet if they were faithful to his law, he would bring them back again. They are faithful to the law, and yet remain in oppression. It follows, then, that Messiah must be come, and that the law which contained these promises, has been superseded by the establishment of a new law.

5. Had the Jews been all converted to the faith of Christ, we should have had none but suspected witnesses, and had they been extirpated, we should have had no witnesses at all.

The Jews rejected Christ, yet not all of them. Those who were holy, received him; those who were carnal did not: and so far is this from militating against his glory, that it gives to it the finishing touch. The reason of their rejection, and the only one which is found in their writings, in the Talmud, and in the Rabbins, is that Jesus Christ did not subdue the nations by force of arms. "Jesus Christ," they say, "has been slain; he has fallen; he has not subdued the heathen by his might; he has not given us their spoils; he has given no wealth." Is that all they can say? It is for this that I love him. A Messiah such as they describe, I have no wish for.

6. How delightful it is to see with the eye of faith, Darius, Cyrus, Alexander, the Romans, Pompey, and Herod, laboring unwittingly for the glory of the gospel.

7. The Mahometan religion has for its foundation the Koran and Mahomet. But has this man, who was said to be the last prophet expected in the world, been at all the subject of prediction? And what mark has he to accredit him, more than any other man who chooses to set up for a prophet? What miracles does he himself affirm that he performed? What mystery has he taught, even by his own account? What morality did he teach, and what blessedness did he promise?

Mahomet is unsupported by any authority. His reasons then had need to be powerful indeed, since they rest solely on their own strength.

8. If two men utter things which appear of a common-place and popular kind, but the discourse of one has a twofold sense understood by his disciples, whilst the discourses of the other have but one meaning; then any one, not in the secret, hearing the two persons saying similar things, would judge in a similar way of both. But if, in conclusion, the one utters heavenly things whilst the other still brings forward only common-place and mean notions, and even fooleries, he would then conceive that the one spoke with a mystic meaning, and the other did not; the one having sufficiently proved himself to be incapable of absurdity, but capable of having a mystic sense; the other, that he can be absurd, but not a setter forth of mysteries.

9. It is not by the obscurities in the writings of Mahomet, and which they may pretend have a mystic sense, that I would wish him to be judged, but by his plain statements, as his account of paradise and such like. Even in these things he is ridiculous. Now, it is not so with the Holy Scriptures. They also have their obscurities; but then there are many clear and lucid statements, and many prophecies in direct terms which have been accomplished. The cases then are not parallel. We must not put on an equal footing, books which only resemble each other in the existence of obscurities, and not in those brilliancies, which substantiate their own divine origin, and justly claim a due reverence also for the obscurities, by which they are accompanied.

The Koran itself, says that Matthew was a good man. Then Mahomet was a false prophet, either in calling good men wicked, or in rejecting as untrue, what they affirm of Jesus Christ.

10. Any man may do what Mahomet did; for he wrought no miracles, he fulfilled no previous prophecy. No man can do what Jesus Christ did.

Mahomet established his system by killing others; Jesus Christ by exposing his disciples to death; Mahomet by forbidding to read; Jesus by enjoining it. In fact, so opposite were their plans, that, if according to human calculation, Mahomet took the way to succeed—Jesus Christ certainly took the way of failure. And instead of arguing, that because Mahomet succeeded, therefore Jesus Christ might; it follows rather, that since Mahomet succeeded, Christianity must have failed, if it had not been supported by an energy purely divine.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PURPOSE OF GOD TO CONCEAL HIMSELF FROM SOME, AND TO REVEAL HIMSELF TO OTHERS.

It was the purpose of God to redeem mankind, and to extend salvation to those who will seek it. But men render themselves so unworthy of it, that he is equitable in refusing to some, because of the hardness of their hearts, that which he bestows on others, by a mercy to which they have no claim. Had he chosen to overcome the obstinacy of the most hardened, he could have done so, by revealing himself to them so distinctly, that they could no longer doubt the truth of his existence. And he will so appear at the last day, with such an awful storm, and such a destruction of the frame of nature, that the most blind must see him.

He did not, however, choose thus to appear at the advent of grace; because, as so many men rendered themselves unworthy of his clemency, he determined that they should remain strangers to the blessing, which they did not desire. It would not then have been just to appear in a mode manifestly divine, and such as absolutely to convince all men; nor would it have been just on the other hand, to come in a mode so hidden, that he could not have been recognized by those who sought him in sincerity. It was his will to make himself perfectly cognizable to all such; and hence, willing to be revealed to those who seek him with their whole heart, and hidden from those who, as cordially fly from him, he has so regulated the means of knowing him, as to give indications of himself, which are plain to those who seek him, and shrouded to those who seek him not.*

2. There is light enough for those whose main wish is to see; and darkness enough to confound those of an opposite disposition.

There is brightness enough to enlighten the elect, and sufficient obscurity to keep them humble.

There is mystery enough to blind the reprobate; but light enough to condemn them, and to make them inexcusable.

If this world subsisted only to teach men the existence of God, his divinity would have shined forth in every part of it with resistless splendor. But since the world only exists by Jesus Christ, and for him, and to teach men their fall and their redemption, the whole abounds with proofs of these two truths. The appearance of things indicates neither the total abandonment, nor the plenary presence of the Divinity, but the presence of *a God that hideth himself*. Every thing wears this character.

If God had never appeared at all, such a total concealment might have been ambiguous, and might have been referred equally to the non-existence of Deity, as to the unworthiness of men to know him. But his occasional manifestations remove the ambiguity. If he has appeared once, then he *is* always. And we are shut up to the conclusion, that there is a God, and that men are unworthy of his manifested presence.

3. The purpose of God was more to rectify the will, than the understanding of man. Now, an unclouded brightness would have satisfied the understanding, and left the will unreformed. Had there been no obscurity, man would not have been sensible of his corruption. Had there been no light, man would have despaired of a remedy. It is then not only equitable, but profitable for us, that God should be partly hidden, and partly revealed; since it is equally dangerous for man to know God, without the consciousness of his misery; or to know his misery, without knowing his God.

4. All things around man teach him his real state; but he should read them rightly. For it is not true either that God is wholly revealed, or wholly hidden. But both these assertions are true together, that he hides himself from those who tempt him, and that he discovers himself to those who seek him. Because men are, at the same time, unworthy of God, and yet capable of receiving him; unworthy in consequence of their corruption; capable by their original nature.

5. Every thing on earth proclaims the misery of man, or the mercy of God; the powerlessness of man without God, or his might when God is with him.

The whole universe teaches man, either that he is corrupt, or that he is redeemed. All things teach him his greatness or his misery. In the heathen he sees the withdrawment of God; in the Jews, his presence and protection.

6. All things work together for good to the elect; even the obscurities of Scripture; for they reverence them on account of those portions which are manifestly divine. All things are evil to the reprobate, even the plainest truths of Scripture, because they blaspheme them on account of those obscurities, which they cannot comprehend.

7. If Jesus Christ had only come to sanctify and save, the whole of Scripture, and all other things, would have tended to that object, and it would have been easy indeed to convince the infidel. But since, as Isaiah says, chap. viii. 14. he became both as *a sanctuary* (for salvation) *and a rock of offence*, we cannot expect to overcome the obstinacy of infidelity. But this does not militate against us, since we ourselves affirm, that God's dealings with us were not meant to carry conviction to those stubborn, self-satisfied spirits, who do not sincerely seek for truth.

Jesus is come, *that those who see not, may see; and that those who see, may become blind.* He came to heal the diseased, and to let *the whole* perish: to *call sinners to repentance* and justification, and to leave *the righteous*, those who think themselves righteous, in their sins: to *fill the hungry with good things, and to send the rich empty away.*

What say the prophets of Jesus Christ? That he should be manifestly God? No. But that he is the true God veiled; that he shall be unrecognized; that men shall not think that this is he; that he shall be *a stone of stumbling*, on which *many shall fall.*

It is that Messiah might be known by the good, and unknown by the wicked, that he is foretold as he is. If the mode of his coming had been fully unfolded, there would have been no obscurity even to the wicked. If the period had been foretold obscurely, there would have been darkness on the minds of the good, for their moral state would not convey to them the idea of Hebrew notation; for instance, that ב should signify 600 years. The time therefore was foretold plainly—the mode mystically.

Thus, the wicked erroneously supposing, that the blessings promised were temporal, were misled, although the time was so distinctly foretold; while the righteous avoided the error, because the comprehension of such blessings is with the heart, which always calls that good, that it really loves; but the knowledge of the time was not a matter for the comprehension of the heart. And thus the clear pointing out of the time, together with an obscure description of the blessing, could only mislead the wicked.

8. Why was it necessary with respect to Messiah, that it should be stated of him, that in him the sceptre was to remain perpetually in Judah; and

* The pillar of cloud and of fire, is a beautiful illustration of this idea.

yet, that at his coming, the sceptre should be taken from Judah?

As a provision, *That seeing, they might not see; and that hearing, they might not understand*, nothing could be more effectual.

Instead of lamenting that God is hidden, we should thank him that he has been so far revealed; we should thank him that he has not revealed himself to the prudent and the proud of this world, who were unworthy to know a holy God.

9. The genealogy of Jesus Christ in the Old Testament, is blended with so many others apparently useless, as to be scarcely discernible. If Moses had only registered the ancestry of Jesus Christ, the fact would have been too plainly exhibited. But even to an accurate observer, it may be distinctly traced through Thamar, Ruth, Bathsheba, &c.

Even the apparently weak points in the chain of evidence, have their peculiar force to a well constituted mind. Witness the two genealogies by Matthew and Luke, which prove that there has not been collusion.

10. Let them not reproach us any longer, with the want of clearness in our evidence. We own the fact as part of our system. But let them recognize the truth of our religion, even in its obscurities, in the little light that we have; and in the indifference respecting the discovery of it, which is so generally manifested.

Had there been but one religion, God would have been too manifest. The case were the same, if *our* religion only had its martyrs.

Jesus Christ so far left the wicked to their wilful blindness, in that he did not say he was not of Nazareth, nor that he was not the son of Joseph.

As Jesus Christ dwelt unrecognized among men, so the truth dwells undistinguished among the crowds of vulgar opinions.

If the mercy of God is so great, that it makes us wise unto salvation, even while he hideth himself, what illumination may we not expect when he is fully revealed!

We can know nothing of the work of God, if we do not admit as a first principle, that he blinds some, while he enlightens others.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THAT THE RELIGION OF REAL CHRISTIANS, AND REAL JEWS, IS ONE AND THE SAME.

The Jewish religion *seemed* to consist essentially in descent from Abraham, in circumcision, in sacrifices, and ceremonies, in the ark, and the temple at Jerusalem, and in the law, and the covenant of Moses.

I affirm that it did not consist in all, or any of these things, but simply in the love of God; and that God disallowed all the rest.

That God did not choose the people who sprung from Abraham according to the flesh.

That the Jews were to be punished by the Almighty, as strangers would be, if they offended. *If thou forget the Lord thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them; I testify against you this day, that ye shall surely perish; as the nations which the Lord destroyeth before your face, so shall ye perish.*

That strangers would be accepted, even as the Jews, if they loved God.

That the true Jews ascribed their safety to God, and not to Abraham. *Doubtless thou art our father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not: thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer.* Isa. lxiii. 16.

Moses also had said, *God accepteth not persons, nor taketh rewards.*

I affirm that the Jewish religion enjoins also the circumcision of the heart. *Circumcise, therefore, the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked. For the Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, a terrible,* &c. Deut. x. 16, 17.

That God promised to do this for them at some future day. *And the Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.* Deut. xxx. 6.

That the uncircumcised in heart shall be judged and punished. *God will punish them which are circumcised with the uncircumcised; for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart.*

2. I affirm that circumcision was a sign, instituted to distinguish the Jewish people from all other nations. And therefore it was that, while they wandered in the wilderness, they were not circumcised, because they could then not intermingle with strangers; and that since the coming of Jesus Christ, it is no longer necessary.

The love of God is every where enjoined. *I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live; that thou mayest love the Lord thy God, and that thou mayest obey his voice, and that thou mayest cleave unto him; for he is thy life.* Deut. xxx. 19, 20.

It is said also, that the Jews, from the want of this love, shall be rejected for their crimes, and the Gentiles chosen in their stead. *I will hide my face from them, for they are a very froward nation, and unbelieving. They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God—and I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people. I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.* Deut. xxxii. 20, 21.

That temporal blessings are fallacious, but that the true good is to be united to God. That their feasts were displeasing to God. That the sacrifices of the Jews displeased God; and not only those of the wicked Jews, but that he had no pleasure in the sacrifices of the righteous, for, in Psalm 50th, previously to his special address to the wicked, beginning, *But to the wicked God saith,* &c. verse 16th, it is stated that God will not accept the sacrifices of beasts, nor their blood. 1 Sam. xv. 22.

That the offerings of the Gentiles shall be accepted of God. Mal. i. 11. And that the offerings of the Jews were not acceptable to him. Jer. vi. 20.

That God would make a new covenant by Messiah, and that the old one should be abolished. Jer. xxxi. 31.

That the former things shall be forgotten. Isa. xliii. 18.

That the ark shall be no more remembered. Jer. iii. 16.

That the temple shall be rejected. Jer. vii. 12.—14.

That the sacrifices should be done away, and a purer sacrifice established. Mal. i. 10, 11.

That the order of the Aaronic priesthood should be rejected, and that of Melchisedec introduced by the Messiah, and that this should be an everlasting priesthood.

That Jerusalem shall be rejected. Isaiah v. That a new name shall be given. That it shall be a better and an eternal name. Isaiah lvi. 5.

That the Jews shall continue without prophet, priest, king, prince, sacrifice or altar; and that they should subsist, notwithstanding, as a distinct people.

CHAPTER XIX.

WE CANNOT KNOW GOD SAVINGLY, BUT BY JESUS CHRIST.

It is usual for the greater part of those who try to convince the ungodly of the being of a God, to begin with the works of nature; and they seldom succeed. Not that I question the substantiality of that class of proofs, for they are consecrated by the Scripture; and they consist with sound reason: but frequently they are not well adapted to the disposition of mind of those to whom they are so applied.

For it should be observed, that this line of argument is not applied to those who have a living faith in the heart, and who see clearly that every thing which exists is the work of the God whom they adore. To such, all nature speaks for its author. To them the heavens declare the glory of God. But for those in whom this light is extinct, and in whom we wish it to revive; those men who are without faith and charity, and who find nothing but clouds and darkness throughout nature; for such it seems scarcely the right way to reclaim them, that we should ply them on a subject so great and important, with proofs drawn from the course of the moon and the planets, or with any of those common-place arguments, against which they have invariably revolted. The hardness of their hearts has rendered them deaf to this voice of nature, ringing constantly upon their ear; and experience proves, that far from carrying them by these means, nothing is more likely to disgust them, and to destroy the hope of their discovering the truth, than professing to convince them simply by such reasonings, and telling them that they will find truth altogether unveiled.

Certainly this is not the way in which the Scriptures speak of God, which are far better prepared to speak of him than we are. They tell us, we allow, that the beauty of creation declares its author; but, they do not say that it does so to the whole world. On the contrary, they affirm, that the creature does not make God known by its own light, but by that light which God, at the same time, pours into the minds of those whom he thus instructs. *That which may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath showed it to them.* Rom. i. 19. The Scripture teaches us in general, that *God is a God that hideth himself;* and, that since the corruption of human nature, he has left men in a state of blindness from which they cannot escape, but through Jesus Christ, without whom, all communion with God is impracticable. *No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* Matt. ii. 27.

The Scripture teaches the same truth also, where, in so many different passages, it affirms, that they who *seek* God shall find him. But we do not speak thus of a clear and self-evident light. It needs no *seeking*. It compels observation by its own brilliancy.

2. Metaphysical arguments, in proof of Deity, are so remote from the common habits of reasoning, and so intricate and involved, that they produce little impression; and even though they may influence a few, it is only at the time when they are actually considering the demonstration, and an hour afterward, they fear they have deceived themselves. *Quod curiositate cognoverant superbia amiserunt.*

Besides, this sort of proof can only lead to a speculative knowledge of God; and to know him only in this way, is not to know him at all.

The God whom Christians worship, is not merely the divine author of geometric truths, and of the order of the elements. This is the belief of the heathen. He is not merely a God who watches providentially over the lives and fortunes of men, to bestow a succession of happy years on his worshippers. This is the belief of the Jew. But the God of Abraham and of Jacob, the God of the Christian, is a God of love and of consolation. He is a God who fills the soul and the heart which he possesses. He is a God who makes them feel within, their own misery; whose infinite grace unites itself with their inmost soul; fills it with humility, and joy, and confidence, and love; and makes it impossible for them to seek any other end than himself.

The God of the Christians is a God who causes the soul to feel that he is its only good, that he is its only rest; and that it can have no joy but in his love; and who teaches it, at the same time, to abhor every obstacle to the full ardor of that affection. That self-love and sensual affection which impede it, are insufferable to it. God discloses to the soul this abyss of selfishness, and that he himself is the only remedy.

That is to know God as a Christian. But to know God thus, a man must know also his misery and unworthiness, and the need he has of a mediator, by whom he may draw near to God, and be again united to him. These two branches of knowledge must not be separated, for when separate, they are not only useless, but injurious. The knowledge of our ruin, without the knowledge of Jesus Christ, is despair. But the knowledge of Jesus Christ delivers us both from pride and despair, because in him we discern, at once, our God, our own guilt, and the only way of recovery.

We may know God without knowing our wretchedness, or our wretchedness without knowing God; or both, without knowing the way of deliverance from those miseries by which we are overwhelmed. But we cannot know Jesus Christ, without knowing at once, our God, our ruin, and our remedy, because Jesus Christ is not merely God; but God our Saviour from misery.

Hence, therefore, they who seek God without the Saviour, will discover no satisfactory or truly beneficial light. For either they never discover that there is a God; or, if they do, it is to little purpose; because they devise to themselves some mode of approaching without mediation, that God, whom, without the aid of a mediator, they have discovered; and thus they fall either into atheism or deism, two evils equally abhorrent to the Christian system.

We should aim then, exclusively, to know Jesus Christ, since, by him only, we can expect ever to obtain a beneficial knowledge of God.

He is the true God of mankind; that is, of miserable sinners. He is the centre of all, and to him every thing points: and he who knows him not, knows nothing of the economy of this world, or of himself. For not only can we not know God, but by Jesus Christ, but we cannot know ourselves except by him.

Without Jesus Christ, man must remain in sin and misery. In Jesus Christ, man is delivered from sin and misery. In him is treasured up all our happiness, our virtue, our very life, and light, and hope; and out of him there is nothing for us but sin, misery, darkness, and despair; without him, we see nothing but obscurity and confusion in the nature of both God and man.

CHAPTER XX.

THOUGHTS ON MIRACLES.

We must judge of doctrine by miracles, and of miracles by doctrine. The doctrine attests the miracles, and the miracles attest the doctrine. Both

sides of the assertion are true, and yet there is no discrepancy between them.

2. There are miracles which are indubitable evidences of truth, and there are some which are not. We should have a mark to distinguish those which are, or they would be useless. But they are not useless; they are of the nature of a foundation. The test then which is given to us, should be such as not to destroy that proof which true miracles give to the truth, and which is the chief end of miracles.

If no miracles had ever been adduced in support of falsehood, they would have been a certain criterion. If there were no rule for discrimination, miracles would have been useless; there would have been no just ground to credit them.

Moses has given us one test, which is, when the miracle leads to idolatry. *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake to thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you.* Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3. Jesus Christ also has given us one in Mark ix. 39. *There is no man who shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me.* Whence it follows, that whoever declares himself openly against Jesus Christ, cannot do a miracle in his name. So that, if he works miracles, it is not in the name of Jesus Christ, and he should not be listened to. We see, then, the limits marked out to our faith in miracles, to which we must add no others. In the Old Testament, when they turn away from God. In the New, when they turn men from Jesus Christ.

So that if we see a miracle, we must at once receive it, or discover some plain reason to the contrary. We must examine if he who does it, denies God or Jesus Christ.

3. Every religion is false, which does not in its belief worship one God as the author of all things; and in its morals, love one God as the end of all things. Every religion now which does not recognize Jesus Christ is notoriously false, and miracles can avail it nothing.

The Jews had a doctrine from God, as we have from Jesus Christ, and confirmed similarly by miracles. They were forbidden to believe in any worker of miracles, who should teach a contrary doctrine; and, moreover, they were required to have recourse to their priests, and to adhere to them strictly. So that, apparently, all the reasons which we have for rejecting workers of miracles, they had with respect to Jesus Christ and his apostles.

Yet, it is certain, that they were very highly blameable for refusing to believe them on the testimony of their miracles: for Jesus Christ said, that they would not have been blameable if they had not seen his miracles. John xv. 22—24.

It follows, then, that he regarded his miracles as an infallible proof of his doctrine, and that the Jews were bound by them to believe him. And, in fact, it was these miracles especially which made their unbelief criminal. For the proofs that they might have adduced from Scripture, *during the life of Christ*, were not alone conclusive. They might see there that Moses had said, Another prophet should come; but that would not have proved Jesus Christ to be that prophet, which was the whole matter in question. Such passages of Scripture, however, would have shown them that Jesus Christ might be that prophet; and this, taken together with his miracles, should have determined their belief that he really was so.

4. Prophecy alone was not a sufficient testimony to Jesus Christ, during his life; and hence the Jews would not have been criminal in not believing him before his death, if his miracles had not decided the point. Miracles, then, are sufficient when we detect no contrariety in doctrine, and they should be received.

Jesus Christ had proved himself to be the Messiah, by confirming his doctrine more by his own miracles, than by an appeal to the Scriptures and the prophets.

It was by his miracles that Nicodemus knew his doctrine to be from God *We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do the things that thou doest, except God be with him.* John iii. 2. He did not judge of the miracles by the doctrine, but of the doctrine by the miracles.

So that even though the doctrine was suspected, as that of Jesus Christ might be by Nicodemus, because it seemed to threaten with destruction the traditions of the Pharisees, yet if there were clear and evident miracles on its side, the evidence for the miracle ought to carry it against any apparent difficulty in respect to the doctrine. This rule has its foundation in the indubitable principle, that God cannot lead into error.

There is something reciprocally due between God and man. God says in Isaiah i. 18. *Come now and let us reason together.* And in another place, *What could I have done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?* v. 4.

Men owe it to God, to receive the religion which he sends; God owes it to men not to lead them into error. Now, they would be led into error, if any workers of miracles set forth a false doctrine, which did not manifestly appear false to the apprehensions of common sense, and if a greater worker of miracles had not already enjoined upon them not to believe it. So that, if the church were divided, and the Arians, for instance, who affirm that they are founded upon the Scripture, equally with the orthodox, had wrought miracles, and the orthodox had not, men would have been led into error. For, as a man who professes to make known the secret things of God, is not worthy of credit on his own private authority, so a man, who, in proof of the communication that he has from God, raises the dead, predicts future events, removes mountains, and heals diseases, is worthy of credit: and we are impious to refuse it, so long as he is not contradicted by some other teacher who works still greater wonders.

But is not God said to prove us? And may he not prove us by miracles which seem to uphold error?

There is a great difference between proving us, and leading us into error. God proves us; but he never leads into error. To prove, is to present the occasion which does not impose a necessity to act. To lead into error, is to place man under the necessity of assuming and approving a falsehood. This God cannot do; and yet he would do this, if in an obscure question, he permitted miracles to be wrought on the side of falsehood.

We are warranted then to conclude, that it is impossible for a man who conceals his false doctrine, with a view to make it appear like truth, and who affirms himself so be conformed to the will of God and the rule of his church, to work miracles, in order gradually and insensibly to insinuate a false and subtle error. This cannot be; still less can it be, that God who knoweth the heart, should work miracles in favor of such a deceiver.

5. There is a great difference between not being for Jesus Christ, and avowing the infidelity; and not being for Jesus Christ, but pretending to be so. In the first case, perhaps, miracles might be permitted, but not in the other; for it is quite clear of the

one class, that they are opposed to the truth, but it is not so of the other; and thus, such miracles may be rightly estimated.

Miracles, then, have been the test in doubtful points, between the Jew and the heathen, the Jew and the Christian.

We have seen this in all the combats of truth against error. In those of Abel against Cain; of Moses against the magicians of Egypt; of Elijah against the prophets of Baal; of Jesus Christ against the Pharisees; of St. Paul against Elymas; of the apostles against the exorcists; and the primitive Christians against infidels. The truth always surpassed in a contest of miracles; and never in a contest for the true God, and for the truth of religion, has a miracle been wrought in support of error, but a greater miracle has been wrought in support of truth.

By this rule it is clear, that the Jews were under obligation to believe in Christ. He was suspected by them, but his miracles were infinitely more strong than the suspicions against him. They ought therefore to have believed him.

In the days of Jesus Christ, some believed in him, but others would not, because the prophecies said, that Messiah should be born in Bethlehem; instead of which, they conceived that Jesus Christ was born in Nazareth. But they should have examined more narrowly, whether he might not yet have been born in Bethlehem; for his miracles being such, as to carry conviction, the alleged contradictions of his doctrine to Scripture, and this obscurity, did not operate to excuse, but merely to blind them.

Jesus Christ healed him that was born blind, and did many other miracles on the Sabbath-day, by means of which, the Pharisees were blinded, who affirmed that it was right to try the miracles by the doctrine.

The same rule which renders imperative the belief in Christ, equally forbids the belief of antichrist.

Jesus Christ did not speak either against God, or against Moses. The antichrist and the false prophets foretold in the Old and New Testaments, will speak openly against God, and against Jesus Christ. But to a concealed enemy, God will not give the power of openly working miracles.

Moses foretold Jesus Christ, and commanded to follow him. Jesus Christ foretold the antichrist, and forbade to follow him.

The miracles of Jesus Christ were not predicted by antichrist, but the miracles of antichrist were predicted by Jesus Christ. And thus, if Jesus Christ were not the Messiah, he would have led into error; but he could not be reasonably led into error by the miracles of antichrist. Therefore the miracles of antichrist, do not affect the miracles of Jesus Christ. In fact, when Jesus Christ predicted the miracles of antichrist, did he think to injure the faith of his own?

There is no reason to believe in antichrist, that there is not for believing in Christ; but there are reasons for believing in Christ, which there are not for believing in antichrist.

6. Miracles assisted in the foundation, and will assist in the preservation of the church to the days of antichrist, and even to the end.

Wherefore, God, to preserve this testimony in his church, has either confounded all false miracles, or foretold them in his word; and, in both ways, has elevated his cause, and us who believe in it, above those false wonders which appear to us supernatural.

It will be the same in future time. Either God will not permit, or he will confound false miracles, or he will work greater; for miracles have such weight, that however evident the truth of God may be, yet it is necessary that he should warn us against them, when they are wrought against him; without this, they might disturb us.

And thus, however much the passage in the 15th of Deuteronomy, which forbids to believe, and to hear those who work miracles, and who thereby seduce from the service of God; and that in St. Mark xiii. 22. which says, *There shall rise up false Christs and false prophets, who shall do many signs and wonders, and seduce, if it were possible, the very elect,* and some similar ones, may appear to make against the authority of miracles; nothing more directly proves their force.

The true reason why real miracles are not believed, is the want of love to God. *Ye believe not,* said Christ, *because ye are not of my sheep.* The same reason holds, why men believe false miracles. *Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusion, that they shall believe a lie.* 2 Thes. ii. 10.

When I have considered how it is that men repose such faith in impostors, who profess to have certain remedies for disease, as to put their lives in their hands, it has appeared to me, that the true reason is, that there are some *real* remedies; for it could not be, that there should be so many fallacious ones, and that they should obtain so much credit, if there were none that were true. Had there never been a real remedy, and all our diseases had been incurable, it is impossible that any men could have supposed themselves able to cure; or that so many others should have reposed confidence in their boasted powers. As, for instance, if any man professed to be able to prevent us from ever dying, no one would believe this, because there is not a single instance of success. But since many effectual remedies have been attested by the wisest of men, the disposition to believe has been thus created; because, as the fact cannot generally be denied, that there are successful cures which are undoubted, the people who are unable to discriminate between the false and the true, believe all. In the same way, the belief of so many imaginary influences of the moon, originates in the fact, that some do exist, as the flux and reflux of the waters of the ocean.

In the same way, it appears to me that there could never have been so many false miracles, false revelations and predictions, if there had not been some that were true; nor so many false religions, if there had not been a true one. For had there been nothing of the kind, it is almost impossible that men could have invented these things, and still more so, that others should have believed them. But since there have been some very remarkable things which were true, and that they have been believed by the greatest among men, such an effect has been produced, that almost all the world has acquired a tendency to believe those that are untrue. And thus, instead of concluding that because there are many false miracles, there are none true, we must, on the contrary conclude, that there are some true miracles, because there are so many false; and that there are false ones, only from this cause, that there are some true; and that, in the same way, there are false religions, only because one religion is true. The real cause of this is, that the human mind, being prejudiced towards that side of the question, by some things that are true, acquires a predisposition to receive even what is counterfeit.

CHAPTER XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

PYRRHONISM has been useful to religion, for after all, men, before the coming of Christ, did not know where they were, nor whether they were great or

insignificant. And those who affirmed the one or the other, knew nothing really, and conjectured without reason, and at a venture. And whichever they denied, they were still compelled to admit the principle of faith.

2. Who would blame Christians for their inability to give a reason for their belief, when they profess to hold a religion, that they cannot altogether explain. On the contrary, they declare when they propose it to the Gentiles, that it is foolishness; and should you then complain that they do not go into the proof of it? If they prove it, they contradict their own words. It is in the failure of proof, that they maintain their consistency. Yes, but while that excuses those who present the Christian religion as such, and cancels the blame of producing it without a full and rational explanation, it does not excuse those, who, upon the offer of it made to them, refuse to believe.

3. Do you conceive it impossible that God is infinite, and without parts? Yes. I will show you then a thing which is infinite and indivisible. It is a point moving every where with infinite velocity. Let this effect of nature, which, at first, seemed impossible to you, teach you that there may be others which you do not know. Do not infer from these your days of apprenticeship, the conclusion that there is nothing more to be known, but rather that there is infinitely more.

4. The way of God, who does all things well, is to plant religion in the understanding by reasoning, and in the heart by his grace. But to seek to introduce it, either to the head or the heart by violence, and by threatening, is not to infuse religion, but terror. Begin by pitying the incredulous. They are sufficiently unfortunate. We should not rail at them, but when it may profit them; but it injures them.

The whole of our faith is to be found in Jesus Christ and Adam. The whole of morals, in the ideas of corruption and grace.

5. The heart has its reasonings, which reason does not apprehend. We feel this in a thousand instances. It loves universal being naturally, and self naturally, just as it takes a fancy; and it hardens itself against either as it will. You have chosen one, and renounced the other. Was this a matter of reason with you?

6. The world exists for the exercise of mercy and judgment upon men; not as beings now issuing pure from the hands of God, but as the enemies of God, to whom he gives, as a matter of grace, sufficient light for their return, if they will seek and follow it: but sufficient to warrant their punishment if they refuse.

7. After all, it must be acknowledged, that the Christian religion has something very wonderful in it. It is, says one, because you were born to it. Far from it. I resist it for that very reason; lest I should be biassed by a prepossession. But though I were born to it, I believe that I should have felt the same.

8. There are two ways of inculcating the truths of our religion, one by the force of reason, the other by the authority of Him who declares them. Men do not use the latter, but the former. They do not say, We must believe this, for the Scriptures which teach it are divine; but we must believe for this and the other reason, our own weak arguments; for reason itself is easily perverted.

Those who appear most hostile to the glory of religion, are not altogether useless to others. We would conclude, in the first place, that there is something supernatural in their hostility, for a blindness so great is not natural. But if their own folly makes them such enemies to their own welfare, it may serve as a warning to others, by the dread of an example so melancholy, and a folly so much to be pitied.

9. Without Jesus Christ, the world could not continue to exist. It must either be destroyed, or become a hell.

Does he who knows human nature, know it only to be miserable? And will he only who knows it, be the only miserable?

It was not necessary that man should see nothing at all. It was not necessary that he should see sufficient to believe that he had hold of truth; but it was necessary that he should see sufficient to know that he has lost it. To ascertain what he has lost, he must both see and not see; and this is precisely the state of human nature.

It was necessary that the true religion should teach us both our greatness and our misery, and lead us both to the esteem and contempt, the love and the hatred, of self.

10. Religion is a matter of such importance, that it is quite just, that they who will not be at the pains to seek it, if it is obscure, should not discover it. What can they complain of, if it is such, that it may be found for seeking?

Pride counterbalances and cancels all our miseries. How monstrous this is, and how manifestly man is astray! He is fallen from his high estate, and he seeks it again restlessly.

After we had become corrupt, it was right that we who are in that state should know it; both those who delight in it, and those who do not. But it is not necessary that all should see the way of redemption.

When you say that Christ did not die for all, you give occasion to a voice of the human heart, which constantly applies to itself the exception. Thus you give rise to despair, instead of cherishing hope.

11. The wicked who abandon themselves blindly to their lusts, without the knowledge of God, and without troubling themselves to seek him, verify in themselves this fundamental principle of the faith which they oppose, that human nature is corrupt. And the Jews who oppose so stubbornly the Christian religion, confirm also this other fundamental truth of the religion which they oppose—that Jesus Christ is the true Messiah, and that he is come to redeem men, and to deliver them from corruption and misery—as much by their state at the present day, which is found predicted in their prophetic writings, as by those same prophecies which they hold, and which they scrupulously preserve, as containing the marks by which they are to recognize Messiah. And thus, the proofs of human corruption, and of the redemption of Jesus Christ, which are the two leading truths of the system, are drawn from the profane who boast their utter indifference to this religion, and from the Jews, who are its avowed and irreconcilable enemies.

12. The dignity of man in his state of innocence, consisted in the dominion of the creatures, and in using them; but now, it consists in avoiding and subduing them.

13. Many persons go so much the more dangerously astray, because they assume a truth as the foundation of their error. Their fault is not the following a falsehood; but the following of one truth, to the exclusion of another.

There are many truths, both in faith and morals, which seem repugnant and contrary to each other, and which are yet linked together in a most beautiful order.

The source of all heresies, is the exclusion of some one or other of these truths; and the source of all the objections, which heretics bring forward, is the ignorance of some of these truths. And it usually happens, that being unable to conceive the relation between two apparently opposing truths,

and believing that the adoption of one, involves the rejection of the other; they do actually embrace the one, and renounce the other.

The Nestorians maintained, that there were two persons in Jesus Christ, because there were two natures; and the Eutychians, on the contrary, that there was but one nature, because there was but one person. The orthodox unite the two truths, of two natures, and one person.

The shortest way to prevent heresy, is to teach the whole truth; and the surest way of refuting heresy, is to meet it by an unreserved declaration of truth.

Grace will be ever in the world, and nature also. There will always be Pelagians, and always men of the catholic faith; because our first birth makes the one, and the second birth the other.

It will be one of the severest pangs of the damned, to find that they are condemned, even by their own reason, by which they pretended to condemn the Christian religion.

14. It is a common feature of the lives of ordinary men, and of saints, that they are all seeking happiness; they differ only in respect to the point where they place it. Each counts him an enemy, who prevents his attaining the desired object.

We should determine what is good or evil by the will of God, who can neither be unjust or blind, and not by our own will, which is always full of wickedness and error.

15. Jesus Christ has given in the gospel, this criterion of those who have faith, that they speak a new language; and, in fact, the renewing of the thoughts and wishes, alters the conversation also. For these new things, which cannot be displeasing to God, in the same way as the old man could not please him, differ widely from earthly novelties.—The things of the world, however novel, soon grow old in the using; while this new spiritual nature becomes newer and fresher as it goes forward. *Our outward man perishes*, says St. Paul, *but the inner man is renewed day by day*. And it will never be completely renewed, but in eternity, where they sing without ceasing, the new song of which David speaks in his Psalms; (Psalm xxxiii. 3.) the song which flows spontaneously from the pure spirit of love.

16. When St. Peter and the apostles (Acts xv.) deliberated on the abolishing of circumcision, where the point in question involved an apparent contradiction of the law of God; they did not consult the prophets, but held by the simple fact of the gift of the Holy Ghost to those who were uncircumcised. They judged it a more certain way of settling the question, that God approved those whom he had filled with his Spirit, than that it did not become them to observe the law. They knew that the end of the law was but the gift of the Spirit; and that since they had received it without circumcision, the ceremony was not essentially necessary.

17. Two laws are better fitted to govern the whole Christian republic, than all political codes whatever. These are, the love of God, and the love of our neighbor.

Our religion is adapted to minds of every order. The multitude looks only at its present state and establishment; and our religion is such, that its establishment is a sufficient evidence of its truth. Others trace it up to the apostles. The best informed follow it up to the creation of the world. The angels see better and farther still; they trace it up to God himself.

Those to whom God has given religion as the feeling of the heart, are happy indeed, and thoroughly satisfied of its truth. But for those who have not this experience, we can only reason with them, and wait till God himself shall stamp this impression on the heart, without which faith cannot be saving.

God, to reserve to himself the sole right of teaching us, and to render this difficult problem of our being more completely incomprehensible to us, has concealed the clue to it, so high, or rather so low, that we cannot reach it; so that it is not by the energies of reason, but by the simple submission of reason, that we shall at length really know ourselves.

18. The wicked, who profess to follow the dictates of reason, had need be wonderfully strong in their reasoning. What do they say then? Do we not see, say they, that brutes live and die like men, and Turks like Christians. Have not the Turks their ceremonies, prophets, doctors, saints, and religionists as we have? Well, and is this contrary to Scripture? Do not the Scriptures affirm all this? If you have little care to know the truth, you know enough now to allow you still to slumber. But you wish with all your heart to know the truth, it is not enough. You must examine minutely. This might be enough for some mere question of vain philosophy. But here, where every thing is at stake, it is not. And yet, many a man, after a flimsy reflection like this, returns to trifles.

It is dreadful to feel every thing we possess, and every thing we learn to value, gliding continually away, without a serious wish, on our parts, to inquire, if there is nothing else that is permanent.

A different mode of life in this world, should surely follow these different suppositions, either that we may abide here for ever, or that it being sure that we cannot be here long, it is doubtful whether we shall be here another hour. This last supposition is our actual case.

19. You are bound by your circumstances to make your best exertions for the discovery of the truth. For if you die without the worship of Him, who is the true principle of all things, you are lost. But, you say, if he had wished me to worship him, he would have given me some indications of his will. And so he has; but you neglect them. The least you can do, is to seek them; and it will well repay you.

The Atheists ought to be able to say their things with absolute certainty. Now, it seems to me, that a man must be insane, who could affirm it as absolutely certain, that the human soul is mortal. I can quite understand a man's not seeing it necessary to fathom the Copernican system; but the knowledge, whether the soul be mortal or immortal, is essential to every step in life.

20. Prophecies, miracles, and all the other proofs of our religion, are not of that sort, that we can say they are geometrically convincing. But, at present, it is sufficient if you grant me, that it is not contrary to sound reason to believe them. They have their brightness and their obscurity, calculated to illuminate some, and to darken others. But the brightness is such, that it outshines, or, at the least, equals the clearest presumption to the contrary; so much so, that sound reason never can determine not to accept the evidence, and probably it is only the corruption and depravity of the heart that do. There is in the evidence, also, sufficient plainness to condemn those who refuse to believe, though not enough to compel belief; and hence it is evident, that in those who follow the light, it is grace, and not reason, which causes them to pursue; and in those who turn away, it is their corruption, and not their reason, that makes them fly from it.

Who can hesitate to admire a religion, which is evidently so thoroughly informed on matters, the truth of which we recognize increasingly, in proportion to the increase of our light.

A man who discovers proofs of the Christian religion, is like a heritor finding the titles to his property. Will he say that they are invalid, or neglect to examine them?

21. Two sorts of persons know God; those whose hearts are humbled, and who, whatever be the measure of their intellect, whether common or elevated, love reproach and self-abasement; and those who have sufficient determination to seek out, and maintain the truth, whatever opposition they meet with.

Those wise men among the heathen, who affirmed the unity of God, were persecuted; the Jews were hated; and Christians even more so.

22. The resurrection of the dead, and the conception by the Virgin Mary, appear to me to present no greater obstacle to belief, than the creation of the world. Is it more difficult to re-produce a man, than to create man at first? And if we had not become familiar with the notion of natural generation, would it have been more strange to us, that a child should spring from a woman only, than from a man and a woman?

23. There is a vast difference between peace and assurance of conscience. Nothing short of a sincere search after truth, should give peace; but nothing short of an actual possession of truth itself can give assurance.

There are two articles of faith, equally unquestionable; the one, that man in his primitive state, or in a state of grace, is elevated above all the natural world, is assimilated to God, and made a partaker of the divine nature; the other, that in this state of corruption and of sin, he is fallen from that elevation, and become like the brute creation.—These two propositions are equally true. The Scripture affirms both of these unequivocally. In Prov. viii. 31. *My delight is with the sons of men.* In Joel ii. 28. *I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.* In Psalms lxxxii. 6. *I have said, ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High.* Then again, it is said, in Isaiah xl. 6 *All flesh is grass,* &c. In Psalms xlix. 12. *Man is like unto the beasts that perish.* And in Eccles. iii. 18, 19. *I said in my heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other, yea, they have all one breath, so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast: for all is vanity.*

24. The instances of the heroic death of the Spartans and others, affect us very little; for in what way do they bear upon our case? But the death of the martyrs comes home to our bosoms, for they are our very members; we have one common interest with them; their resolution may go to form our own. There is nothing of this in the instances of heathen heroism; we have no point of union with them. In the same way as I am not made wealthy by the enriching of a stranger, but I am by the wealth of a parent or a husband.

25. We can never break off an attachment without pain. As St. Augustine says, A man does not feel the chain, when he voluntarily follows him who leads him by it; but when he begins to resist, and to go the other way, then he suffers—the chain tightens, and suffers violence. Such a chain is our body, which breaks only by death. Our Lord has said, from the coming of John the Baptist, (i. e.* from his entrance into the heart of each believer,) *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.* Before the heart is touched, we have only the dead weight of our corruption, dragging us down to the earth. But when God draws us from above, there arises between these opposing influences, that fearful struggle in which God alone can overcome. But, as St. Leon says, We can do every thing through him, without whom we can do nothing. We must resolve, then, to sustain this warfare all our life long, for here there cannot be peace. Jesus Christ is *not come to bring peace on earth, but a sword.* But yet we must admit, that as the wisdom of men is foolishness with God, so even this warfare which seems so trying to men, is actually peace with God; it is the very experience of that peace, which Jesus Christ has accomplished. It cannot, however, be perfected in us, till the body is dissolved. And this it is which gives rise to the wish for death, even while we cheerfully endure a lengthened life for the love of him, who underwent both life and death for us; *and who,* as St. Paul says, *is able to do for us far more abundantly than we can ask or think.*

26. We should try never to be afflicted at any thing, but to consider every event as happening for the best. I believe this to be a duty, and that we sin in not performing it. For, in fact, the reason why sin is sin, is merely its contrariety to the will of God; and thus, the essence of sin consisting in opposition to that which we know to be the will of God, it appears to me evident, that when He discovers to us his will by the events of his Providence, it is a sin not to approve it.

27. When truth is abandoned and persecuted, then is the time apparently, when our services in its defence are most pleasing in the sight of God. We may judge of grace by the analogies of nature; and hence, we are allowed to conclude, that as an expatriated prince feels a peculiarly kind esteem for the few of his subjects who continue faithful amidst a general revolt; so will God regard, with a peculiar favor, those who defend the purity of religion in a day of rebuke and blasphemy. But there is this difference between the kings of the earth, and the King of kings, that princes do not make their subjects faithful, they find them so; whilst God finds all men faithless, who are without his grace, and makes them faithful when they are so. So that, whilst on the one hand, kings must confess their obligation to those who remain dutiful and obedient; on the other, those who remain steadfast in the service of God, owe it as a matter of infinite obligation to him only.

28. Neither the discipline of the body, nor the distresses of the mind, are really meritorious. It is only the gracious emotions of the heart, that sustain the body and the mind in suffering, and attach a value to such sorrows. For, in fact, these two things, pains and pleasures, are needful for sanctification. St. Paul has said, that we must, through much tribulation, enter the kingdom of God. This should comfort those who experience trial, because having learned that the way to the heaven which they seek, is full of trouble, it should rejoice them to recognize such proofs that they are in the right road. But those very pains are not without their pleasures, and the overcoming of them is always accompanied with pleasure. For, as those who forsake God, to return to the world, do so only because they find more delight in the pleasures of earth, than in those which flow from union with God, and that such charms carry them triumphantly away, and causing them to re ent their former choice, make them, at last, as Tertullian says, the devil's penitents; so no one ever quits the pleasures of the world, to embrace the cross of Christ, if he has not found more delight in reproach, and poverty, and destitution, and the scorn of men, than in all the pleasures of sin. And thus, as Tertullian says, we must not suppose the Christian's life to be

*This is an accommodation of the text, but it is ingenious.

a life of sorrow. He abandons not the pleasures of earth, but for others far more noble. St. Paul says, *Pray without ceasing; in every thing give thanks; rejoice evermore.* It is the joy of having found God, which is the real principle of our regret at having offended him, and of our whole change of life. He who has found the *treasure hid in a field, has*, according to Jesus Christ, *such joy thereof, that he sells all that he hath to buy it.* Matth. xiii. 44. The men of the world have their sorrow; but they have not that joy, which, as Jesus Christ says, *the world can neither give, nor take away.* The blessed in heaven have this joy, without any alloy of grief. Christians here have this joy, mingled with regret, at having sought after questionable pleasures, and with the fear of losing it, through the influence of those indulgences, which still minister unceasing temptation. We should endeavor then continually to cherish this fear, which husbands and regulates our joy; and according as we find ourselves leaning too much to the one, we should incline towards the other, that we may be kept from falling.

Remember your blessings in the day of your sorsow, and in the day of prosperity remember your afflictions, till that day, when the promise of Jesus, that our joy in him shall be full, is accomplished. Let us not give way to melancholy. Let us not conceive that piety consists in unmitigated bitterness of soul. True piety, which is only perfected in heaven, is so full of consolations, that they are showered on its beginning, its progress, and its crown. It is a light so brilliant, that it reflects illumination on all which belongs to it. If some sorrow mingles with it, especially at the commencement, this originates in us, not in the way that we take. It is not the result of piety newly infused into us, but of the impiety which yet remains. Take away sin, and unmingled joy is left. If we mourn then, let us not lay the blame upon our religion, but upon ourselves; and let us seek only in our amendment for relief.

29. The past should present to us no difficulties, since we have but one duty towards it—regret for our errors; the future should still less trouble us; because it is not in the least degree under our control, and we may never reach it. The present is the only moment which is really ours, and we ought to occupy it for God. To this our thoughts should chiefly be directed. Yet man, in general, is so restless, that he scarcely ever thinks of the life present and the actual instant of his existence now, but only of that in which he will live hereafter. His propensity is always to live prospectively, but never to live now. Yet our Lord did not wish our forethought to go beyond the day in which we now live. These are the limits which he requires us to keep, both for our future safety, and our present peace.

30. We sometimes learn more from the sight of evil, than from an example of good; and it is well to accustom ourselves to profit by the evil which is so common, while that which is good is so rare.

31. In the 13th chapter of Mark, Jesus Christ speaks largely to his apostles of his second coming; and as the experience of the church in general, is the experience of every Christian in particular, it is certain that this chapter predicts, not only the entire destruction of the world, to make way for a new heavens and a new earth, but also the state of each individual, in whom, at his conversion, the old man is destroyed. The prediction which it contains of the ruin of the reprobated temple, which represents the ruin of the old and reprobate man in each of us; and of which it is said, that not one stone shall be left upon another, indicates that not one affection of the old man shall be suffered to remain; and those fearful, civil, and domestic wars which are there foretold, are a too accurate picture of the inward conflict that they feel who give themselves up to God.

33. The elect are unconscious of their virtues; the reprobate of their crimes. Both will say at the last day, *Lord, when saw we thee an hungered.* Matth. xxv.

Jesus Christ did not desire the testimony of devils, nor of those who were not called; but of God, and of John the Baptist.

34. The faults of Montaigne are very great. He abounds with improper and impure expressions. His thoughts on wilful murder, and on death, are dreadful. He inspires an indifference about salvation, without fear or repentance. As his book was not written to inculcate religion, he need not have pressed it; but a man is bound not to write against it. Whatever may be said to excuse the licence of his opinions on many subjects, it is impossible in any way to palliate his heathen notions about death. For a man must have utterly renounced all religion, who does not, at all events, wish to die like a Christian: now throughout his whole book, he thinks only of dying basely and contemptibly.

36. With those who have an aversion to religion, we should begin by showing them, that it is not contrary to reason; then that it is venerable and worthy of their respect; next, we should put it before them in an amiable light, and lead them to wish that it were true; and lastly, show them by positive proof that it is true; point out its antiquity and purity, its dignity and elevation; and finally, its loveliness, as promising to us the true good.

One word from David or from Moses, such as, *God will circumcise your hearts*, serves to determine men's views. Let all the rest of a man's discourse be doubtful, and let it be uncertain whether he is a philosopher or a Christian; one sentence like this gives a color to all the rest. Up to that point there may be doubt; but not afterwards.

Though we should be in error in believing the Christian religion true, we should lose but little by it. But how sad to have been in error, in believing it false.

37. Those circumstances in life which, according to the world, are the easiest to live in, are the most difficult according to the will of God. On the contrary, nothing is so difficult in the estimation of the world as the religious life; whilst, according to God's rule, there is nothing more easy. Nothing is easier than to perform important duties, and manage great wealth, according to the morality of the world. Nothing is more difficult than to live to God in such a situation, without acquiring an interest, and a conformity of taste for such pursuits.

38. The Old Testament contained a typical presentation of future happiness, and the New Testament teaches the way to obtain it. The typical scene was full of joy; but the way to the reality is penitence. And yet, even then, the Paschal Lamb was eaten with bitter herbs; a perpetual lesson, that bitterness and sorrow are the road to joy.

39. The apparently casual utterance of the word Galilee by the Jewish crowd, when they accused Jesus before Pilate, gave occasion to Pilate to send him to Herod, by which event, the mystery was fulfilled, that he should be judged both by the Jews and the Gentiles. A mere accident, as far as we see, led to the fulfilment of the pre-determined mystery.

41. It is pleasant to be in a vessel beaten by the storm, when we have the assurance of safety. This is precisely the character of the persecutions of the church.

The history of the church, should be called a history of truth.

42. The two great sources of our sins are pride and indolence; and God has been pleased to make

known, in himself, two corresponding means of cure, his mercy and his justice. The proper effect of his justice is to abase our pride; and that of his mercy, is to overcome our indolence, by stimulating us to good works according to that text, Romans ii. 4. *The goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance;* and that of the Ninevites, Jonah iii. 9. *Who can tell if God will return and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger that we perish not.* And thus, so far is the mercy of God from encouraging licentiousness, that, on the contrary, nothing is so directly opposed to it. And instead of saying, "If there had not been mercy in God, we must have made a most strenuous effort to obey his laws;" we ought, on the contrary, to say, "Because He is a God of mercy, we must do our utmost to obey him."

43. All that is in the world is the *lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.* Wo for that land of curse, along which these three streams pour forth their waves of kindling flame. Happy they, who, though they lie upon the bosom of these streams, are neither engulfed nor hurried down by them, but remain immoveably secure; not however standing boldly erect, but occupying a safe, though humble seat, from which they rise not till the light shall dawn; but who, resting there in peace, spread forth their hands to Him who can and will deliver them, and plant their feet firmly within the gates of the holy city, where they need fear the assaults of human pride no more;—and who yet weep, not to see the perishing goods of this world rolling down that fearful tide, but at the remembrance of that land, a better land, the heavenly Jerusalem, for which they sigh incessantly, through the period of a lengthened exile.

44. A miracle, they say, would determine our belief. Men speak thus, while they see no further. But those reasons, which, when seen at a distance, seem to limit our range, do not limit us when we have attained to them. We begin a fresh prospect from that very point. Nothing bounds the rapid march of mind. There is scarcely, it is said, a rule without an exception; nor a truth so general, but that there are some cases in which its application is questionable. It is sufficient that it is not absolutely universal, to give us a pretext for assuming that the case in point is the exception, and to say, "That is not always true; then there are cases when it is not true:" then it only remains to show, that this is one of such cases, and it were inexpert indeed not to manage that some way.

45. Charity is not a metaphorical precept. To say that Jesus Christ, who came to supersede types, by realities, is only come to teach a metaphorical charity, and to annul the real virtue which existed before, is abominable.

46. How many stars have our glasses discovered, which were formerly invisible to our philosophers! They boldly attacked the Scripture, because they found it frequently speaking of the great number of the stars. They said, "There are but one thousand and twenty-two in all; we have counted them."

47. Man is so constituted, that by merely telling him he is a fool, he will, at length, believe it; and, if he tells himself so, he will make himself believe it. For man holds an inward communication with himself, which ought to be well regulated, since even here, *Evil communications corrupt good manners.* We ought to keep silence as much as possible, and commune with ourselves of God, and thus we shall soon convince ourselves of what we really are.

49. Our own will, even in the possession of all that it can desire, would not be satisfied. But the instant we renounce it, we are content. With it, we cannot but be dissatisfied; without it, we cannot but be happy.

The true and only virtue, consists in self-abhorrence; because corruption has made us hateful; and in seeking a being truly worthy of love, that we may love him. But as we cannot love that which is beyond us, we must love a being who is within us, but not identified with us. Now, none but the Omnipresent Being can be such. *The kingdom of God is within us.* The universal Good dwells in us, yet is He distinct from us.

It is unwise in any one to become fondly attached to us, though it be, on their part, a matter of voluntary choice and of delight. We cannot but deceive those in whom we have created such an affection —for we cannot be to any one their ultimate object, or give them plenary enjoyment. Are we not ourselves ready to perish? And so the object of their regard must die. As we should be criminal in making any one believe a falsehood, though we persuaded him to it kindly, and he believed it with pleasure, and gave us pleasure by believing; so are we guilty, if we make others love us, and try to allure their affections to ourselves. Whatever advantage might accrue to us by a falsehood, we ought to inform those who are about to believe it, that it is not true. And so also should we warn our fellows against an attachment to ourselves, when their whole life should be spent in seeking after God, or in studying to please him.

50. It is superstition to repose our confidence in forms and ceremonies; but not to submit to them is pride.

51. All other sects and religions have had natural reason for their guide. Christians only have been compelled to look beyond themselves for a rule of guidance, and to study that which Jesus Christ delivered to the primitive saints, for transmission to his people. There are some who fret under this control. They wish, like other people, to follow their own inclinations. It is vain for us to say to them, *Stand ye in the way, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein.* They answer like the Jews, *We will not walk therein; but we will certainly do according to the thoughts of our own heart, like the nations round about us.*

52. There are three means of faith, reasoning, custom, and inspiration. The Christian religion, which alone has reason to support it, admits not as its true converts, those who believe without inspiration. Not that it excludes the influences of reasoning and custom: on the contrary, it is right that the mind be open to rational proof, and acquire strength of faith by habit. Still our religion requires, that we humble ourselves to ask those spiritual influences which alone can produce a true and saving faith. As St. Paul says, *Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ be of none effect.*

53. We never do evil so thoroughly and cordially, as when we are led to it by a false principle of conscience.

54. The Jews who were called to subdue nations and their kings, have been the slaves of sin; and Christians whose calling was to serve, and be subject, are "the children that are free."

55. Is it courage in a dying man, to go in his weakness, and in his agony, and face the omnipotent and eternal God?

56. I readily believe that history, the witnesses of which have died a violent death in its support.

57. A proper fear of God originates in faith; a wrong fear, in doubt:—a right fear tends towards hope, because it springs from faith, and we do hope in the God whom we really believe:—an improper fear leads to despair, because we dread him in whom we have not faith. This fears to lose God, and that to find him.

58. Solomon and Job knew best, and exhibited most accurately the misery of man; the one being

the happiest, the other the most wretched of men: the one knowing experimentally the vanity of this world's pleasure; the other, the reality of its afflictions.

59. The heathen spoke ill of Israel; and so also did the prophet—and so far from the Israelites having a right to say, "You speak as the heathen," it appears that one of his strongest arguments was drawn from the fact, that the heathen spake like him.

60. God does not propose that we should submit to believe him contrary to our reason, or that he should make us the subjects of a mere tyrannical authority. At the same time, he does not profess to give us reasons for every thing he does. And to reconcile these contrarieties, he is pleased to exhibit to us clear and convincing proofs of what he is, and to establish his authority with us, by miracles and proofs which we cannot honestly reject; so that subsequently, we may believe without hesitation, the mysteries which he teaches, when we perceive that we have no other ground for rejecting them, but that we are not able of ourselves, to ascertain whether they are so as they appear or not.

61. Mankind is divided into three classes of persons; those who have found out God, and are serving him; those who are occupied in seeking after God, and have not yet found him; and those who have not only not found God, but are not seeking him. The first are wise and happy; the last are foolish and unhappy; the middle class are wise, and yet unhappy.

62. Men frequently mistake their imagination for their heart, and believe that they are converted as soon as they begin to think of turning to God.

Reason acts so tardily, and on the ground of so many different views and principles, which she requires to have always before her, that she is continually becoming drowsy and inert, or going actively astray for want of seeing the whole case at once. It is just the reverse with feeling; it acts at once, and is ever ready for action. It were well then, after our reason has ascertained what is truth, to endeavor to feel it, and to associate our faith with the affections of the heart; for without this it will ever be wavering and uncertain.

The heart has its reasons, of which reason knows nothing. We find this in a thousand instances. It is the heart which feels God, and not the reasoning powers. And this is faith made perfect:—God realized by feeling in the heart.

63. It is an essential feature of the character of God, that his justice is infinite, as well as his mercy. Yet certainly his justice and severity towards the impenitent, is less surprising than his mercy towards the elect.

64. Man is evidently made for thinking. Thought is all his dignity, and all his worth. To think rightly, is the whole of his duty; and the true order of thought, is to begin with himself, with his author, and his end. Yet on what do men in general think? Never on these things: but how to obtain pleasure, wealth, or fame; how to become kings, without considering what it is to be a king, or even to be a man.

Human thought is in its nature wonderful. To make it contemptible, it must have some strange defects; and yet it has such, that nothing appears more ridiculous. How exalted in its nature? How degraded in its misuse.

65. If there is a God, we ought to love him—not his creatures. The reasonings of the wicked in the Book of Wisdom, are founded on their persuasion, that there is no God. They say, Grant this, and our delight shall be in the creature. But, had they known that there is a God, they would have drawn a different conclusion; and that is the conclusion of the wise. "There is a God; seek not for happiness in creatures." Then every thing which allures us towards the love of the creature, is evil, because it so far hinders us from serving God, if we know him; or from seeking him, if we do not.—Now, we are full of concupiscence. Then we are full of evil. We must learn, then, to abhor ourselves, and all that would attach us to any other than God only.

66. When we would think of God, how many things we find which turn us away from him, and tempt us to think otherwise. All this is evil; yet it is innate.

67. That we are worthy of the love of others, is false. To wish for their love is unjust. Had we been born in a right state of mind, and with a due knowledge of ourselves and others, we should not have felt this wish. Yet we are born with it. We are then born unjust. Each one regards himself. That is contrary to all order. Each should regard the general good. This selfish bias is the source of all error, in war, in government, and in economy, &c.

If the members of each national and civil community should seek the good of the whole body, these communities themselves, should seek the good of that whole body of which they are members.

He who does not hate in himself that self-love, and that propensity which leads him to exalt himself above all others, must be blind indeed; for nothing is more directly contrary to truth and justice. For it is false that we deserve this exaltation; and to attain it, is both unjust and impossible; for every one seeks it. This disposition with which we are born, is manifestly unjust—an evil from which we cannot, but from which we ought, to free ourselves.

Yet, no other religion but the Christian has condemned this as a sin, or shown that we are born with it; and that we ought to resist it, or suggested a means of cure.

68. There is in man an internal war between his reason and his passions. He might have enjoyed some little repose, had he been gifted with reason, without the passions, or with passions independently of reason. But, possessed as he is of both, he cannot but be in a state of conflict, for he cannot make peace with the one, without being at war with the other.

If it is an unnatural blindness to live without inquiry as to what we really are; it is surely a far more fearful state, to live in sin, while we acknowledge God. The greater part of men, are the subjects of one or other of these states of blindness.

69. It is certain that the soul is either mortal or immortal. The decision of this question must make a total difference in the principles of morals. Yet philosophers have arranged their moral system entirely independent of this. What an extraordinary blindness!

However bright they make the comedy of life appear before, the last act is always stained with blood. The earth is laid upon our head, and there it lies for ever.

70. When God had created the heavens and the earth, which could feel no happiness in their own existence, it pleased him to create also a race of beings who should feel this, and they should constitute a compound body of thinking members. All men are members of this body; and in order to their happiness, it was requisite that their individual and private will be conformed to the general will, by which the whole body is regulated. Yet it often happens, that one man thinks himself an independent whole; and that, losing sight of the body with which he is associated, he believes that he depends only on himself, and wishes to be his own centre,

and his own circumference. But he finds himself in this state, like a member amputated from the body, and that having in himself no principle of life, he only wanders and becomes more confused in the uncertainty of his own existence. But when, at length, a man begins rightly to know himself, he is, as it were, returned to his senses; then he feels that he is not the body; he understands then that he is only a member of the universal body, and that to be a member, is to have no life, being, or motion, but by the spirit of the body, and for the body—that a member separated from the body to which he belongs, has only a remnant and expiring existence; and that he ought not to love himself, but for the sake of the body, or rather that he should love only the whole body, because in loving that, he loves himself, seeing that in it, for it, and by it, only has he any existence whatever.

For the regulation of that love which we should feel towards ourselves, we should imagine ourselves a body composed of thinking members, for we are members one of another; and thus, consider how far each member should love itself.

The body loves the hand, and if the hand had a will of its own, it should love itself precisely in that degree, that the body loves it. Any measure of love that exceeds this, is unjust.

If the feet and the hands had a separate will, they would never be in their place, but in submitting it to the will of the whole body; to do otherwise, is insubordination and error. But in seeking exclusively the good of the whole body, they cannot but consult their individual interest.

The members of our body are not aware of the advantage of their union, of their admirable sympathy, and of the care that nature takes to infuse into them vitality, and make them grow and endure. If they could know this, and availed themselves of their knowledge, to retain in themselves the nourishment which they received, without distributing it to the other members, they would not only be unjust, but actually miserable—they would be hating, and not loving themselves: their happiness, as well as their duty, consisting in submission to the guidance of that all pervading soul, which loves them better than they can love themselves.

He who is joined to the Lord is one spirit. I love myself, because I am a member of Jesus Christ. I love Jesus Christ, because he is the head of the body of which I am a member. All are in one; each one is in the other.

Concupiscence and compulsion are the sources of all our actions, purely human. Concupiscence gives rise to voluntary, and compulsion to involuntary actions.

71. The Platonists, and even Epictetus and his followers maintained, that God only was worthy of love and admiration; yet they sought for themselves the love and admiration of men. They had no idea of their own corruption. If they feel themselves naturally led to love and adore him, and to seek in them their chief joy, they are welcome to account themselves good. But if they feel a natural aversion to this, if they have no manifest bias, but to wish to establish themselves in the good opinion of men; and that all their perfection comes to this, to lead men, without compulsion, to find happiness in loving them; then I say, that such perfection is horrible. What, have they known God, and have not desired exclusively that his creatures should love him? Have they wished that the affections of men should stop at themselves? Have they wished to be to men, the object of their deliberate preference for happiness?

72. It is true, that there is difficulty in the practice of piety. But this difficulty does not rise from the piety that is now begun within us, but from the impiety that yet remains. If our sensuality were not opposed to penitence, and our corruption to the divine purity, there would be nothing painful in it. We only suffer just in proportion as the evil which is natural to us, resists the supernatural agency of grace. We feel our heart rending under these opposing influences. But it were sadly unjust to attribute this violence to God, who draws us to himself, rather than to the world, which holds us back. Our case is like that of an infant, whom its mother drags from the arms of robbers; and who, even in the agony of larceration, must love the fond and legitimate violence of her who struggles for its liberty, and can only detest the fierce and tyrannical might of those who detain it so unjustly. The most cruel war that God can wage against men in this life is, to leave them without that war which he has himself proclaimed. *I am come*, said Christ, *to bring war*; and to provide for this war, he says, *I am come to bring fire and sword*. Matt. x. 34. Luke xii. 49. Before this, the world lived in a false and delusive peace.

73. God looks at the interior. The church judges only by the exterior. God absolves as soon as he sees penitence in the heart. The church only when she sees it in our works. God makes a church, which is pure within, and which confounds, by its internal and spiritual sanctity, the impious superficial pretences of the self-sufficient and the Pharisee. And the church forms a company of men, whose outward manners are so pure, as to condemn the habits of the heathen. If there are within her border, hypocrites so well concealed, that she detects not their malignity, she permits their continuance, for though they are not received by God, whom they cannot deceive, they are received by men, whom they can. In such cases, however, the church is not outwardly dishonored, for their conduct has the semblance of holiness.

74. The law has not destroyed natural principle; it instructs nature. Grace has not abrogated the law; it enables us to fulfil it.

We make an idol even of truth itself; for truth, apart from charity, is not God. It is but his image, an idol that we ought neither to love nor worship; still less should we love and adore its contrary, which is falsehood.

75. All public amusements are full of danger to the Christian life; but amongst all those which the world has invented, none is more to be feared than sentimental comedy. It is a representation of the passions so natural and delicate, that it awakens them, and gives them fresh spring in the heart—especially the passion of love, and still more so, when it is exhibited as eminently chaste and virtuous. For the more innocent it is made to appear to innocent minds, the more are they laid open to its influence. The violence of it gratifies our self-love, which speedily desires to give rise to the same effects, which we have seen represented. In the mean while, also, conscience justifies itself by the honorable nature of those feelings which have been portrayed, so far as to calm the fears of a pure mind, and to suggest the idea that it can surely be no violation of purity to love with an affection so apparently rational. And thus, we leave the theatre with a heart teeming with the delights and the tendernesses of love; and with the understanding so persuaded of its innocence, that we are fully prepared to receive its first impressions, or rather to seek the opportunity of giving birth to them in the heart of another, that we may receive the same pleasures, and the same adulation which we saw so well depicted on the stage.

76. Licentious opinions are so far naturally pleasing to men, that it is strange that any should be displeased with them. But this is only when they

have exceeded all moderate bounds. Besides, there are many people who perceive the truth, though they cannot act up to it. And there are few who do not know that the purity of religion is opposed to such lax opinions, and that it is folly to affirm, that an eternal reward awaits a life of licentiousness.

77. I feared that I might have written erroneously, when I saw myself condemned; but the example of so many pious witnesses made me think differently. It is no longer allowable to write truth.

The Inquisition is entirely corrupt or ignorant. It is better to obey God than man. I fear nothing. I hope for nothing. The Port Royal feared. It was bad policy to separate the two, for when they feared the least, they made themselves feared the most.

Silence is the bitterest persecution. But the saints have never held their peace. It is true that there should be a call to speak; but we are not to learn this from the decrees of the council, but from the necessity of speaking.

If my letters are condemned at Rome, that which I condemned in them, is condemned in heaven.

The Inquisition, and the society of Jesuits, are the two scourges of the truth.

78. I was asked, *first*, if I repented of having written the Provincial Letters? I answered, That far from repenting, if I had it to do again, I would write them yet more strongly.

I was asked in the *second* place, why I named the authors from whom I extracted those abominable passages which I have cited? I answered, If I were in a town where there were a dozen fountains, and I knew for certain that one of them was poisoned, I should be under obligation to tell the world not to draw from that fountain; and, as it might be supposed, that this was a mere fancy on my part, I should be obliged to name him who had poisoned it, rather than expose a whole city to the risk of death.

I was asked, *thirdly*, why I adopted an agreeable, jocose, and entertaining style? I answered, If I had written dogmatically, none but the learned would have read my book; and they had no need of it, knowing how the matter stood, at least as well as I did. I conceived it therefore my duty to write, so that my letters might be read by women, and people in general, that they might know the danger of all those maxims and propositions which were then spread abroad, and admitted with so little hesitation.

Finally, I was asked If I had myself read all the books which I quoted? I answered, No. To do this, I had need have passed the greater part of my life in reading very bad books. But I have twice read Escobar throughout; and for the others, I got several of my friends to read them; but I have never used a single passage without having read it myself in the book quoted, without having examined the case in which it is brought forward, and without having read the preceding and subsequent context, that I might not run the risk of citing that for an answer, which was, in fact, an objection, which would have been very unjust and blameable.

79. The Arithmetical machine produces results which come nearer to thought, than any thing that brutes can do; but it does nothing that would, in the least, lead one to suppose that it has a will like them.

80. Some authors, speaking of their works, say, "My book, my commentary, my history." They betray their own vulgarity, who have just got a house over their heads, and have always, "My house," at their tongue's end. It were better to say, "Our book, our history, our commentary," &c. for generally there is more in it belonging to others than to themselves.

81. Christian piety annihilates the egotism of the heart; worldly politeness veils and represses it.

82. If my heart were as poor as my understanding, I should be happy, for I am thoroughly persuaded, that such poverty is a great means of salvation.

83. One thing I have observed, that let a man be ever so poor, he has always something to leave on his death bed.

84. I love poverty, because Jesus Christ loved it. I love wealth, because it gives the means of assisting the wretched. I wish to deal faithfully with all men. I render no evil to those who have done evil to me; but I wish them a condition similar to my own, in which they would not receive from the greater portion of men either good or evil. I aim to be always true, and just, and open towards all men. I have much tenderness of heart towards those whom God has more strictly united to me. Whether I am in secret, or in the sight of men, I have set before me in all my actions, the God who will judge them, and to whom I have consecrated them. These are my feelings; and I bless my Redeemer every day of my life, who has planted them in me; and who, from a man full of weakness, misery, lust, pride, and ambition, has formed one victorious over these evils by the power of that grace, to which I owe every thing, seeing that in myself there is nothing but misery and horror.

85. Disease is the natural state of Christians; for by its influence, we become what we should be at all times; we endure evil; we are deprived of all our goods, and of all the pleasures of sense; we are freed from the excitement of those passions which annoy us all through life; we live without ambition and without avarice, in the constant expectation of death. And is it not thus, that Christians should spend their days? And is it not real happiness to find ourselves placed by necessity in that state in which we ought to be, and that we have nothing to do, but humbly and peaceably submit to our lot. With this view, I ask for nothing else but to pray God that he would bestow this grace upon me.

86. It is strange that men have wished to dive into the principles of things, and to attain to universal knowledge; for surely it were impossible to cherish such a purpose, without a capacity, or the presumption of a capacity, as boundless as nature itself.

87. Nature has many perfections to show that it is an image of the Deity. It has defects, to show that it is but an image.

88. Men are so completely fools by necessity, that he is but a fool in a higher strain of folly, who does not confess his foolishness.

89. Do away the doctrine of probability, and you please the world no longer. Give them the doctrine of probability, and you cannot but please them.

90. If that which is contingent were made certain, the zeal of the saints, for the practice of good works, would be useless.

91. It must be grace indeed that makes a man a saint. And who, even in his most doubtful mood, does not know what constitutes a saint, and what a natural man?

96. The smallest motion is of importance in nature. The whole substance of the sea moves when we throw in a pebble. So in the life of grace, the most trifling action has a bearing in its consequences upon the whole. Every thing then is important.

97. Naturally men hate each other. Much use has been made of human corruption, to make it subserve the public good. But then, all this is but

deception; a false semblance of charity; really it is only hatred after all. This vile resource of human nature, this *figmentum malum* is only covered. It is not removed.

98. They, who say that man is too insignificant to be admitted to communion with God, had need be more than ordinarily great to know it assuredly.

99. It is unworthy of God to join himself to man in his miserable degradation; but it is not so to bring him forth from that misery.

100. Who ever heard such absurdities? sinners purified without penitence; just men made perfect without the grace of Christ; God without a controlling power over the human will; predestination without mystery; and a Redeemer without the certainty of salvation.

103. That Christianity is not the only religion, is no real objection to its being true. On the contrary, this is one of the means of proof that it is true.

104. In a state established as a republic, like Venice, it were a great sin to try to force a king upon them, and to rob the people of that liberty which God had given them. But in a state where monarchical power has been admitted, we cannot violate the respect due to the king, without a degree of sacrilege; for as the power that God has conferred on him, is not only a representation, but a participation of the power of God, we may not oppose it without resisting manifestly the ordinance of God. Moreover, as civil war, which is the consequence of such resistance, is one of the greatest evils that we can commit in violation of the love of our neighbor, we can never sufficiently magnify the greatness of the crime. The primitive Christians did not teach us revolt, but patience, when kings trampled upon their rights.

I am as far removed from the probability of this sin, as from assassination and robbery on the highway. There is nothing more contrary to my natural disposition, and to which I am less tempted.

105. Eloquence is the art of saying things in such a manner, that in the *first* place, those to whom we speak, may hear them without pain, and with pleasure; and, in the *second*, that they may feel interested in them, and be led by their own self-love, to a more willing reflection on them. It consists in the endeavor to establish a correspondence between the understanding and heart of those to whom we speak, on the one hand, and the thoughts and expressions of which, we make use on the other; an idea which supposes, at the outset, that we have well studied the human heart, to know all its recesses, and rightly to arrange the proportions of a discourse, calculated to meet it. We ought to put ourselves in the place of those to whom we speak, and try upon our own heart, the turn of thought which we give to a discourse, and thus ascertain if the one is adapted to the other, and if we can in this way acquire the conviction, that the hearer will be compelled to surrender to it. Our strength should be, in being simple and natural, neither inflating that which is little, nor lowering that which is really grand. It is not enough that the statement be beautiful. It should suit the subject, having nothing exuberant, nothing defective.

Eloquence is a pictural representation of thought; and hence those who, after having painted it, make additions to it, give us a fancy picture, but not a portrait.

106. The Holy Scripture is not a science of the understanding, but of the heart. It is intelligible only to those who have an honest and good heart. The veil that is upon the Scriptures, in the case of the Jews, is there also in the case of Christians. Charity is not only the end of the Holy Scriptures, but the entrance to them.

107. If we are to do nothing, but where we have the advantage of certainty, then we should do nothing in religion; for religion is not a matter of certainty. But how many things we do uncertainly, as sea voyages, battles, &c. I say then, that we should do nothing at all, for nothing is certain. There is more of certainty in religion, than in the hope that we shall see the morrow; for it is not certain that we shall see the morrow. But it is certainly possible, that we may not see to-morrow.* And this cannot be affirmed of religion. It is not certain that religion is; but who will dare to say, that it is certainly possible that it is not? Now when we labor for to-morrow, and upon an uncertainty, reason justifies us.

108. The inventions of men progressively improve from age to age. The goodness and the wickedness of men in general remain the same.

109. A man must acquire a habit of more philosophic speculation and thought on what he sees, and form his judgment of things by that, while he speaks generally to others in more popular language.

111.† Casual circumstances give rise to thoughts, and take them away again; there is no art of creating or preserving them.

112. You think that the church should not judge of the inward man, because this belongs only to God; nor of the outward man, because God judges of the heart; and thus, destroying all power of discriminating human character, you retain within the church the most dissolute of men, and men who so manifestly disgrace it, that even the synagogues of the Jews, and the sects of philosophers would have ejected them as worthless, and consigned them to abhorrence.

113. Whoever will, may now be made a priest, as in the days of Jeroboam.

114. The multitude which is not brought to act as unity, is confusion. That unity which has not its origin in the multitude, is tyranny.

115. Men consult only the ear, for want of the heart.

116. We should be able to say in every dialogue or discourse, to those who are offended at it, "Of what can you complain?"

117. Children are alarmed at the face which they have themselves disguised; but how is it, that he who is so weak as an infant, is so bold in maturer years? Alas, his weakness has only changed its subject!

118. It is alike incomprehensible that God is, and that he is not; that the soul is in the body, and that we have no soul; that the world is, or is not created; that there is, or is not such a thing as original sin.

119. The statements of atheists ought to be perfectly clear of doubt. Now it is not perfectly clear, that the soul is material.

120. Unbelievers are the most credulous! They believe the miracles of Vespasian, that they may not believe the miracles of Moses.

ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESCARTES.

We may say generally, the world is made by figure and motion, for that is true; but to say what figure and motion, and to specify the composition of the machine, is perfectly ridiculous; for it is useless, questionable, and laborious. But, if it be all true, the whole of the philosophy is not worth an hour's thought.

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*That is, we know of possible events by which this might be the case.

†The thought 110, is not found in the MSS. but only in the edition of Condorcet, an authority certainly not to be followed.

CHAPTER XXII.

THOUGHTS ON DEATH, EXTRACTED FROM A LETTER OF M. PASCAL, ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.

When we are in affliction, owing to the death of some friend whom we loved, or some other misfortune that has happened to us, we ought not to seek for consolation in ourselves, nor in our fellow-creatures, nor in any created thing; we should seek it in God only. And the reason is, that creatures are not the primary cause of those occurrences which we call evils. But that the providence of God being the true and sole cause of them, the arbiter and the sovereign, we ought, undoubtedly, to have recourse directly to their source, and ascend even to their origin, to obtain satisfactory alleviation. For, if we follow this precept, and consider this afflicting bereavement, not as the result of chance, nor as a fatal necessity of our nature; not as the sport of those elements and atoms of which man is formed, (for God has not abandoned his elect to the risk of caprice or chance,) but as the indispensable, inevitable, just, and holy result of a decree of the providence of God, to be executed in the fulness of time; and, in fact, that all which happens has been eternally present and pre-ordained in God; if, I say, by the teachings of grace we consider this casualty, not in itself, and independently of God, but viewed independently of self, and as in the will of God, and in the justice of his decree, and the order of his Providence; which is, in fact, the true cause, without which it could not have happened, by which alone it has happened, and happened in the precise manner in which it has; we should adore in humble silence the inaccessible elevation of his secrecy; we should venerate the holiness of his decrees; we should bless the course of his providence; and, uniting our will to the very will of God, we should desire with him, in him, and for him, those very things which he has wished in us, and for us, from all eternity.

2. There is no consolation but in truth. Unquestionably there is nothing in Socrates or Seneca which can soothe or comfort us on these occasions. They were under the error, which, in blinding the first man, blinded all the rest. They have all conceived death to be natural to man; and all the discourses that they have founded upon this false principle, are so vain and so wanting in solidity, that they have only served to show, by their utter uselessness, how very feeble man is, since the loftiest productions of the greatest minds are so mean and puerile.

It is not so with Jesus Christ; it is not so with the canonical Scriptures. The truth is set forth there: and consolation is associated with it, as infallibly as that truth itself is infallibly separated from error. Let us regard death then, by the light of that truth which the Holy Spirit teaches. We have there a most advantageous means of knowing that really and truly death is the penalty of sin, appointed to man as the desert of crime, and necessary to man for his escape from corruption: that it is the only means of delivering the soul from the motions of sin in the members, from which the saints are never entirely free, while they live in this world. We know that life, and the life of Christians especially, is a continued sacrifice, which can only be terminated by death. We know that Jesus Christ, when he came into this world, considered himself, and offered himself to God as a sacrifice, and as a real victim; that his birth, his life, his death, resurrection and ascension, and his sitting at the right hand of the Father, are but one and the same sacrifice. We know that what took place in Jesus Christ, must occur also in all his members.

Let us consider life then as a sacrifice, and that the accidents of life make no impression on the Christian mind, but as they interrupt or carry on this sacrifice. Let us call nothing evil but that which constitutes the victim due to God a victim offered to the devil; but let us call that really good, which renders the victim due in Adam to the devil, a victim sacrificed to God; and by this rule, let us examine death.

For this purpose we must have recourse to the person of Jesus Christ: for as God regards men only in the person of the Mediator, Jesus Christ, men also should only regard either others or themselves, mediately through him.

If we do not avail ourselves of this mediation, we shall find in ourselves nothing but real miseries or abominable evils; but if we learn to look at every thing through Jesus Christ, we shall always obtain comfort, satisfaction, and instruction.

Let us look at death then through Christ, and not without him. Without Christ it is horrible, detestable; it is the abhorrence of human nature. In Jesus Christ it is very different; it is lovely, holy, and the joy of the faithful. All trial is sweet in Jesus Christ, even death. He suffered and died to sanctify death and suffering; and as God and man, he has been all that is great and noble, and all that is abject, in order to consecrate in himself all things except sin, and to be the model of all conditions of life.

In order to know what death is, and what it is in Jesus Christ, we should ascertain what place it holds in his one eternal sacrifice; and with a view to this, observe, that the principal part of a sacrifice is the death of the victim. The offering and the consecration which precede it, are preliminary steps, but the actual sacrifice is death, in which the creature, by the surrender of its life, renders to God all the homage of which it is capable, making itself nothing before the eyes of His majesty, and adoring that Sovereign Being which exists essentially and alone. It is true that there is yet another step after the death of the victim, which is God's acceptance of the sacrifice, and which is referred to in the Scripture, as Gen. viii. 21. *And God smelled a sweet savor.* This certainly crowns the offering; but then this is more an act of God towards the creature, than of the creature to God; and does not therefore alter the fact that the last act of the creature is his death.

All this has been accomplished in Jesus Christ. When he came into the world he offered himself. So Heb. ix. 14. *Through the eternal Spirit, he offered himself to God. When he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body thou hast prepared me. Then, said I, Lo, I come, in the volume of the book it is written of me, to do thy will, O God; yea, thy law is within my heart.* Heb. x. 5. Psalm xl. 7, 8. Here is his oblation; his sanctification followed immediately upon his oblation. This sacrifice continued through his whole life, and was completed by his death. So Luke xxiv. 26. *Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and entered into his glory.* And again, Heb. v. *In the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, he was heard in that he feared;* and *though he were a son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.* And God raised him from the dead, and caused his glory to rest upon him, (an event formerly prefigured by the fire from heaven, which fell upon the victims to burn and consume the body,) to quicken him to the life of glory. This is

what Jesus Christ has obtained, and which was accomplished at his resurrection.

This sacrifice, therefore, having been perfected by the death of Jesus Christ, and consummated even in his body by the resurrection, in which the likeness of sinful flesh has been swallowed up in glory, Jesus Christ had done all on his part; it remained only that the sacrifice be accepted of God; and that, as the smoke arose and carried the odor to the throne of God, so Jesus Christ should be in this state of complete immolation, offered, carried up, and received at the throne of God itself; and this was accomplished in his ascension, in which, by his own strength, and by the strength of the Holy Spirit, supplied to him continually, he ascended up on high. He was borne up as the smoke of those victims who were typical of Jesus Christ, was carried up buoyant on the air, which is a type of the Holy Spirit. And the Acts of the Apostles state expressly, that he was received into heaven, to assure us that this holy sacrifice, offered on the earth, was accepted and received into the bosom of God.

Such is the fact with regard to our Almighty Lord. Now, let us look at ourselves. When we enter into the church, which is the company of all faithful people, or to speak more particularly, of God's elect, into which Jesus Christ, by a privilege peculiar to the only Son of God, entered at the moment of his incarnation, we are offered and sanctified. This sacrifice continues through life, and is perfected in death, in which the soul, quitting entirely the vices and the corrupt affections of earth, whose contagion still, throughout life, ministered some infection, perfects her own immolation, and is received into the bosom of God.

Let us not then sorrow for the death of the faithful, as the heathen who have no hope. We have not lost them at their death. We lost them, so to speak, from that moment when they were really given to God. From that time they were the Lord's. Their life was devoted to him; their actions to mankind regarded only the glory of God. Then in their death they have become entirely separated from sin, and in that moment they have been received of God, and their sacrifice received its completion and its crown.

They have performed their vows; they have done the work which God gave them to do; they have accomplished the work for which alone they were created. The will of God has been done in them, and their will has been absorbed in the will of God. That then which God has joined together, let not our will put asunder; let us destroy or subdue, by a right comprehension of the truth, that sentiment of our corrupted and fallen nature which presents to us only false impressions, and which disturbs by its delusions, the holy feelings that evangelical truth inspires.

Let us not then regard death as heathens, but as Christians, with hope, as St. Paul ordains; for this is the special privilege of believers. Think not of a corpse as a putrid carcass, as lying nature represents it to us; but count it, according to the apprehensions of faith, as the sacred and eternal temple of the Spirit of God.

For we know that the bodies of the saints are preserved by the Holy Spirit unto the resurrection, which will be accomplished by that Spirit dwelling in them for that purpose. It was on this account that some reverenced relics of the dead; and for this same reason, formerly, the eucharist was placed in the mouth of the dead. But the church has given up this custom, because the eucharist being the bread of life, and of the living, ought not to be administered to the dead.

Do not consider the faithful, who have died in the grace of God as having ceased to live, though nature suggests this; but as now beginning to live, for so the truth assures us. Do not regard their souls as perished and annihilated, but as quickened and united to the sovereign source of life. And in this way, correct by the belief of these truths, those erroneous opinions which are so impressed upon our minds, and those feelings of dread which are so natural to us.

3. God created man with two principles of love; the love of God, and the love of self; but governed by this law, that the love of God should be infinite, having only the infinite God for its end; the love of self finite and subordinate to God.

Man, in that state, not only loved himself without sinning; but not to have loved himself, would have been criminal.

But since sin entered into the world, man has lost the former principle of love; and this love of self, having dwelt alone in this noble mind, made originally capable of an infinite love, has spread forth inordinately in the void which the love of God left desolate; and hence man now loves himself, and all other things for his own sake, i. e. in an infinite degree.

There is the origin of self-love. It was natural to Adam; and in his state of innocence it was quite justifiable; but in consequence of sin, it has become criminal and unbounded. We see then both the source of this love, and the cause of its enormity and guilt. It is the same with the desire of dominion, with inactivity, and all other vices; and this idea may be easily transferred to the dread which we have of death. This dread was natural and proper in Adam, when innocent; because as his life was approved of God, it ought to be so by man; and death would have been dreadful, as terminating a life conformed to the will of God. But since man has sinned, his life has become corrupt, his body and soul mutually hostile to each other, and both hostile to God.

But while this change has poisoned a life once so holy, the love of life has yet remained; and that dread of death, which has remained the same also, and which was justifiable in Adam, is not justifiable in us.

We see, then, the origin of the dread of death, and the cause of its guilt. Let the illumination of faith correct the error of nature.

The dread of death is natural to man; but it was in his state of innocence, because death could not enter paradise, without finishing a life perfectly pure. It was right, then, to hate it, when it went to separate a holy soul from a holy body: but then it is right to love it, when it separates a holy soul from an impure body. It was right to shrink from it when it would have broken up the peace between the soul and the body; but not when it terminates an otherwise irreconcilable dissension. In fact, when it would have afflicted an innocent body; when it would have deprived the body of the power of knowing God; when it would have separated from the soul a body submissive to its will, and co-operating with it; when it would have terminated all the blessings of which man knew himself capable, then it was right to abhor it. But, when it terminates an impure life; when it takes away from the body the liberty of sinning; when it rescues the soul from the might of a rebel, who counteracts all his efforts for salvation, it is very improper to retain towards it the same opinions.

We must not then give up this love of life which was given us by nature; for we have received it from God. But then, let it be a love for that same life which God gave, and not for a life directly contrary to it. And whilst we approve the love which Adam felt to the life of innocence, and which Jesus Christ also had for his life, let it be one business to

hate a life, the reverse of that which Jesus Christ loved, and to attain to that death which Jesus Christ experienced, and which happens to a body approved of God; but let us not dread a death, which, as it operates to punish a guilty body, and to cleanse a vitiated body, ought to inspire in us very different feelings, if we have but the principles, in however small a degree, of faith, hope, and charity.

It is one of the great principles of Christianity, that all which happened to Jesus Christ, should take place in the soul and body of each Christian: that as Jesus Christ has suffered during his mortal life, has died to this mortal life, has risen to a new life, has ascended to heaven, where he has sat down at the right hand of the Father; so ought both the body and soul to suffer, die, rise again, and ascend to heaven.

All these things are accomplished during this life in the soul, but not in the body. The soul suffers and dies to sin; the soul is raised to a new life; and then, at last, the soul quits the earth, and ascends to heaven in the holy paths of a heavenly life; as St. Paul says, *Our conversation is in heaven.*

But none of these things take place in the body during this present life; they will occur hereafter. For, in death, the body dies to its mortal life: at the judgment, it shall rise to new life; and after the judgment, it shall ascend to heaven, and dwell there for ever. So that the same train of events happens to the body as to the soul, only at different times: and these changes in the body do not take place till those of the soul are complete—that is, after death. So that death is the coronation of the beatification of the soul, and the dawn of blessedness to the body also.

These are the wonderful ways of Divine wisdom respecting the salvation of souls! And St. Augustine teaches us here, that God has adopted this arrangement to prevent a serious evil; for if the period of the act of the spiritual regeneration of the soul had been made the period of the death and resurrection of the body also, men would only have submitted to the obedience of the gospel from the love of life; but by the present arrangement, the power of faith is much more manifested, whilst the way to immortality is traced through the shades of death.

4. It were not right that we should not feel and mourn over the afflictions and misfortunes of life, like angels who have not the passions of our nature. It were not right either that we should sorrow without consolation like the heathens, who know not the hope of grace. But it is right that we should be afflicted and comforted as Christians, and that the consolations of grace should rise superior to the feelings of nature; so that grace should not only be in us, but victorious in us; so that, in hallowing our heavenly Father's name, his will should become ours; so that his grace should reign over our imperfect nature, and that our afflictions should be, as it were, the matter of a sacrifice which grace completes, and consumes to the glory of God: and that these individual sacrifices should honor and anticipate that universal sacrifice, in which our whole nature shall be perfected by the power of Jesus Christ.

And hence we derive benefit from our imperfections, since they serve as matter for such sacrifices.* For it is the object of true Christians to profit by their own imperfections, in as much as *all things work together for good to the elect.*

And if we are careful, we shall find great profit and edification in considering this matter as it is in truth. For since it is true, that the death of the body is only the image of the death of the soul, and that we build on this principle, that we have good ground to hope for the salvation of those whose death we mourn; then it is certain, that if we cannot check the tide of our grief and distress, we may at least derive from it this benefit, that if the death of the body is so dreadful, as to give rise to such emotions, that of the soul would have caused us agonies far less consolable. God has sent the former to those for whom we weep; but we hope that the latter he has averted. See then in the magnitude of our woes, the greatness of our blessings; and let the excess of our grief, be the measure of our joy.

5. Man is evidently too weak to judge accurately of the train of future events. Let our hope, then, be in God; and do not let us weary ourselves by rash and unjustifiable anticipations. Let us commit ourselves to God for the guidance of our way in this life, and let not discontent have dominion over us.

Saint Augustine teaches us that there is in each man, a Serpent, an Eve, and an Adam. Our senses and natural propensities are the Serpent; the excitable desire is the Eve; and reason is the Adam. Our nature tempts us perpetually; criminal desire is often excited; but sin is not completed till reason consents.

Leave then this Serpent and this Eve to distress us if they will; but let us pray to God so to strengthen our Adam by his grace, that he may abide victorious—that Jesus Christ may be his conqueror, and may dwell in us for ever.

* 2 Corinthians xii. 9, 10.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRAYER, FOR THE SANCTIFIED USE OF AFFLICTION BY DISEASE.

O Lord, whose Spirit is in all things so good and gracious, and who art so merciful, that not only the prosperities, but even the humiliations of thy elect are the results of thy mercy: graciously enable me to act in the state to which thy righteous hand has reduced me, not as a heathen, but as a true Christian; that I may recognize thee as my Father and my God, in whatever state I am; since the change in my condition, makes no change in thine; since thou art always the same, though I am ever variable; and that thou art no less God, when thou ministerest affliction or punishment, than in the gifts of consolation and peace.

2. Thou has given me health to serve thee, and I have profanely misused it. Thou hast now sent disease to correct me. Suffer me not so to receive it as to anger thee by my impatience. I have abused my health, and thou has rightly punished me: let me not abuse thy correction also. And since the corruption of my nature is such, that it renders thy favors hurtful to me, let thy Almighty grace, O God, make these thy chastenings profitable. If in the vigor of health, my heart was filled with the love of this world, destroy that vigor for my safety's sake, and unfit me for the enjoyment of this world, either by weakness of body, or by overcoming love, that I may rejoice in thee only.

3. O God, to whom at the end of my life, and at the end of this world, I must give an account of all that I have done; O God, who permittest this world to exist, only for the trial of thine elect, and the punishment of the wicked; O God, who leavest hardened sinners to the luxurious, but criminal enjoyments of this world; O God, who causest this body to die, and at the hour of death, separatest our souls from all that in this world they have loved; O God, who at the last moment of my life, breakest me off from all those things to which I am attached, and on which my heart has been fixed; O God, who wilt consume at the last day the heavens and the

earth, and all the creatures that are therein, to show to all the world that nothing subsists but thyself, and that nothing but thyself is worthy of love, because thou only dost endure; O God, who wilt destroy all these vain idols, and all these fatal objects of our affections; I praise thee, and I will bless thee, O my God, all the days of my life, that it hath pleased thee to anticipate in my favor, the event of that awful day, by destroying already, as it respects me, all these things, through the weakness to which thou hast reduced me. I praise thee, O my God, and I will bless thee all the days of my life, that it hath pleased thee to reduce me to a state of inability to enjoy the sweets of health, and the pleasures of the world; and that thou hast in a manner destroyed for my profit, those deceitful idols which thou wilt hereafter effectually destroy, to the confusion of the wicked in the day of thine anger. Grant, Lord, that I may henceforth judge myself according to this destruction, which thou has wrought in my behalf; that thou mayest not judge me after that entire destruction which thou wilt make of my natural life and of the whole world. For seeing, O Lord, that at the instant of my death, I shall find myself separated from this world, stripped of all things, and alone in thy presence, to answer to thy justice for all the thoughts of my heart: grant that I may consider myself in this disease, as in a kind of death, separated from the world, stripped of all the objects of my affection, and alone in thy presence, to implore from thy compassion the conversion of my heart; and that hence I may have great comfort from the thought, that thou visitest me now with a species of death, as the result of thy mercy, before thou appointest me really and finally to death as the result of thy justice. Grant, then, O my God, that since thou hast anticipated my death, I may anticipate the rigor of thy sentence; and that I may examine myself before thy judgment, to find mercy in thy presence.

4. Grant, O my God, that I may adore in silence, the order of thy providence, in the guidance of my life; that thy rod may comfort me; and that, if I have lived in the bitterness of my own sins during my prosperity, I may now taste the heavenly sweetness of thy grace, during the salutary evils with which thou hast chastened me. But I confess, O my God, that my heart is so hardened, and so full of the thoughts, and cares, and anxieties, and attachments of the world, that neither sickness, nor health, neither sermons, nor books, nor thy holy Scriptures, nor thy gospel, nor its holiest mysteries, nor alms, nor fastings, nor mortifications, nor the sacraments, nor thy death, nor all my efforts, nor those of the whole world put together, can effect any thing whatever, even to begin my conversion, if thou dost not accompany all these things by the extraordinary assistance of thy grace. For this, O my God, I address myself to thee, the Almighty, to ask from thee a gift, that all thy creatures together could not bestow. I should not have the daring to direct my cry to thee, if any other being could answer it. But, O my God, since the conversion of my heart, for which I now entreat, is a work which surpasses all the efforts of nature; I can apply to none but to the Author and Almighty master of nature, and of my heart. To whom should I cry, Lord, to whom should I have recourse but to thee? Nothing short of God can fulfil my desire. It is God himself that I need, and that I seek; and to thee only, O my God, do I address myself, that I may obtain thee. Open my heart, Lord. Enter this rebel place, where sin has reigned. Sin holds it in subjection. Enter as into the house of a strong man; but first bind the strong and mighty enemy who ruled it, and then take possession of the treasures which are there. O Lord, regain those affections which the world has stolen. Seize this treasure thyself, or rather resume it; for it belongs to thee as a tribute that I owe thee, as stamped by thine own image. Thou hast imprinted it at the moment of my baptism, which was my second birth; but it is all effaced. The image of the world is graven there so deeply, that thine is scarcely cognizable. Thou only couldst create my soul; thou only canst create it anew. Thou only couldst impress there thine image; thou only canst reform it, and refresh the lineaments of thy obliterated likeness; that is, Jesus Christ my Saviour, who is thine image, and the very character of thy subsistence.

5. O, my God, how happy is a heart that can love so lovely an object, with an honorable and a beneficial love! I feel that I cannot love the world without displeasing thee, without injuring and dishonoring myself; and yet the world is still the object of my delight. O, my God, how happy is the soul who finds his delight in thee, since he may abandon himself to thy love, not only without scruple, but with commendation. How firm and lasting is his happiness, since his hope cannot be disappointed, because thou wilt never be destroyed, and neither life nor death shall separate him from the object of his desires; and that the same moment which overwhelms the wicked and their idols in one common ruin, shall unite the just with thee in one common glory; and that as the one shall perish with the perishable objects to which they were attached; the others, shall subsist eternally in the eternal and self-existent object to which they were so strictly united. Blessed are they, who, with perfect freedom, and an invincible bias of their will, love perfectly and freely, that which they are incessantly constrained to love.

6. Perfect, O my God, the holy emotions that thou hast given me. Be their end, as thou art their beginning. Crown thine own gifts; for thine I admit them to be. Yes, O my God, far from assuming that my prayers have any merit, which could constrain thee to answer them, I most humbly confess, that having given to the creature that heart, which thou didst form for thyself only, and not for the world, nor for myself, I could look for no blessing but to thy mercy; since I have nothing in me which could deserve it; and that all the natural emotions of my heart, inclining towards the creatures or myself, can only anger thee. I thank, thee, then, O my God, for the holy emotions that thou hast given me, and even for that disposition which thou hast also given me to feel thankful.

7. Touch my heart with repentance for its faults; for without this inward grief, the outward evils with which thou hast smitten my body, will be but a new occasion of sin. Make me to know that the diseases of my body are only the chastening, and the emblem of the diseases of my soul. But grant, Lord, also, that they may be the remedy, by making me consider, amidst these pains that I do feel, the evil which I did not previously perceive in my soul, though totally diseased and covered with *putrifying sores*. For, O Lord, the greatest of its evils is that insensibility, and that extreme weakness which has deprived it of all consciousness of its own miseries. Make me then to feel them deeply; and let the remainder of my life be a continued penitence, to bewail the sins which I have committed.

8. O Lord, though my life past has been exempt from gross crimes, from the temptations to which thou hast preserved me; it has been very hateful in thy sight, from my continual negligence, my misuse of thy holy sacraments, my contempt of thy word, and of thy holy influence, by the listlessness and uselessness of my actions and thoughts, by the total loss of that time which thou hast given me for thy worship, to seek, in all my ways, the means of

pleasing thee, and to repent of the sins, which I daily commit; sins from which, even the most righteous are not exempt; so that even their life had need be a continual penitence, or they run the risk of falling from their steadfastness. In this way, O my God, I have ever been rebellious against thee.

9. Yes, Lord, up to this hour I have been ever deaf to thy inspirations; I have despised thy oracles; I have judged contrary to what thou judgest; I have contradicted those holy precepts which thou didst bring into the world, from the bosom of thy eternal Father, and by which thou wilt judge the world. Thou sayest, *Blessed are they that mourn, and wo to them that are comforted;* and I have said, Wretched are those that mourn, and blessed are those who are comforted. I have said, Happy are they who enjoy a fortunate lot, a splendid reputation, and robust health. And why have I thought them happy, except that all these advantages furnished them an ample facility for enjoying the creature, that is, for offending thee. Yes, Lord, I confess that I have esteemed health a blessing, not because it was a ready means of serving thee usefully, by devoting more care and watchfulness to thy service, and by the ready assistance of my neighbor; but that, by its aid, I could abandon myself, with less restraint to the abounding delights of life, and taste more freely its deadly pleasures. Graciously, O Lord, reform my corrupted reason, and conform my principles to thine. Grant that I may count myself happy in affliction, and that in this inability for external action, my thoughts may be so purified, as no longer to be repugnant to thine; and that in this way, I may find thee within me, when from my weakness I cannot go forth to seek thee. For, Lord, thy kingdom is within thy believing people; and I shall find it within myself, if I discover there thy Spirit, and thy precepts.

10. But, Lord, what shall I do to constrain thee to pour forth thy Spirit upon this wretched earth? All that I am is hateful in thy sight; and I find nothing in me which can please thee. I see nothing there, Lord, except my griefs which bear some faint resemblance to thine. Consider then the ills that I suffer, and those which threaten me. Look with an eye of pity on the wounds which thy hand hath made. O my Saviour, who didst love thy sufferings even in death; O my God, who didst become man, only to suffer more than any man, for man's salvation; O God, who didst become incarnate after the sin of men, and who didst take a body only to suffer in it all that our sins deserved; O God, who lovest so much the suffering bodies of men, that thou didst choose for thyself the most afflicted body that ever was in the world; graciously accept my body, not for its own sake, nor for any thing in it—for all deserves thine indignation—but for the miseries which it endures, which only can be worthy of thy love. Kindly regard my sufferings, O Lord, and let my distresses invite thee to visit me. But to complete the sanctification of thy dwelling, grant, O my Saviour, that if my body is admitted to the common privilege with thine, that it suffers for my offences, my soul also may have this in common with thy soul, that it may be in bitterness for them also; and that thus, I may suffer with thee, and like thee, both in my body and my soul, for the sins which I have committed.

11. Graciously, O Lord, impart thy consolations during my sufferings, that I may suffer as a Christian. I ask not exemption from distress; for this is the reward of the saints: but I pray not to be given up to the agonies of suffering nature, without the consolations of thy Spirit; for this is the curse of Jews and heathens. I ask not a fulness of consolation, without any suffering; for that is the life of glory. I ask not a full cup of sorrow, without alleviation, for that is the present state of Judaism. But I ask, Lord, to feel, at the same time, both the pangs of nature for my sins, and the consolations of thy Spirit through grace; for this is true Christianity. Let me not experience pain, without consolation; but let me feel pains and consolations at the same time, so that ultimately I may experience consolation only, free from all suffering. For formerly, Lord, before the advent of thy Son, thou didst leave the world to languish without comfort under natural sufferings: now thou dost console and temper the sufferings of thy saints, by the grace of thine only Son; and hereafter thou wilt crown thy saints with a beatitude, perfectly pure, in thy Son's eternal glory. These are the marvellous degrees through which thou dost carry thy works. Thou hast withdrawn me from the first; cause me to pass through the second; that I may reach the third. This, Lord, is the mercy that I ask.

12. Suffer me not to be so far alienated from thee, as to be able to contemplate thy soul, sorrowful even unto death, and thy body laid low by death for my sins, without rejoicing to suffer also both in my body and my mind. For there is nothing more disgraceful, and yet nothing more usual among Christians, than that while thou didst sweat blood for the expiation of our offences, we should be living luxuriously at ease; and that Christians, who make a profession of being devoted to thee; that those who, in their baptism, have renounced the world to follow thee; that those who have vowed solemnly, before the church, to live and die for thee; that those who profess to believe that the world persecuted and crucified thee; that those who believe that thou didst give thyself up to the wrath of God, and to the cruelty of men, to redeem them from all iniquity; that those, I say, who believe all these truths, who consider thy body as the sacrifice offered for their salvation; who consider the indulgences, and the sins of this world, as the only cause of thy sufferings, and the world itself as thy executioner; that they should seek to indulge their own bodies with these same delights, and in this same world; and that they who could not without horror, see a man caress and cherish the murderer of his own father, who had surrendered himself to secure his life, should live as I have done; should live joyously amidst that world, which I know unquestionably to have been the murderer of him whom I recognize as my Father and my God, who gave himself up for my salvation, and who has borne in his own body the punishment of my transgressions. It is right, O Lord, that thou hast interrupted a joyousness so criminal as that in which I have indulged amidst the shadows of death.

13. Take from me then, O Lord, the grief that self-love may feel on account of my own sufferings, and on account of those human events which do not fall out precisely according to the wishes of my heart, and which do not make for thy glory. But awaken within me a sorrow assimilated to thine own. Let my sufferings mollify thine anger. Make them the means of my safety and my conversion. Let me wish no more for health and life, but to employ and expend them for thee, with thee, and in thee. I do not ask of thee health or sickness, life or death; but merely that thou wouldst dispose of my health or sickness, of my life or death, for thy glory, for my salvation, and for the benefit of thy church, and of thy saints, among whom I would hope, by thy grace, to be found. Thou only knowest what is needful for me: thou art the sovereign Lord; do with me what thou wilt. Give or take; only conform my will to thine; and grant, that in humble and entire submission, I may accept the ordinances of thy eternal providence, and that I may regard with equal reverence, whatever comes from thee,

14. Grant, O my God, that in uniform equanimity of mind, I may receive whatever happens; since we know not what we should ask, and since I cannot wish for one thing more than another without presumption, and without setting up myself as a judge, and making myself responsible for those consequences, which thy wisdom has determined properly to conceal from me. O Lord, I know that I know but one thing; and that is, that it is good to follow thee, and evil to offend thee. After that, I know not what is better or worse in any thing. I know not which is more profitable for me, sickness or health, wealth or poverty, nor any other of the things of this world. This were a discovery beyond the power of men or angels, and which is veiled in the secrets of thy providence, which I adore, and which I do not desire to fathom.

15. Grant then, O Lord, that such as I am, I may be conformed to thy will; and that, diseased as I am, I may glorify thee in my sufferings. Without these, I cannot reach thy glory; and even thou, my Saviour, wouldst not attain to glory but by this means. It was by the scars of thy sufferings, that thy disciples knew thee; and it is by their sufferings that thou wilt recognize those who are thy disciples. Recognize me, O Lord, amidst the evils that I suffer, both in body and mind, for the sins that I have committed; and because nothing is acceptable to God, that is not offered by thee, unite my will to thine, and my agonies to those which thou hast endured. Let mine become thine. Unite me to thyself; and fill me with thyself, and with thy Holy Spirit. Dwell in my heart and soul, to endure within me my sufferings, and to continue to endure in me, all that remains yet unsuffered of thy passion, which thou completest in all thy members, even to the entire perfection of thy mystical body; that being thus at length full of thee, it may be no more I that live and suffer, but that it may be thou who livest and sufferest in me, O my Saviour; and that thus, having some little part in thy sufferings, thou mayest fill me abundantly with the glory which they have purchased; in which thou livest with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A COMPARISON OF ANCIENT AND MODERN CHRISTIANS.

In the infancy of the Christian church, we see no Christians but those who were thoroughly instructed in all matters necessary to salvation; but in these days, we see on every side an ignorance so gross, that it agonizes all those who have a tender regard for the interests of the church. Then, no one entered the church, but after serious difficulties, and long cherished wishes; now, we find ourselves associated with it, without care or difficulty. Formerly, no one was admitted but after a most rigid examination; now, every one is admitted before he is capable of being examined. Formerly, no one was admitted but after repentance of his former life, and a renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil; now, they enter the church before they are in a state to do any of these things. In fact, formerly it was necessary to come out from the world, in order to be received into the church; whilst, in these days, we enter the church almost at the same time that we enter the world. Then there was distinctly recognized by those earlier proceedings, an essential difference between the world and the church. They were regarded as two things, in direct opposition, as two irreconcilable enemies; of which the one persecutes the other perpetually, and of which, that which seems the weakest, will one day triumph over the strongest; and between these two contending parties, it became necessary to abandon the one, in order to enter the other; to renounce the maxims of the one, in order to follow those of the other; each one must disencumber himself of the sentiments of the one, in order to put on the sentiments of the other; and finally, must be prepared to quit, to renounce, and to abjure the world where he had his former birth, and to devote himself entirely to the church in which he receives his second birth. And thus a wide distinction, was habitually drawn between the one and the other. But now, we find ourselves almost at the same moment introduced into both; and, at the same time, we are born into the world, and born anew into the church.* So that, dawning reason now no longer perceives the broad line of distinction between these two opposing worlds, but matures and strengthens, at the same time, under the combined influence of both. The sacraments are partaken of, in conjunction with the pleasures of the world; and hence, instead of there being an essential distinction between the one and the other, they are now so mingled and confounded, that the distinction is almost entirely lost.

Hence it arises, that whilst then Christians were all well instructed; now, there are many in a fearful state of ignorance; then, those who had been initiated into Christianity by baptism, and who had renounced the vices of the world, to embrace the piety of the church, rarely declined again to the world which they had left; whilst now, we commonly see the vices of the world in the hearts of Christians. The church of the saints is all defiled with the intermingling of the wicked; and her children that she has conceived, and born from their infancy at her sides, are they who carry into her very heart, that is even to the participation of her holiest mysteries—her deadliest foes—the spirit of the world—the spirit of ambition, of revenge, of impurity, and of lust; and the love which she bears for her children, compels her to admit into her very bowels, the bitterest of her persecutors.

But we must not impute to the church the evils that have followed so fatal a change; for when she saw that the delay of baptism, left a large proportion of infants still under the curse of original sin, she wished to deliver them from this perdition, by hastening the succor which she can give; and this good mother sees, with bitter regret, that the benefit which she thus holds out to infants, becomes the occasion of the ruin of adults.

The true meaning of the church is, that those whom she thus withdraws at so tender an age, from the contagion of the world, should subsequently become separate from its opinions. She anticipates the agency of reason, to prevent those vices into which corrupted reason might entice them; and that, before their natural mind could act, she might fill them with her better spirit, so that they might live in ignorance of the world, and in a state so much further removed from vice, in as much as they have never known it. This is evident in the baptismal service; for she does not confer baptism

* It is quite evident by the tenor of the whole passage, that M. Pascal means here only a formal initiation by baptism, and not a spiritual birth—a real regeneration. At the same time, the error which his words appear in some degree to countenance, was held by the unenlightened part of the Romish church; and it is still held by some members of the church of England, who do not understand either her doctrines or her services; whilst some men among us, like M. Pascal, give an improper countenance to the error, by the adoption of the inexplicable notion of baptismal regeneration.

till the children have declared, by the lips of their parents, that they desire it—that they believe—that they renounce the world and the devil. And as the church wishes them to preserve these dispositions throughout life, she expressly enjoins upon them to keep them inviolate; and by an indispensable command, she requires the parents to instruct their children in all these things; for she does not wish that those whom, from their infancy, she has nourished in her bosom, should be less enlightened, and less zealous than those whom she formerly received as her own; she cannot be satisfied with a less degree of perfection in those whom she herself has trained, than in those whom she admits to her communion.

Yet the rule of the church is so perverted from its original intention, that it cannot be thought of without horror. Men think no more of the peculiar blessing which they have received, because they did not themselves ask it, because they do not even remember having received it. But since it is evident, that the church requires no less piety in those who have been brought up from infancy as the servants of faith, than in those who aspire to become such, it becomes such persons to set before them the example of the ancient catechumens of the early church, to consider their ardor, their devotion, their dread of the world, their noble renunciation of it; and if *they* were not thought worthy to receive baptism, without these dispositions, those who do not find such dispositions in themselves, should at once submit to receive that instruction which they would have had, if they were now only about to seek an entrance into the communion of the church. It becomes them still further to humble themselves to such a penitence, as they may wish never again to throw aside; such that they may henceforth find less disgust in the austere mortification of the senses, than of attraction in the criminal pleasures of sin.

To induce them to seek instruction, they must be made to understand the difference of the customs which have obtained in the church at different times. In the newly formed Christian church, the catechumens, that is, those who offered for baptism, were instructed before the rite was conferred; and they were not admitted to it, till after full instruction in the mysteries of religion; till after penitence for their former life; till after a great measure of knowledge, of the grandeur and excellence of a profession of the Christian faith and obedience, on which they desire to enter for ever; till after some eminent marks of real conversion of heart, and an extreme desire for baptism. These facts being made known to the whole church, they then conferred upon them the sacrament of incorporation or initiation, by which they became members of the church.* But now, since baptism has been, for many very important reasons, permitted to infants before the dawn of reason, we find, through the negligence of parents, that nominal Christians grow old without any knowledge of our religion.

When teaching preceded baptism, all were instructed; but now, that baptism precedes instruction, that teaching which was then made necessary for the sacrament, is become merely voluntary, and is consequently neglected, and almost abolished.—Reason then showed the necessity of instruction; and when instruction went before baptism, the necessity of the one, compelled men necessarily to have recourse to the other. But in these days, when baptism precedes instruction, as men are made Christians, in the first instance, without instruction, so they believe that they may remain Christians without being instructed; and instead of its being the case, that the primitive Christians expressed the warmest gratitude for a grace, which the church only granted after reiterated petitions—the Christians of these days, manifest nothing but ingratitude for this same blessing conferred upon them, before they were in a state to ask it. If the church, so decidedly abhorred the occasional, though extremely rare instances of backsliding among the primitive Christians, how ought she to hold in abhorrence, the falling again and again of modern Christians, notwithstanding the far higher degree in which they stand indebted to the church, for having so speedily and liberally removed them from that state of curse, in which, by their natural birth, they were involved. She cannot see without bitter lamentation, this abuse of her richest blessings; and that the course which she has adopted for her childrens' safety, becomes the almost certain occasion of their ruin; for her spirit is not changed, though the primitive custom is.*

* This was the case with converted heathens; but if M. Pascal conceived it to be the case with the children of baptized believers, he is in error; and the whole tenor of the history of the church will prove him to be so.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON THE CONVERSION OF A SINNER.

The first thing which God imparts to a soul that he has really touched, is a degree of knowledge and perception altogether extraordinary, by which the soul regards both itself and other things in a totally novel manner.

This new light excites fear, and imparts to the soul a restlessness which thwarts the repose that it had formerly found in the wonted sources of indulgence.

The man can no longer relish, with tranquillity, the objects by which he had been previously charmed. A perpetual scrupulousness haunts him in his enjoyments; and this interior perception will not allow him any longer to find the wonted sweetness in those things to which he had yielded with all the melting fulness of the heart.

But he finds yet more bitterness in the exercises of piety, than in the vanities of the world. On one side, the vanity of the things that are seen, is felt

* These views of M. Pascal, evidently originate in the difficulty presented to a believing mind, by the formal and irreligious state of the Christian churches. The thought will occur to a considerate mind, lately awakened to feel the power of true religion, after a youth of nominal religion and real carelessness—"Whence does this evil arise?" And this reference to the mode of admitting converts from heathenism, in earlier days, is one way of settling the point, to which young Christians frequently have recourse.—Yet this is cutting the knot, instead of untying it. It is an error which originates in an unfounded and imaginary notion of the state of the Christian church at any time. A little patience and experience—a little practical knowledge of how the Christian system works, would give a very different view of the matter. It is, however, on this summary mode of settling the difficulty, to which the inexperienced mind resorts—that the Anabaptist churches found their peculiar notions, and justify their separation; and it is in the ready application of this notion to meet the difficulty when it first arises, that they find their success. Pascal, after mature deliberation on the facts of the case, did not at all see the necessity of renouncing the custom of infant baptism. He could distinguish between an evil that casually accompanied, and an evil that originated in, that custom.

more deeply than the hope of the things that are not seen; and, on the other, the reality of invisible things affects him more than the vanity of the things which are seen. And thus the presence of the one, and the absence of the other, excite his disgust, so that there arises within him a disorder and confusion which he can scarcely correct, but which is the result of ancient impressions long experienced, and new impressions now first communicated.

He considers perishable things as perishing, and even as already perished; and, in the certain conviction of the annihilation of all that he has loved, he trembles at the thought; whilst he sees, that every moment goes to rob him of the enjoyment of happiness, and that that which is dearest to him, is perpetually gliding away; and that at length a day will come, in which he will find himself bereft of all on which he had built his hope. So that he sees clearly, that as his heart is devoted only to things in themselves fragile and vain, his soul must, at the exit from this life, find itself solitary and destitute, since he has taken no care to unite himself to a real and self-subsistent good, which could support him in, and subsequently to, this present existence.

And hence he begins to consider as a nonentity, every thing which returns to nothingness—the heavens, the earth, his body, his relations, his friends, his enemies, wealth or poverty, humiliation or prosperity, honor or ignominy, esteem or contempt, authority or insignificance, health or sickness, and even life itself. In fact, whatever is shorter in duration than his soul, is incapable of satisfying the desires of that soul, which earnestly seeks to establish itself on a basis of felicity as durable as itself.

He begins to regard with astonishment, the blindness in which he has been plunged; and, when he considers on the one hand, the length of time that he has lived without any such thoughts, and the great number of persons who live with equal thoughtlessness; and, on the other, how clear it is that the soul being immortal, cannot find happiness in the things that perish, and which must, at all events, be taken from him by death; then there comes upon him a holy anxiety and astonishment, which gives rise to salutary sorrow.

For he considers, that however great may be the number of those who grow old in the ways of the world, and whatever authority may be in the multitude of examples, of those who place their happiness in this world, it is nevertheless certain, that even if the things of this world had in them some substantial delight—an assumption which is falsified by the fatal and continual experience of an infinite number of persons—the loss of these things is certain, at the moment when death separates us from them.

So that, if the soul has amassed a treasure of temporal good, whether of gold, of science, or of reputation, it is inevitably necessary, that it must one day find itself denuded of all the objects of its felicity; and hence it appears, that though many objects have had in them that which ministered satisfaction, they had not that which would have satisfied him permanently; and that even if they procured him a happiness that was real, they could not procure a happiness that was lasting, because it must be terminated by the limits of human life.

Then by a holy humility, which God has exalted above pride, the man begins to rise above the common habits of men in general. He condemns their conduct; he detests their maxims; he laments their blindness; he devotes himself to the search for that which is truly good; he arrives at the conviction, that it must possess these two qualities—the one, that it must be as durable as himself—the other, that it must be more worthy of love than any thing else.

He sees that in the love which he has cherished towards the world, he has found in it, owing to his blindness, the second quality of these two, for he had discovered nothing more worthy of his love, but now as he sees not in it the former quality also, he knows that it is not the sovereign good. He seeks it then elsewhere; and knowing, by an illumination altogether pure, that it does not exist in the things which are within him, or around him, or before him, he begins to seek for it in those things which are above.

This elevation of soul is so lofty and transcendant, that it stops not at the heavens; they have not what would satisfy him; nor at the things above the heavens, nor at the angels, nor at the most perfect of created beings. It darts through universal creation, and cannot pause till it has reached the very throne of God; there the soul begins to find repose, and grasps that real good which is such, that there is nothing more truly worthy of love, and that it cannot be taken from him but by his own consent.

For though he does not yet taste those enjoyments by which God blesses the services of habitual piety, he learns, at least, that the creatures can never deserve his love more than the Creator; and his reason, aided by the light of grace, teaches him that there is nothing more worthy of love than God, and that He cannot be taken away except from those who reject him—since to desire God, is to possess him; and to refuse him, is to lose him.

And thus he rejoices in having found a blessing which cannot be torn from him as long as he wishes to possess it, and which has nothing superior to itself.

And with these novel reflections he enters upon the view of the grandeur of his Creator, and upon acts of the deepest humiliation and reverence. He counts himself as less than nothing in that presence; and, being unable to form of himself an idea sufficiently humiliating, or to conceive of the sovereign good a thought sufficiently exalted, he makes repeatedly fresh efforts to lower himself to the last abysses of nothingness, whilst he surveys God still in interminably multiplying immensities; and, at last, exhausted by this mighty conception, he adores in silence, he looks on himself as a vile and useless creature, and by repeated acts of veneration, adores and blesses his God, and would for ever bless and adore.

Then he sees something of the grace by which God has manifested his infinite majesty to a worthless worm—he is ashamed and confounded at having preferred so many vanities to such a Divine Master; and, in the spirit of compunction and penitence, he looks up for his compassion to arrest that anger, the effect of which, seen through these immensities, seems to hang over him so awfully.

He sends up ardent prayers to God, to obtain this mercy, that as it has pleased him to disclose himself to his soul, it would please him also to lead it to himself, and prepare for him the means of reaching him. For it is to God that he now aspires, and, at the same time, he only aspires to reach him by those means which come from God himself, for he wishes God himself to be his way, his object, and his end. Then on the result of these prayers, he learns that he ought to act conformably to the new light which he has received.

He begins to know God, and to desire to go to him; but he is ignorant of the mode of reaching him. If, then, his desire is sincere and real, just as a person who wishes to go to a particular spot, but who has lost his way, and knows that he is in error, has recourse to those who are well acquainted with it, so he seeks advice from those who can teach

him the way that leads to the God, from whom he has so long been alienated. And in thus seeking to know this way, he resolves to regulate his conduct for the remainder of his life by the truth, as far as he knows it; and seeing that his natural weakness, together with the habitual tendency which he now has to the sin in which he has lived, have incapacitated him for reaching the happiness of which he is in search, he implores from the mercy of God those gracious aids by which he may find him, devote himself to him, and adhere to him for ever. Heartily occupied by the loveliness of the Divine excellency—old as eternity, in fact, but to him so new;—he feels that all he does ought to bear him towards this adorable object; he sees now clearly that he ought henceforth only to think of adoring God, as his creature, of gratitude to him for unnumbered obligations, of penitence as guilty, and prayer as necessitous; so that his entire occupation should be to contemplate, and love, and praise him throughout eternity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

REASONS FOR SOME OPINIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

I WRITE my thoughts here without order, but probably not in mere unmeaning confusion. It is, in fact, the true order, and will mark my object, even by the disorder itself.

We shall see that all the opinions of the multitude are very sound: that the people are not so weak as they are reported; and, that consequently, the opinion which would destroy the opinion of the people, will be itself destroyed.

2. It is true in one sense, that all the world is in a state of delusion; for although the opinions of the people are sound, they are not so as held by them, because they conceive the truth to reside where it does not. There is truth in their opinions, but not where they suppose.

3. The people reverence men of high birth.—Your half-informed men despise them, affirming, that birth is not a personal advantage, but a mere accident. Your really superior men honor them, not on the ground of the popular notion, but for loftier reasons. Certain zealots of narrow views, despise them, notwithstanding those reasons which secure to them the respect of superior men, because they judge by a new light, that their measure of piety imparts. But more advanced Christians give them honor, according to the dictates of light yet superior; and thus opinions, for and against, obtain in succession, according to the light possessed.

4. Civil wars are the greatest of evils. They are certain, if it is wished to recompense merit, for all would affirm that they deserved reward. The evil to be feared from a fool who succeeds by inheritance, is neither so great, nor so certain.

5. Why follow the majority? Is it because they have more reason? No. But because they have more force. Why follow ancient laws, and ancient opinions? Are they wiser? No. But they stand apart from present interests: and thus take away the root of difference.

6. The empire founded on opinion and imagination, sometimes has the upper hand; and this dominion is mild and voluntary. The empire of force reigns always. Opinion is, as it were, the queen of the world; but force is its tyrant.

7. How wisely are men distinguished by their exterior, rather than their interior qualifications. Which of us two shall take the lead? Which shall yield precedence? The man of least talent? But I am as clever as he. Then we must fight it out for this. But he has four lacqueys, and I have but one. *There* is a visible difference: we have only to count them. It is my place then to give way; and I am a fool to contest the point. This arrangement keeps us in peace; which is of all blessings the greatest.

8. From the habit of seeing kings surrounded with guards, and drums, and officers, and with all these appendages which tend to create respect and terror, it happens, that the countenance of kings, even though seen sometimes without these adjuncts, still awakens in their subjects the same reverential feeling; because, even then, we do not mentally separate their person from the train with which we usually see them attended. The multitude who know not that this effect has its origin in custom, believe it to originate in native feeling; and hence arises such expressions as, The character of divinity is imprinted on his countenance, &c.

The power of kings is founded on the reason, and on the folly of the people; but most chiefly on their folly. The greatest and most important thing in the world has weakness for its basis; and this basis is wonderfully secure, for there is nothing more certain, than that the people will be weak, whilst that which has its foundation in reason only, is very insecure, as the esteem for wisdom.

9. Our magistrates have well understoood this mystery. Their crimson robes, their ermine, in which they wrap themselves, the palaces of justice, the fleur-de-lis—all this pomp and circumspection was necessary; and if physicians had not their cassock and their mule; and if theologians had not their square cap, and their flowing garments, they would never have duped the world, which could not withstand this authenticating demonstration. Soldiers are the only men who are not in some measure disguised; and that is, because their own share in the matter, is the most essential part of it. They gain their point by actual force—the others by grimace.

On this account our kings have not had recourse to such disguises. They have not masked themselves in extraordinary habits, in order to appear impressive; but they have surrounded themselves with guards, and lancers, and whiskered faces, men who have hands and energies only for this service. The drums and trumpets which go before them, and the legions that surround them, make even brave men tremble. They not only wear a dress, but they are clothed with might. A man had need have an unprejudiced mind, to consider merely as another man, the Grand Signior surrounded by his glittering train of 40,000 Janissaries.

If magistrates were possessed of real justice, if physicians knew the true art of healing, there were no need of square caps. The majesty of science would be sufficiently venerable alone. But possessed, as they mostly are, with only imaginary science, they must assume these vain adornments which impress the imagination of those among whom they labor, and, by that means, they obtain respect. We cannot look at an advocate in his gown and his wig, without a favorable impression of his abilities.

The Swiss are offended at being called gentlemen, and have to establish the proof of their low origin, in order to qualify them for stations of importance.*

10. No one chooses for a pilot, the highest born passenger on board.

All the world sees that we labor with uncertainty before us, either by sea, in battle, &c. but all the world does not see the law of the chances, which shows that we do rightly. Montaigne saw that a narrow mind is an offence, and that custom rules every thing—but he did not see the reason of this. Those who see only effects, and not their causes,

* At Basle they must renounce their nobility, in order to enter the senate.

are in relation to those who discover the causes, as those who have eyes only, compared with those who have mind. For the effects are perceptible to the senses, but the reasons only to the understanding. And though, in fact, these effects are perceived by the understanding, yet such a mind, compared with that which discovers the causes, is as the bodily senses to the intellectual powers.

11. How is it that a lame man does not anger us, but a blundering mind does? Is it, that the cripple admits that we walk straight, but a crippled mind accuses us of limping? But for this, we should feel more of pity than of anger.

Epictetus asks also, Why we are not annoyed if any one tells us that we are unwell in the head, and yet are angry if they tell us that we reason falsely, or choose unwisely? The reason is, that we know certainly that nothing ails our heads, or that we are not crippled in the body. But we are not so certain that we have chosen correctly. So that having only assurance, inasmuch as we perceive the matter distinctly, whilst another sees it as clearly the contrary way, we are necessarily brought into doubt and suspense; and still more so, when a thousand others laugh at our decision; for we must prefer our own convictions to those of ever so many others, and yet that is a bold and difficult course. Now, we never feel this contradiction of our senses in a case of actual lameness.

12. Respect for others requires you to inconvenience yourself. This seems foolish; yet it is very proper. It says, "I would willingly inconvenience myself seriously, if it would serve you, seeing that I do so when it will not." Besides, the object of this respect is to distinguish the great. Now, if respect might show itself by lolling in an elbow chair, we should respect all the world, and then we should not distinguish the great; but being put to inconvenience, we distinguish them plainly enough.

13. A superior style of dress is not altogether vain. It shows how many persons labor for us. A man shows by his hair that he has a valet and perfumer, &c.; and by his band, his linen, and lace, &c. It is not then, a mere superficial matter, a mere harness, to have many hands employed in our service.

14. Strange indeed! they would have me not pay respect to that man dressed in embroidery, and followed by seven or eight lacqueys. Why he would horse-whip me if I did not. Now, this custom is a matter of compulsion; it does not exist between two horses, when one is better caparisoned than the other.

It is droll in Montaigne, that he does not see the difference between admiring what we see, and asking the reason of it.

15. The people have some wise notions: for example, the having chosen amusement and hunting, in preference to poetry. Your half-learned gentry laugh at them, and delight in pointing out their folly in this; but for reasons which they cannot perceive, the people are right. It is well also to distinguish men by externals, as by birth or property. The world strives to show how unreasonable this is; but it is perfectly reasonable.

16. Rank is of great advantage, as it gives to a man of eighteen or twenty years of age, a degree of acceptance, publicity, and respect, which another can scarcely obtain by merit at fifty. There is a gain, then, of thirty years without difficulty.

17. There are men, who, to show us that we are wrong, in not esteeming them more highly, never fail to bring forward the names of those persons of quality who think well of them. I would answer them, "Show us the merit by which you have gained their esteem, and we will esteem you as they do."

18. If a man stands at the window to see those who pass, and I happen to pass by, can I say that he placed himself there to see me? No: for he did not think of me particularly. But if a man loves a woman for her beauty, Does he love *her*? No: for the small-pox which destroys her beauty without killing her, causes his love to cease. And if any one loves me for my judgment or my memory, Does he really love me? No: for I can lose these qualities without ceasing to be. Where then is this *me*, if it is neither in the body nor the soul? And how are we to love the body or the soul, except it be for those qualities which do not make up this *me*, because they are perishable? For can we love the soul of a person abstractedly; and some qualities that belong to it? That cannot be; and it would be unjust. Then they never love the person, but only the qualities; or, if they say that they love the person, they must say also, that the combination of qualities constitutes the person.

19. Those things about which we are most anxious, are very often a mere nothing; as, for instance, the concealment of our narrow circumstances. This evil of poverty is a mere nothing, that imagination has magnified to a mountain. Another turn of thought would induce us to tell it without difficulty.

20. Those who have the power of invention are but few. Those who have not are many, and consequently, the strongest party. And generally, we see that they refuse to the inventors the praise that they deserve, and that they seek by their inventions. If they persist in seeking it, and treat contemptuously those who have not this talent, they will gain nothing but a few hard names, and they will be treated as visionaries. A man should take care, therefore, not to plume himself upon this advantage, great as it is; and he should be content to be esteemed by the few, who really can appreciate his merits.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DETACHED MORAL THOUGHTS.

There are plenty of good maxims in the world; we fail only in applying them. For instance, it is without doubt that we should expose life to defend the public good; and many do this; but scarcely any one does this for religion. It is necessary that there be inequality in the state of man; but that being granted, the door is opened, not only to the highest domination, but to the highest degree of tyranny. It is needful to allow some relaxation of mind; but this opens the door to the loosest dissipations. The limits should be marked; they are not laid down. The laws would prescribe them, but the human mind will not endure it.

2. The authority of reason is far more imperious than that of a master; for he who disobeys the one, is unhappy; but he who disobeys the other, is a fool.

3. Why would you kill me? Why? do you not live across the water? My friend, if you lived on this side, I should be an assassin; it would be unjust to kill you in this way; but since you live on the other, I am brave, and the act is just.

4. Those who live irregularly, say to those who live discreetly, that it is they who swerve from the dictates of nature, and that they themselves live according to it; as those who are in a vessel believe that the people on shore are receding from them. Both parties use similar language. There should be a fixed point to decide the case. The port settles the question for those in the vessel,

but where shall we find this fixed point in morals?*

5. As fashion makes pleasure, so does it justice. If men really knew what justice is, they would never have admitted this commonest of all maxims throughout the world, that each should follow the custom of his own country. Real equity would have subjugated all nations, by its native brilliancy; and legislators would not have taken in the stead of this invariable rule of right, the fancies and caprices of Persians and Germans, &c. It would have been set up in all the states of the earth, and at all times.

6. Justice is that which is by law established; and hence all our established laws are to be necessarily accounted just, because they are established.

7. The only universal rules are, the laws of the land in ordinary matters. In extraordinary matters, the majority carries it. Why is this? From the power that exists in it.

And hence, also, kings who possess an extrinsic force, do not follow even the majority of their ministers.

8. Undoubtedly an equality of rights is just; but not being able to compel men to be submissive to justice, legislators have made them obedient to force. Unable to fortify justice, they have justified force; so that justice and force uniting, there might be peace, for that is the sovereign good—*summum jus, summa injuria.*

The power of the plurality is the best way; because it is a visible power; and it has force to command obedience. Yet this is the counsel only of inferior men.

If they could, they should have put power into the hands of justice; but since power will not let itself be used as men please, because it is a palpable quality, while justice is an intellectual quality, of which they may dispose as they please, they have placed justice in the hands of power, and now they call that justice which power requires to be observed.

9. It is just, that whatever is just should be observed. It is necessary that whatever is the strongest should be obeyed. Justice without power is inefficient; power without justice is tyranny. Justice without power is gainsayed, because there are always wicked men. Power without justice is soon questioned. Justice and power must be brought together, so that whatever is just may be powerful, and whatever is powerful may be just.

Justice may be disputed; but power speaks pretty plainly, and without dispute. So that it needs but to give power to justice; but seeing that it was not possible to make justice powerful, they have made the powerful just.

10. It is dangerous to tell the people that the laws are not just; for they only obey them because they believe them to be just. They must be told therefore at the same time, that they must obey them as laws; as they obey their superiors, not because they are just, but because they are their superiors. If you make them comprehend this, you prevent all sedition. This is the true definition of justice.

11. It were well for the people to obey laws and customs, because they are laws; and that they understood that this made them just. On this ground, they would never deviate from them; whilst on the other hand, if their justice is to rest on any other basis, it may easily be brought into question, and then the people are made liable to revolt.

12. When it is made a question, whether we should make war, and kill so many men, and doom so many Spaniards to die, it is one man only who decides, and he an interested party. It ought to be a third and an indifferent person.

13. Language such as this, is false and tyrannical: "I am well-looking; then men ought to fear me: I am strong; then men should love me." Tyranny is to seek to obtain that by one means, which should only be obtained by another. We owe different duties to different kinds of merit; a duty of love to that which is amiable; of fear, to that which is mighty; of teachableness, to the learned, &c. This duty should be done. It is unjust to withhold this. It is unjust to require more. And it savors equally of error and of tyranny to say, "He has no might, then I will not esteem him. He has no talent, therefore I will not fear him." Tyranny consists in the desire of universal dominion, unwarranted by our real merit.

14. There are vices which have no hold upon us, but in connection with others; and which, when you cut down the trunk, fall like the branches.

15. When malice has reason on its side, it looks forth bravely, and displays that reason in all its lustre. When austerity and self-denial have not realized true happiness, and the soul returns to the dictates of nature, the re-action is fearfully extravagant.

16. To find recreation in amusements, is not happiness; for this joy springs from alien and extrinsic sources, and is therefore dependent upon, and subject to interruption by a thousand accidents, which may minister inevitable affliction.

17. The highest style of mind is accused of folly, as well as the lowest. Nothing is thoroughly approved but mediocrity. The majority has brought this about; and it instantly fixes its fangs on whatever gets beyond it either way. I will not resist their rule. I consent to be ranked among them; and if I object to be placed at the low extreme, it is not because it is low, but because it is the extreme; for I should in the same way refuse to be placed at the highest. To get really beyond mediocrity, is to pass the limits of human nature. The dignity of the human soul, lies in knowing how to keep the middle course; and so far from there being greatness in leaving it, true greatness consists in never deviating from it.

18. No man obtains credit with the world for talent in poetry, who does not fairly hang out the sign of a poet; or for a talent in mathematics, if he has not put up the sign of a mathematician. But your truly honest men have recourse to no such expedients. They no more play themselves off for poets, than for embroiderers. They are neither called poets nor geometers; but they are at home in all these matters. Men do not make out specifically what they are. When they enter a room, they speak of the topic then in discussion. They do not discover a greater aptness for one subject than for another, except as circumstances call out their talents; for to such persons it is a matter of equal indifference, that it should not be said, "That man talks remarkably well," when conversational powers is not the point in question, or that this should be said of them when it is. It is poor praise, therefore, when a man is pointed out, on his entering a room, as a great poet, or that he should only be referred to, where the merit of some verses is to be considered. Man is full of wants; he only loves those who can satisfy them. "He is a good mathematician;" they say, "but then I must be bored incessantly with mathematics:" or, "That man thoroughly comprehends the art of war; but I do not wish to make war with any man." Give me, then, a polite man, with general talents, to meet and supply all my necessities.

19. When in health, we cannot at all judge how we would act in sickness; but when sickness comes,

* The answer of M. Pascal would be, In the Holy Scriptures.

then we submit freely to the needful discipline. The disease itself is the cause of this. We feel then no longer the eager thirst for amusements and visiting, which originates in health, and which is quite incompatible with a state of sickness. Nature, then, gives inclinations and desires conformed to our present state. It is only the fears that originate with ourselves, and not with nature, that trouble us; for they associate with the state in which we then are, the feelings of a state in which we are not.

20. Injunctions to humility, are sources of humiliation to the humble; but of pride, to the proud. So also the language of Pyrrhonism and doubt is matter of confirmation to those who believe. Few men speak humbly of humility, or chastely of chastity—few of skepticism with real doubtfulness of mind. We are nothing but falsehood, duplicity, and contradiction. We hide and disguise ourselves from ourselves.

21. Concealed good actions are the most estimable of all. When I discover such in history, they delight me much. Yet even these cannot have been altogether hidden, because they have been so recorded; and even the degree in which they have come to light, detracts from their merit, for their finest trait is the wish to conceal them.

22. Your sayer of smart things, has a bad heart.

23. This *I* is hateful; and those who do not renounce it, who seek no further than to cover it, are always hateful also. Not at all, say you, for if we act obligingly to all men, they have no reason to hate us. That is true, if there were nothing hateful in that *I*, but the inconvenience which it administers. But if I hate it, because it is essentially unjust, because it makes itself the centre of every thing, I shall hate it always. In fact, this *I* has two bad qualities. It is essentially unjust, because it will be the centre of all things; it is an annoyance to others, because it will serve itself by them; for each individual *I* is the enemy, and would be the tyrant of all the others. Now you may remove the annoyance, but not the radical injustice, and hence you cannot make it acceptable to those who abhor its injustice; you may make it pleasing to the unjust, who no longer discover their enemy, but you remain unjust yourself, and cannot be pleasing therefore but to similar persons.

24. I cannot admire the man who possesses one virtue in high perfection, if he does not, at the same time possess the opposite virtue in an equal degree; as in the case of Epaminondas, who united the extremes of valor and of meekness; without this, it is not an elevated, but a fallen character. Greatness does not consist in being at one extreme, but in reaching both extremes at once, and occupying all the intermediate space. Perhaps this is in no case more than a sudden movement of the soul, from one extreme to the other, and, like a burning brand, whirled quickly round in a circle, it is never but in one point of its course at a time. Still this indicates the energy of the soul, if not its expansion.

25. If our condition were really happy, there were no need to divert us from thinking of it.

26. I have spent much time in the study of the abstract sciences; but the paucity of persons with whom you can communicate on such subjects, disgusted me with them. When I began to study man, I saw that these abstract sciences are not suited to him, and that in diving into them, I wandered further from my real object, than those who knew them not, and I forgave them for not having attended to these things. I expected then, however, that I should find some companions in the study of man, since it was so specifically a duty. I was in error. There are fewer students of man, than of geometry.

27. When all things move similarly, nothing moves apparently—as on board a ship. When all things glide similarly to disorder, nothing seems to be going wrong. He who stops, considers the rapid recession of others, an immoveable point.

28. Philosophers boast of having arranged all moral duties in a certain classification. But why divide them into four, rather than into six divisions. Why make four sorts of virtues rather than ten. Why range them under the general heads of *abstine* and *sustine*, than any others. But then, say you, here they are all reduced to a single word. Well, but that is quite useless without explanation; and as soon as you begin to explain, and you develop the general precept which contains all the others, they issue in the same confusion that at first you wished to avoid, and thus, in reducing them to one, you hide and nullify them; and to be made known, they must still come forth in their native confusion. Nature has given each an independent subsistence; and though you may thus arrange the one within the other, they must subsist independently of each other. So that these divisions and technical terms have little use, but to assist the memory, and to serve as guides to the several duties which they include.

29. To administer reproof with profit, and to show another that he deceives himself, we should notice on what side he really has considered the thing—for on that side he generally has a right impression—and admit there the accuracy of his views. This will please him, for he then perceives that as far as he did see, he was not in error, but that he failed only in not observing the matter on all sides. Now, a man is not ashamed of not perceiving every thing; but he does not like to blunder. And perhaps this arises from the fact, that naturally the mind cannot be deceived on the side on which it looks at things, any more than the senses can give a false report.

30. A man's virtue should not be measured by his occasional exertions, but by his ordinary doings.

31. The great and the little are subject to the same accidents, vexations, and passions; but the one class are at the end of the spoke of the wheel, and the other near the centre; and consequently, they are differently agitated by the same impulses.

32. Though men have no interest in what they are saying, it will not do to infer from that absolutely, that they are not guilty of falsehood; for there are some who lie, simply for lying sake.

33. The example of chastity in Alexander, has not availed to the same degree to make men chaste, as his drunkenness has to make them intemperate. Men are not ashamed not to be so virtuous as he; and it seems excusable not to be more vicious. A man thinks that he is not altogether sunk in the vices of the crowd, when he follows the vicious example of great men; but he forgets that in this respect they are associated with the multitude.—He is linked with such men at the same point, at which they are linked with the people. However great they may be, they are associated at some point with the mass of mankind. They are not altogether suspended in mid air, and insulated from society. If they are greater than we, it is only that their heads are higher; but their feet are as low as ours. They are all on the same level—they tread the same earth; and, at this end, they are brought equally low with ourselves, with infants, and with the brutes that perish.

34. It is the contest that delights us, not the victory. We are pleased with the combat of animals, but not with the victor tearing the vanquished.—What is sought for but the crisis of victory? and the instant it comes, it brings satiety. It is the same

in play, and the same in the search for truth. We love to watch in arguments the conflict of opinions; but as for the discovered truth, we do not care to look at that. To see it with pleasure, we must see it gradually emerging from the disputation. It is the same with the passions; the struggle of two contending passions has great interest; but the dominion of one is mere brutality. We do not seek for things themselves, but for the search after them. So on the stage, scenes without anxiety, miseries without hope, and merely brutal indulgences, are accounted vapid and uninteresting.

35. Men are not taught to be honest, but they are taught every thing else; and yet they pique themselves on this, above all things. They boast then only of knowing the only thing which they do not learn.

36. How weak was Montaigne's plan for exhibiting himself! and that not incidently and contrary to his avowed maxims, as most men contrive to betray themselves; but in accordance with his rule, and as his first and principal design. For to speak fooleries accidentally, and as a matter of weakness, is every one's lot; but to do so designedly, and to speak such as he did, is beyond all bounds.

37. Pity for the unfortunate is no proof of virtue; on the contrary, it is found desirable to make this demonstration of humanity, and to acquire, at no expense, the reputation of tenderness. Pity therefore is little worth.

38. Would he who could boast the friendship of the Kings of England, and of Poland, and the Queen of Sweden, have believed that he might look through the world in vain for a home and a shelter?*

39. Things have various qualities, and the mind various inclinations; for nothing presents itself simply to the mind, neither does the mind apply itself simply to any subject. Hence, the same thing will at different times produce tears or laughter.

40. There are men of different classes, the powerful, the elegant, the kind, the pious, of which each one may reign in his own sphere, but not elsewhere. They come sometimes into collision, and contend who shall have the dominion; and most unwisely, for their mastery is in different matters. They do not understand one another. They err in seeking an universal dominion. But nothing can accomplish this, not even force. Force can do nothing in the realms of science; it has no power but over external actions.

41. *Ferox gens nullam esse vitam sine armis putat.* They prefer death to peace: others prefer death to war. Every variety of opinion may be preferred to that life—the love of which appears so strong and so natural.

42. How difficult is it to propose a matter to another man's judgment, without corrupting his judgment by the manner in which it is proposed. If we say, "I like this," or, "I think this obscure," we either entice the imagination that way, or produce irritation and opposition. It is more correct to say nothing, and then he will judge as the matter really is; that is, as it is then, and according as the other circumstances over which we have no control, may bias him; if even our very silence has not its effect, according to the aspect of the whole, and the interpretation which the man's present humor may put upon it, or according to the conjecture he may form from the expression of my countenance, and the tone of my voice; so easy is it to bias the judgment from its natural and unfettered conclusion, or rather so few men are there of resolute and independent mind.

43. Montaigne is right. Custom should be followed because it is custom, and because it is found established, without inquiring whether it is reasonable or not; understanding of course those matters which are not contrary to natural or divine right. It is true that the people follow custom for this only reason, that they believe it to be just; without which, they would follow it no longer, for no one would be subjected to any thing but reason and justice. Custom without this would be accounted tyranny; but the dominion of reason and justice is no more tyrannous than that of pleasure.

44. The knowledge of external things will not console us in the days of affliction, for the ignorance of moral science: but attainments in moral science, will console us under the ignorance of external things.

45. Time deadens our afflictions and our strifes, because we change and become almost as it were other persons. Neither the offending nor the offended party remain the same. Like a people that have been irritated, and then revisited two generations after. They are yet the French nation, but not what they were.

46. What is the condition of man? Instability, dissatisfaction, distress. He who would thoroughly know the vanity of man, has only to consider the causes and the effects of love. The cause is a *je ne sais quoi*, an indefinable trifle; the effects are monstrous. Yet this indiscribable something sets the whole earth—princes, armies, multitudes, in motion. If the nose of Cleopatra had been a little shorter, it would have changed the history of the world.

47. Cæsar appears to me too old to have amused himself with the conquest of the world. Such sport might do for Alexander, an ardent youth, whom it was difficult to curb; but Cæsar's day had gone by.

48. Fickleness has its rise in the experience of the fallaciousness of present pleasures, and in the ignorance of the vanity of absent pleasures.

49. Princes and kings must play themselves sometimes. They cannot be always upon their thrones. They become weary. Greatness to be realized, must be occasionally abandoned.

50. My humor depends but little on the weather. I have my cloud and my sunshine within me. Even prosperity or failure in my affairs affects me little. I sometimes rise spontaneously superior to misfortune; and from the mere joy of superiority, I get the better of it nobly. Whilst at other times, in the very tide of good fortune, I am heartless and fretful.

51. Sometimes in the very writing down my thought, it escapes me. But this teaches me my weakness, which I am ever forgetting. And this instructs me therefore as much as my forgotten thoughts would have done; for what I ought always to be learning, is my own nothingness.

52. It is a curious fact, that there are men in the world who, having renounced all the laws of God and man, have made laws for themselves, which they strictly obey; as robbers, &c.

53. "This is my dog," say the children; "that sunny seat is mine." There is the beginning and the exemplification of the usurpation of the whole earth.

54. You have a bad manner: excuse me if you please. Without the apology I should not have known that there was any harm done. Begging your pardon, the "excuse me," is all the mischief.

55. We scarcely ever think of Plato and Aristotle, but as grave and serious looking men, dressed in long robes. They were good honest fellows, who

* The reference is to the cotemporary sovereigns, Charles I. of England, John Casimir of Poland, and Christina, Queen of Sweden.

laughed with their friends as others do; and when they made their laws and their treatises on politics, it was to play and divert themselves. It was probably the least philosophical and serious part of their lives. The most philosophical was the living simply and tranquilly.

56 Man delights in malice; but it is not against the unfortunate, it is against the prosperous proud; and we deceive ourselves if we think otherwise.—Martial's epigram on the blind, is utterly worthless, for it does not comfort them; it only adds another spark to the glory of the author: all that makes only for the author, is worthless. *Ambitiosa recidet ornamenta.* He should write to please men of a tender and humane spirit, and not your barbarous inhuman souls.

57. These compliments do not please me: "I have given you much trouble." "I fear to weary you." "I fear that this is too long." Things either hurry me away, or irritate me.

58. A true friend is such a blessing, even to great men, in order that he may speak well of them, and defend them in their absence, that they should leave no stone unturned to get one. But they should choose warily; for if they lavish all their efforts on a fool, whatever good he says of them will go for nothing; and in fact he will not speak well of them, if he feels his comparative weakness; for he has not any authority, and consequently he will slander for company's sake.

59. Do you wish men to speak well of you?—Then never speak well of yourself.

60. Do not laugh at the men who seek respect through their duties and official stations; for we regard no man but for his acquired qualities. All men hate one another naturally. I hold it a fact, that if men knew exactly what one says of the other, there would not be four friends in the world. This appears from the quarrels to which occasional indiscreet reports give rise.

61. Death is more easy to endure without thinking about it, than the thoughts of death without the risk of it.

62. It is wonderful indeed, that a thing so visible as the utter vanity of this world, should be so little known, and that it should be so uncommon and surprising to hear any one condemn as folly, the search after its honors.

He who does not see the vanity of this world, is vain indeed. For, in fact, who does not see it, but those young persons who are hurried along in the bustle and din of its amusements, without a thought of the future? But take away those diversions, and you will see them wither with *ennui*. They are then feeling their emptiness without really knowing it: for surely it is a very wretched state, to sink into unbearable sadness, as soon as we cease to be diverted, and are left free to think.

63. Almost every thing is partly true and partly false: not so with essential truth. It is perfectly pure and true. This admixture in the world, dishonors and annihilates truth. There is nothing true, if we mean pure essential truth. We may say that homicide is *bad*, because that which is evil and false is well understood by us. But what can we say is good? Celibacy? I say no! for the world would terminate. Marriage? No; for continency is better. Not to kill? No; for disorders would increase, and the wicked would murder the good.—To kill? No; for that destroys nature. We have nothing true or good, but what is only partially so, and mixed with evil and untruth.

64. Evil is easily discovered; there is an infinite variety. Good is almost *unique*. But some kinds of evil are almost as difficult to discover, as that which we call good; and often particular evil of this class passes for good. Nay, it needs even a certain greatness of soul to attain to this, as it does to attain to that which is good.

65. The ties which link the mutual respects of one to another, in general, are the bonds of necessity. And there must be different degrees of them, since all men seek to have dominion; and all cannot, though some can attain to it. But the bonds which secure our respect to this or that individual in particular, are the bonds of the imagination.

66. We are so unhappy, that we cannot take pleasure in any pursuit, but under the condition of experiencing distress, if it does not succeed, which may happen with a thousand things, and does happen every hour. He who shall find the secret of enjoying the good, without verging to the opposite evil, has hit the mark for happiness.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THOUGHTS ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY SUBJECTS.

The more enlarged is our own mind, the greater number we discover of men of originality. Your common-place people see no difference between one man and another.

2. A man may be possessed of sound sense, yet not be able to apply it equally to all subjects; for there are evidently men who are highly judicious in certain lines of thought, but who fail in others. The one class of men are adapted to draw conclusions from a few principles; the other to draw conclusions in cases which involve a great variety of principles. For instance, the one understands well the phenomena of water; with reference to which, the principles are few, but the results of which are so extremely delicate, that none but a peculiarly acute intellect can trace them; and most probably, these men never would have been great geometricians, because geometry involves a great many principles; and that the nature of a mind may be such, that it can trace a few principles up to their extreme results; yet not adequately comprehend those things in which a multitude of principles are combined.

There are then two sorts of minds, the one fathoms rapidly and deeply the principles of things, and this is the spirit of accurate discrimination; the other comprehends a great many principles without confusing them, and this is the spirit of mathematics. The one is energy and clearness of mind; the other is expansion of mind. Now, the one may exist without the other. The mind may be powerful, but narrow; or, it may be expanded and feeble.

There is much difference between the geometrical mind, and the acute mind. The principles of the one are clear and palpable, but removed from common usages; so that, for want of the habit, it is difficult to bring the attention down to such things; but as far as the attention is given to them, the principles of those things are plainly seen, and would need a mind altogether in error, to reason falsely on such common-place matters; so that, it is almost impossible that the principles of such things should not be ascertained.

But in the case of the acute mind, the principles in which it is conversant are found in common usage, and before the eyes of all men. You have but to turn your head without effort, and they are before you. The only essential point is a right perception; for the principles are so interwoven and so numerous, that it is almost impossible but that some should be lost sight of. Now, the omission of one principle leads to error; hence it needs a very accurate perception to ascertain all the principles, and then a sound judgment not to reason falsely on known principles.

All the geometricians would be acute men, if they possessed this keenness of perception, for they

cannot reason falsely on the principles which they perceive; and the men of acute mind would be geometricians, if they could but turn their attention to the less prominent principles of geometry.

The reason then why some men of acute intellect are not geometers is, that they cannot turn their attention to the principles of geometry; but the reason why geometers have not this acuteness is, that they do not perceive what is before their eyes, and that being accustomed to the plain and palpable principles of geometry, and never reasoning till they have well ascertained and handled their principles, they are lost in these matters of more acute perception, where the principles cannot be so easily ascertained. They are seen with difficulty—they are felt rather than seen. It is scarcely possible to make them evident to those who do not feel them of themselves. They are so delicate and so multitudinous, that it requires a very keen and ready intellect to feel them; and that generally, without being at all able to demonstrate them in order, as in geometry; because these principles cannot be so gathered, and it were an endless labor to undertake it. The thing must be seen at once, at a glance, and not by a process of reasoning; at least, to a certain degree. And hence it is rarely the case, that geometers are acute men, or acute men geometers; because geometers will treat these nicer matters geometrically, and thus make themselves ridiculous; they will begin with definitions, and then go to principles—a mode that will not answer in this sort of reasoning. It is not that the mind does not take this method, but it does so silently, naturally, without the forms of art—for all men are capable of the expression of it; but this feeling of it is the talent of few.

And the acute mind, on the contrary, accustomed to judge at a glance, is so astonished when they present to it a series of propositions, where it understands but little, and when to enter into them, it is necessary to go previously through a host of definitions and dry principles, that not having been accustomed thus to examine in detail, it turns away in disgust. There are, however, many weaker minds, which are neither acute nor geometrical.

Geometers, then, who are exclusively geometers, possess a sound judgment, provided only that the matter be properly explained to them by definitions and principles; otherwise they go wrong altogether, for they only judge rightly upon principles which are clearly laid down for them; and your acute men, who are exclusively so, have no patience to go down into first principles, in matters of speculation and imagination, which they have never seen in use in the world.

3. It often happens, that to prove certain things, men adduce such examples, that they might actually take the things themselves to prove the examples; which does not fail of producing an effect; for as they believe always that the difficulty lies in the thing to be proved, the example, of course, appears more intelligible. Thus, when they wish to illustrate a general principle, they exhibit the rule of a particular case. But if they wish to illustrate a particular case, they begin with the general rule. They always find the thing to be proved obscure, but the medium of proof clear and intelligible; for when it is purposed to prove a point, the mind pre-occupies itself with the thought, that it is obscure and difficult. Whilst, on the contrary, it assumes that the mode by which it is to be proved will be clear, and consequently, under that impression, comprehends it easily.

4. All our reasonings are compelled to yield to feeling. A mere imagination, however, is both similar and contrary to feeling. Similar, because it does not reason—contrary, because it is false; so that it is difficult to distinguish between these contrarieties. One man says that my feeling is a mere fancy, and that his fancy is a real feeling; and I say the same of him. We need then a criterion: reason offers itself; but it may be biassed to either side, and hence there is no fixed rule.

5. They who judge of a work by rule, are, with respect to those who do not, as those who possess a watch, with respect to those who do not. One says, We have been here now two hours. Another says, It is but three quarters of an hour. I look at my watch, and say to one, You grow weary; and to the other, Time flies fast with you, for it is just an hour and a half; and I smile at those who tell me, that time lingers with me, and that I judge by imagination. They know not that I judge by my watch.

6. There are men who speak well, but who do not write well. The place, the circumstances, &c. excite them, and elicit from their mind, more than they would find in it without that extraordinary stimulus.

7. That which is good in Montaigne, can only be acquired with difficulty: that which is evil, (I except his morals,) might be corrected in a moment, if we consider that he tells too many stories, and speaks too much of himself.

8. It is a serious fault, to follow the exception instead of the rule. We ought to be rigidly opposed to the exception. Yet since it is certain that there are exceptions to the rule, we should judge rigidly, but justly.

9. There are men who would have an author never speak of the things of which others have spoken; and if he does, they accuse him of saying nothing new. But if the subjects are not new, the disposition of them may be. When we play at tennis, both play with the same ball, but one may play it better than the other. They might just as well accuse us of using old words, as if the same thoughts differently arranged, would not form a different discourse; just as the same words differently arranged would express different thoughts.

10. We are more forcibly persuaded in general, by the reasons which we ourselves search out, than by those which are the suggestion of the minds of others.

11. The mind makes progress naturally, and the will naturally clings to objects; so that in default of right objects, it will attach itself to wrong ones.

12. Those great efforts of mind to which the soul occasionally reaches, are such as it cannot habitually maintain. It reaches them by a sudden bound, but only to fall again.

13. Man is neither an angel nor a brute; and the mischief is, they who would play the angel, often play the brute.

14. Only discover a man's ruling passion, and you are sure of pleasing him; and yet each one has in the very notion that he has formed of good, some phantasies which are opposed to his real interest; and this is a strange incongruity, which often disconcerts those who would gain his affection.

15. A horse does not seek to be admired by its companion. There is to be sure, a sort of emulation in the course, but this leads to nothing; for in the stable, the clumsiest and worst made, will not on that account give up his corn to the others. It is not so among men. Their virtue is not satisfied with itself; and they are not satisfied, unless they obtain it by some advantage over others.

16. We injure the mind and the moral sentiments in the same way. The mind and the moral sentiments are formed by conversation. The good or the evil improve or injure them respectively. It is of importance then, to know how to choose well, so as to benefit, and not injure them. But we are

unable to make this choice, unless the mind is already formed, and not injured. There, then, is a circle, from which happy are they who escape!

17. When among those things in nature, the knowledge of which is not absolutely necessary, there are some, the truth of which we do not know, it is perhaps not to be lamented, that frequently one common error obtains, which fixes most minds.—As for example, the moon, to which we attribute the change of weather, and the fluctuations of disease, &c. For one of man's greatest evils is a restless curiosity after the things which he cannot know; and I know not whether it is not a less evil to be in error on such subjects, than to be indulging an idle curiosity.

18. If the lightning had fallen upon low places, the poets and other men who reason only from such analogies, would have failed of their best proofs.

19. Mind has its own order of proceeding, which is by principles and demonstrations; the heart has another. We do not prove that we ought to be loved, by setting forth systematically the causes of love; that would be ridiculous.

Jesus Christ and St. Paul have rather followed this way of the heart, which is the way of charity, than that of the intellect; for their chief end was not merely to instruct, but to animate and warm. St. Augustine does the same. This mode consists chiefly in a digression to each several point, which has a relation to the end, so as to aim at that end always.

20. There are men who put an artificial covering on all nature. There is no king with them, but an august monarch: no Paris, but the capital of the empire. There are places where we must call Paris, Paris; and others where we must call it the capital of the empire.

21. When in a composition we find a word occurring more than once, and on an attempt to alter it, it is found so suitable that a change would weaken the sense; it should be left. To remove it, is the work of a blind envy, which cannot discern that this repetition is not, in this case, a fault; for there is no absolute general rule.

22. Those who make antitheses by forcing the sense, are like men who make false windows for the sake of symmetry. Their rule is not to speak justly, but to make accurate figures.

23. One language is with respect to another a cypher, in which words stand for words, and not letters for letters; and hence an unknown language cannot be decyphered.

24. There is a standard of taste and beauty which consists in a certain accordant relation between our nature—it may be weak or strong, but such as it is,—and the thing that pleases us. All that is formed by this standard delights us: houses, songs, writings, verse, prose, women, birds, rivers, trees, rooms, and dresses. All that is not formed by this standard, disgusts a man of good taste.

25. As we say, poetic beauty, so also we should say geometrical beauty, and medicinal beauty. Yet we do not say so, and the reason of this is, that we know distinctly the object of geometry, and the object of medicine; but we do not know so precisely in what consists that delight, which is the object of poetry. We do not rightly know what is that natural model which we ought to imitate; and, for want of this knowledge, we invent extravagant terms, as, *golden age*, *paragon of our days*, *fatal laurel*, *bright star*, &c. and we call this jargon poetical beauty. But he who should imagine to himself a lady dressed by such a model, would see a beautiful woman covered with mirrors and chains of brass, and could not refrain from laughing; because we understand better that which pleases in a woman, than that which pleases in poetry. But those who are not skilled in these matters, might admire her in this dress; and there are plenty of villages where they would take her for the queen; and hence there are some who call sonnets, made after such a model, *village queens*.

26. When a discourse paints a passion or an effect naturally, we find in ourselves the truth of what we hear—and which was there without our knowing it;—and we feel induced to love him who causes us to discover it, for he does not show us his good, but our own; and hence, this benefit conferred, makes us love him. Besides, that this community of intellectual enjoyment that we have with him, necessarily inclines the heart to love him.

27. There should be in eloquence that which is pleasing, and that which is real; but that which is pleasing, should itself be real.

28. When we meet with the natural style, we are surprised and delighted, for we expected to find an author, and we have found a man. Whilst those of good taste who look into a book, in the hope of finding a man, are altogether surprised to find an author: *plus poetice quam humane locutus est.* They confer the greatest honor on nature, who teach her that she can speak best on all subjects, even theology.

29. The last thing that we discover in writing a book, is to know what to put at the beginning.

30. In a discourse it is wrong to divert the mind from one thing to another, except to prevent weariness; and that only in the time when it is really suitable, and not otherwise; for he who wishes to amuse inappropriately wearies—men will turn away their attention altogether. So difficult is it to obtain any thing from man but by pleasure—the current coin for which we are willing to give every thing.

31. What a vanity is painting which attracts admiration, by the resemblances of things, that in the original we do not at all admire!

32. The same sense is materially affected by the words that convey it. The sense receives its dignity from the words, instead of imparting it to them.

33. Those who are accustomed to judge by feeling, understand but little in matters of reasoning; for they, at once, penetrate the subject with one view, and are not accustomed to search for principles. Others, on the contrary, who are accustomed to reason from principles, comprehend little in matters of feeling; searching for principles, and not being able to discover them.

34. True eloquence despises eloquence. True morality despises morality; that is to say, the morality of the understanding, sets light by the morality of the fancy, which knows no rule.

35. All the false beauties that we condemn in Cicero, have their admirers in crowds.

36. To set light by philosophy, is the true philosophy.

37. Many persons understand a sermon as they understand vespers.

38. Rivers are roads which move forward, and carry us to our destination.

39. Two faces which resemble each other, neither of which is ridicrous alone, excite a smile from their resemblance, when seen together.

40. Astrologers and Alchymists have some sound principles, but they abuse them. Now, the abuse of truth ought to be as much punished as the invention of falsehood.

41. I cannot forgive Descartes. He would willingly, in all his philosophy, have done without God if he could; but he could not get on without letting him give the world a filip to set it a going; after that, he has nothing more to do with him.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ON EPICTETUS AND MONTAIGNE.

Epictetus is one of those philosophers of this world, who have best known the duties of man.—He would have him before all things, to regard God as his chief object, to be persuaded that he governs all things with justice, to submit to him cordially, and to follow him willingly as infinitely wise, and he affirms that this disposition would stay all his complaints and miseries, and prepare him to endure patiently the most distressing events.

Never say, he enjoins, "I have lost that." Say rather, "I have restored it. My son is dead; I have surrendered him. My wife is dead; I have given her up." And so of every other good. "But he who deprived me of this good is a wicked man." Why distress yourself about him, by whom He who lent the blessing, sent to seek it again? While the use of it is permitted to you, regard it as a good belonging to others, as a traveller does in an inn." "You should not wish," he continues, "that things should be as you desire, but you should wish that they may be as they are. Remember that you are here as an actor, and that you play that part which your master is pleased to appoint. If he gives you a short part, play short; if a long part, play long; remain on the stage as long as he pleases; appear on it rich or poor, according to his command. It is your duty to play well the part assigned; but to choose it is the part of God. Set always before your eyes death and the evils which seem least bearable, and you would never think slightingly of any thing, nor desire any thing excessively." He shows in many ways what man should do. He wishes him to be humble, to hide his good resolutions, especially in their commencement, and to fulfil them secretly, for that nothing so much injures them as exposure. He never wearies of repeating that all the study and the desire of men should be to know and to do the will of God.

Such was the light of this great mind, who so well understood the duties of man; happy if he had as well known his weakness. But after having so well understood what man ought to do, he loses himself in the presumption of that for which he thinks him equal. "God," he says, "has given to every man the means of acquitting himself of all his obligations; these means are always in his power. We should only seek happiness by the means that are in our power. Since God has given them for that end, we ought to ascertain what is our liberty. Wealth, life, respect, are not in our power, and do not lead to God; but the mind cannot be forced to believe that which it knows to be false; nor the will to love that which it knows will make it miserable. These two powers then are perfectly free; and by these only can we make ourselves perfect—know God perfectly, love him, obey him, please him, vanquish all vices, attain all virtues, and thus, make ourselves the holy companions of God."

These proud notions lead Epictetus to other errors, such as, that the soul is a portion of the Divine essence; that pain and death are not evils; that we may kill ourselves when we are oppressed; that we may believe that God calls us, &c.

2. Montaigne, born in a Christian land, made a profession of the Roman Catholic religion; and so far there was nothing peculiar about him. But as he wished to seek a system of morals, founded on reason, independently of the illuminations of faith, he laid down his principles according to this supposition, and considered man as entirely destitute of a revelation. He places all things, therefore, in a state of doubt so general and universal, that man doubts even that he doubts; and this uncertainty returns restlessly upon itself in a circle perpetually, opposing equally those who affirm that every thing is uncertain, and those who affirm that nothing is; for he does not wish to give certainty in any thing. In this doubt which doubts itself, and in this ignorance which is ignorant of itself, consists the essense of his opinions. He cannot express it in positive terms; for, if he says, he doubts, he betrays himself by making it certain that he doubts; which being in form contrary to his intention, he is reduced to the necessity of explaining himself by a question; so that not wishing to say, I do not know; he asks, What do I know? And on this idea he has framed his device, in which he has written this motto, "*Que sais je,*" under the scales of a balance, each containing a contradictory proposition, and consequently hanging in equilibrium. In fact, he is a pure Pyrrhonist. All his discourses, all his essays, proceed on this principle; and it is the only thing which he professess thoroughly to establish. He insensibly destroys all that passes for certain among men; not to establish the contrary with certainty; for to certainty he is chiefly hostile; but merely to make it appear that the evidence being equal on both sides, it is impossible to know where our confidence should be reposed.

In this spirit he derides every thing like assurance. He combats, for instance, those who have thought to establish a grand remedy against legal processes by the multitude and the professed justice of the laws, as if it were possible to annihilate the region of doubt in which litigation originates; as if we could throw a dam across the torrent of uncertainty, and restrain conjecture. He says on this matter, that he would as soon commit his cause to the first passer by, as to the judges armed with law and precedent. He does not aim to change the order of the state; he does not pretend that his advice is better; he considers none good. He aims only to show the vanity of the best received opinions, showing that the annulling of all laws would sooner diminish the number of differences, than the multitude of laws which serve only to augment them; because the difficulties increase the more they are considered; the obscurities are multiplied by multiplied comments; and the surest way of understanding the sense of the passage is, not to examine it, but to determine on it at the first glance; for that the instant you look into it, all its clearness disappears. On this plan he judges at hap-hazard all human actions and historical facts, sometimes after one manner, sometimes after another, following freely the first impression, without controlling his thoughts by the rules of reason, which, according to him, are all false guides. Delighted with showing, in his own example, the contrarieties of the same mind in this illimitable field, it is the same to him whether he grows warm or not in a dispute, having always the means by one example or another, of showing the weakness of any opinion whatever; being so far elevated by the system of universal doubt, he strengthens himself equally by his triumph or his defeat.

It is from this position, fluctuating and variable as it is, that he combats with invincible firmness the heretics of his time, on the ground that they assumed to themselves the exclusive knowledge of the true sense of Scripture; and from thence also he thunders against the horrible impiety of those who dare to say, that there is no God. He attacks them, especially in the apology of Raimond de Sebonde, and finding them entirely stripped of the support of a revelation, and abandoned to their natural light, independent of faith, he demands of them on what authority they pretend to judge of this Sovereign Being, whose specific definition is Infinity—they who do not thoroughly know the smallest thing in

nature. He asks them on what principles they rest, and presses them to disclose them. He examines all that they can produce; and he goes so deeply by that talent, in which he peculiarly excels, that he shows the vanity of those principles which pass for the clearest and the most established. He inquires if the soul knows any thing; if it knows itself; if it is a substance or an accident, body or spirit; what each of these things is, and if there are not some things which belong not to either of these orders; if the soul knows its own body; if it knows what matter is; how it can reason if it is matter, and how it can be united to a material frame, and feel its passions, if it is purely immaterial? When did its existence commence; with or before the body? Will it terminate with it or not? Does it never deceive itself? Does it know when it is in error? seeing that the very essence of error is not being aware of it. He asks also, If brutes reason, think, or speak? Who can say what is time or space; extension, motion, or unity; all being things by which we are surrounded, but utterly inexplicable? What are health, sickness, death, life, good or evil, justice or transgression: things of which we speak continually? If we have within us the principles of truth, and if those that we believe to be such, and that we call *axioms*, or *notions common to all men*, are really conformed to essential truth? Since we cannot know but by the light of faith, that an infinitely Good Being has really given us these principles, and formed us so as to comprehend truth: who could know, without the light of faith, whether we may not be formed by accident; and that consequently, all our notions are uncertain; or, whether we may not be created by a false and wicked being, who has given us these false principles expressly to lead us astray? And thus, he shows that God and the truth are inseparable, and that if one is or is not, if one is certain or uncertain, the other is necessarily the same. Who knows that common sense which we generally regard as the judge of truth, has been appointed to this office by Him who made it? Who knows what is truth? and how can we be sure of possessing it without knowing it? Who knows, in fact, what being is, since it is impossible so to define it, but that there must be something more general; and since it requires, even in the explanation of it, to use the very idea of *Being*, saying it is such or such a thing? Since we know not what the soul, the body, time, space, motion, truth, and good are, and even what being is, nor how to explain the idea that we have formed of them; how can we know that the idea is the same in all men? We have no other mark than the uniformity of results, which is not always a sign of uniformity of principles; for they may be very different, and yet lead to the same conclusions; every one knowing that truth may be concluded from falsehood.

Then Montaigne examines very deeply the sciences:—Geometry, the uncertainty of which he points out in its axioms, and in its terms which it does not define, as *extension*, *motion*, &c.; physics and medicine, which he depresses in a variety of ways; history, politics, morals, jurisprudence, &c. So that, without revelation, we might believe according to him, that life is a dream, from which we do not wake till death, and during which, we have as few principles of truth as in natural sleep. In this way he attacks so fiercely and so cruelly reason when unaided by faith, that causing it to doubt whether it is rational or not, and whether the brutes are so or not, or more or less so than men, he brings it down from the excellence that is attributed to it, and places it as a matter of favor on a level with the brutes, without permitting it to rise above that level, till it shall be instructed by its Creator, to that real rank which belongs to it, and of which it is ignorant; threatening, if it rebels, to place it beneath every thing else, which appears, at least, as easy as the reverse; and not allowing it power to act, except to recognize, with real humility, its feebleness, instead of elevating itself by a false and foolish vanity. We cannot behold but with joy, that in this writer, haughty reason has been so completely battered by its own weapons—to see this deadly struggle between man and man, which, from the association with God, to which he had raised himself by the maxims of feeble reason, hurls him headlong to the level of the brutes: and we would cordially love the minister of this mighty vengeance, if, as an humble, believing disciple of the church, he had followed the rules of its morality, and taught man whom he had so beneficially humbled, no longer to irritate, by fresh crimes, Him who alone could redeem him from those already committed, and which evils God had already convinced him that man had not the power to discover. But, on the contrary, he acts like a heathen. Look at his moral system.

From this principle, that independent of faith, all is uncertainty; and from the consideration, how large a portion of time has been spent in seeking the true good, without any progress towards tranquillity; he concludes, that we should leave this care to others; resting, in the meantime, in a state of repose, and touching lightly on these subjects lest we sink by pressure; that we should admit truth and the true good upon the first glance, without examining too closely, because they are so far from solid, that however little we grasp the hand, they escape between our fingers, and leave it empty. He follows, then, the report of the senses, and the prevailing notions, because to deny them, would be to do violence to himself, and he knows not in his ignorance of truth, if he would be the gainer by it. He avoids also pain and death, because his instinct shuns them, and yet for the same reason as before, he would not resist them. But he does not trust himself too much to these emotions of fear, and does not venture to conclude that pain and death are real evils; since we discover also emotions of pleasure which we condemn as evil, though nature affirms the contrary. "So that," says he, "I have nothing extravagant in my conduct. I do as others do: and all that they do under the foolish notion that they are seeking the true good, I do from another principle, which is that the probabilities on both sides being equal, example and my own convenience lead me." He adopts the manners of his country, because custom leads him; he mounts his horse and rides, because the horse allows it, but without regarding it as a matter of right; on the contrary, he does not know but that the horse has a right to ride him. He even does violence to himself, in order to avoid certain vices; he preserves matrimonial fidelity, on account of the annoyance resulting from irregularities, the real object of all his actions being convenience and tranquillity. He utterly rejects that stoical virtue, which is delineated with a sour countenance, and a frowning brow, with hair dishevelled, and her forehead wrinkled with care, and sitting in a painful attitude, in solitude and in silence on the top of a rock, an object fit only, as he says, to frighten youth, and doing nothing but seeking with unremitted toil for rest, where rest can never come; whilst, on the other hand, virtue, according to his notion, is ingenuous, open, pleasant, gay, and even sportive; she follows that which pleases her, and negligently trifles with the events of life, whether good or bad; she nestles luxuriously in the bosom of a quiet indolence, from whence she teaches those who seek restlessly after happiness, that it is to be found no where but in the shrine where

she reposes; and that, as he says, ignorance and indifference are the downy pillows for a well-made head.

3. On reading Montaigne, and comparing him with Epictetus, we cannot dissemble a conviction, that they were the two greatest defenders of the two most celebrated sects of the unbelieving world, and that they are the only persons among the varieties of men destitute of the light of true religion, who are in any degree rational and consistent. In fact, without revelation, what could we do but follow one or other of these systems? The first system is, There is a God, then he has created man; he has created him for himself; he has made him such as he ought to be, to be just, and to become happy. Then man may attain to the knowledge of truth; and it is within his range to elevate himself by wisdom, even to God himself who is the sovereign good. The other system is, Man cannot elevate himself to God; his native tendencies are contrary to God's law; his tendency is to seek happiness in visible things, and even in those which are most disgraceful. Every thing then appears uncertain, even the true good itself; and we are reduced to such a state, that we appear to have neither a fixed rule for morals, nor certainty in matters of science.

There is much pleasure in observing in these different lines of reasoning, in what respects men on either side have discovered any traces of that truth which they have endeavored to seek. For it is pleasant to observe in nature, the effort to show forth God in the works of his hands, where some marks of him are seen, because those works are his image; how much more justifiable are the efforts of the human mind to arrive at truth, and the endeavor to ascertain in what respects they attain to it, and in what they go astray. This is the chief benefit to be derived from reading Montaigne's writings.

It would seem that the source of error in Epictetus and the Stoics on one side, and of Montaigne and the Epicureans on the other, is the not having known that the present state of man differs from that state in which he was created. The former, observing in man some remnant traces of his former greatness, and ignorant of his corruption, have treated human nature as in a healthy state, and without need of reparation—an error which has led to the most unbounded pride The latter, sensible of man's present misery, and ignorant of his former dignity, have treated our nature as if it were necessarily impure and incurable, and have thus been led to despair of ever attaining the true good, and have sunk from thence to the lowest moral degradation. These two states, which ought to be taken cognizance of together, in order to ascertain the whole truth, being looked at separately, have led necessarily to one or other of these vices, either pride or immorality, in one of which all unconverted men are infallibly plunged; since either from the power of corruption, they do not avoid irregular indulgence, or if they escape, it is only through pride; so that they are always in one way or other, the slaves of the spirit of wickedness, to whom, as St. Augustine says, sacrifice is offered in many different ways.

And hence it follows, as the result of this imperfect light, that one class of men, knowing their powerlessness, and not their duty, sink down in sin; the other knowing their duty, but not their weakness, lift themselves up with pride. One might suppose, that, by uniting these two classes, a perfect system of morals might be produced; but instead of peace, nothing would result from the meeting but conflict and destruction: for, since the one aimed to establish certainty, and the other universal doubt; the one, the dignity of man, and the other his weakness, they cannot possibly be reconciled; they cannot subsist alone because of their defects; nor together, because of the contrariety of their opinions.

4. But it was needful that they should come into collision and destroy each other, in order to give place to the truth of revelation, which alone can harmonize, by a principle truly divine, such manifest contrarieties. Uniting all that is true, and setting aside all that is false, she indicates by a wisdom evidently "from above," that point at which those opposing principles unite, which, as stated in doctrines merely human, appear perfectly incompatible with each other. And here is the reason of it. The wise men of this world have placed these contrarieties in the same subject; the one side attributing strength to human nature; the other, weakness to this same nature; which things cannot be true together. Faith, however, teaches us to regard these two qualities as residing in different subjects, all the infirmity belonging to man, and all his might to divine assistance. There is the novel and surprising union which God only could teach us—which God only could accomplish, and which is only an image and an effect of the ineffable union of the two natures in the one person of the God-man Mediator. In this way philosophy leads insensibly to theology. In fact it is difficult not to enter upon it whenever we treat of truth, because it is the centre of all truth, a fact which appears here unquestionably, because it so evidently unites in itself whatever there is of truth in these contrary opinions. Moreover, we can see no reason why either party should refuse to follow it. If they are filled with notions of human greatness, what is there in all that they have imagined, that does not yield to the gospel promises, which are a purchase worthy of the inestimable price of the death of the Son of God. And if they take delight in the infirmity of human nature, no notion of theirs can equal that of the real weakness induced by sin, of which that same death is the remedy. Each party finds in the gospel, more even than it has wished; and what is wonderful, they find there the means of solid union—even they who could not of themselves approximate in an infinitely lower degree.

5. Christians in general have little need of these philosophical lectures. Yet Epictetus has an admirable talent for disturbing those who seek for repose in external things, and for compelling them to discover that they are really slaves and miserably blind, and that it is impossible to escape the error and the distress from which they endeavor to fly, unless they give themselves up unreservedly to God. Montaigne is equally successful in confounding the pride of those, who, without the aid of faith, boast themselves of a real righteousness; in correcting those who value their own opinion, and who believe that, independently of the existence and perfections of God, they shall find in the sciences infrangible truth. He exhibits to reason so convincingly the poverty of its light, and the multitude of its errors, that it is difficult afterwards to feel even the temptation to reject the mysteries of religion, on the ground that they may be contradicted; for the spirit is so humbled, that it does not even presume to judge if mysteries are possible, a point which ordinary men debate too readily. But Epictetus, in his reprehension of indifference, leads to pride, and may be most injurious to those who are not convinced of the corruption of all righteousness, but that which is of faith. Montaigne, on the other hand, is positively evil in his influence on those whose bias is to impiety and vice. And hence, these authors should be read with great care and discretion, and with peculiar regard to the condition and morals of those who look into them. It

seems, however, that the union of them can only have a beneficial influence, as the evil of the one corrects the evil of the other. It is true that they do not impart virtue, but they disturb men in their vices. For man finds himself assailed by contrarieties, one of which attacks his pride, and the other his carelessness, and ascertains that all his reason will not enable him either to obtain peace in the indulgence of his vices, or altogether to avoid them.

CHAPTER XXX.

ON THE CONDITION OF THE GREAT.

A man was thrown by a tempest on an unknown island, the inhabitants of which were seeking their king, whom they had lost; and as he had accidentally some resemblance to him, both in face and figure, he was mistaken for him, and recognized as such by all the people. At first he knew not how to act: but he resolved, at length, to yield to his good fortune. He received, therefore, all the respect with which they honored him, and allowed himself to be treated as their king.

But since he could not altogether forget his former condition, he thought even while he received their homage, that he was not the king whom this people sought, and that the kingdom did not really belong to him. His thoughts, consequently, were two-fold. One, by which he played the king; the other, which recognized his true condition, and that chance only had placed him in this extraordinary position. He hides this last thought, whilst he discloses the other. According to the former, he deals with the people; according to the latter, he deals with himself.

Think not, that by a less extraordinary chance you possess your wealth, than that by which this man became a king. You have not in yourself any personal or natural right, more than he; and not only does your being the son of a duke, but your being in the world at all, depend upon a variety of contingencies. Your birth depended on a marriage, or rather on all the marriages of a long line of ancestry. But on what did these marriages depend? on an accidental meeting! on a morning's conversation! on a thousand unforeseen occurrences!

You hold, say you, your riches from your forefathers; but was it not the result of a thousand contingencies, that your forefathers acquired or preserved them? A thousand others as clever as they, have not been able to acquire wealth, or have lost it when they had. You conceive, that by some natural channel, this wealth descended from your ancestry to you: No such thing. This order is founded solely on the will of those who made the laws, and who might have had divers good reasons for so framing them; but none of which, most assuredly, was formed in the notion of your natural right in those possessions. If they had chosen to ordain that this wealth, after having been possessed by the father during his life, should return at his death to the public treasury, you would have had no reason to complain.

Thus then, the whole title by which you possess your property, is not a title founded in nature, but in human appointment. Another train of thought in those who made the laws, would have made you poor; and it is only this favorable contingency, by which you are born in accordance with the whim of law, which has put you in possession of your present wealth.

I do not mean to say that your goods are not yours legitimately, and that others are at liberty to rob you of them; for God, our great master, has given to society the right of making laws for the division of property; and when these laws are once established, it is unjust to violate them. And here there is a slight distinction between you and the man of whom we have spoken, whose only right to the kingdom, was founded in an error of the people; for God would not sanction his possession, and, in fact, requires him to renounce it, whilst he authorizes yours. But the point in which the two cases completely coincide is this, that neither your right nor his is founded in any quality or merit whatever in you, or which renders you deserving of it. Your soul and your body are of themselves no more allied to the state of a duke, than to that of a laborer; there is no natural tie which binds you to the one condition, rather than to the other.

Then what follows from this? that you ought to have, as this man of whom we have spoken, a two-fold habit of thought; and that, if you act outwardly towards men, according to your rank in life, it becomes you, at the same time, to cherish a sentiment more concealed, but more true, that you are in no respect naturally above them; and if the more ostensible thought elevates you above men in general, this secret conviction should lower you, and reduce you to a perfect equality with all men; for this is your natural condition.

The people who admire you, are perhaps not aware of this secret. They believe that nobility is a real natural superiority; and they regard the great, as being of a different nature from others. You are not required to correct this error, if you do not wish it; but see that you do not insolently misuse this elevation, and, above all, do not mistake yourself, and imagine that there is in your nature something more elevated than in that of others.

What would you say of him who had been made king, through the mistake of the people, if he so far forgot his original condition, as to imagine that this kingdom was properly his, that he deserved it, and that it belonged to him as a matter of right? You would wonder at his folly. But is there less folly in men of rank, who live in such strange forgetfulness of their native condition?

How important is this advice! For all the arrogance, violence, and impatience of the great, springs but from this ignorance of what they really are. For it would be difficult for those who inwardly consider themselves on a level with all men, and who are thoroughly convinced that there is in them nothing that merits the little advantages which God has given them above others, to treat their fellow-creatures with insolence. To do this, they must forget themselves, and believe that there is in them some essential superiority to others. And in this consists the delusion which I am anxious to expose to you.

2. It is desirable that you should know what is really due to you, that you may not attempt to require of men that which is not your due, for that were a manifest injustice; and yet to act thus, is very common in men of your condition, because they are not aware of their real merit.

There is in the world two sorts of greatness; there is a greatness founded in nature, and a greatness founded in appointment. That which is constituted great, depends on the will of men, who have believed with reason, that they ought to honor certain situations in life, and pay them certain respects. Of this kind are titles and nobility. In one country, the nobles are reverenced; in another, the laborers. In this, the elder son; in that, the younger. Why is this? Because men would have it so. It was a matter of indifference before it was so constituted; since then, it has become a matter of right, for it is unjust to interfere with it.

Natural greatness is that which is independent of the caprices of men, because it consists in real and effective qualities of body and mind, which

render the one or the other more estimable, as science, intellect, energy, virtue, health, or strength.

We owe a duty to each of these kinds of greatness; but as they differ in nature, we owe them also a very different kind of respect. To constituted greatness, we owe the appointed reverence; that is, certain outward ceremonies, which ought to be, at the same time, accompanied as we have shown, with an internal recognition of the propriety of this arrangement; but which does not force upon us the idea of any real quality of greatness in those whom we so honor. We speak on our bended knee to kings. We must stand in the saloons of princes. It is folly and narrow-mindedness to refuse these observances.

But natural respect, which consists in esteem, we only owe to natural greatness; and we owe contempt and aversion to the opposite qualities to this greatness. It is not necessary that I should esteem you, because you are a duke; but it is that I bow to you. If you are both a duke and a virtuous man, then I will yield the reverence which I owe to both these qualities. I will not refuse you the obeisance which your ducal dignity demands; nor the esteem that your virtue merits. But if you were a duke without virtue, I would then also do you justice; for while I paid that outward respect which the laws of society have attached to your rank, I would not fail to cherish towards you that inward contempt, which your meanness of soul deserved.

This is the line that justice prescribes to such duties, and injustice consists in paying natural respect to artificial greatness, or in requiring external reverence to natural greatness. Mr. N. is a greater geometer than I, and, on this account, he would take precedence of me. I would tell him that he does not comprehend this matter rightly. Geometry is a natural superiority—it asks the preference of esteem; but men have not appointed to it any outward acknowledgment. I take precedence of him therefore; while, at the same time, I esteem him more than myself, for his geometrical talent.

In the same way, if as a duke, and a peer of the realm, you are not satisfied that I stand uncovered before you, and you require me to esteem you also, then I must beg you to show me those qualities which deserve it. If you do this, then you gain your point, and I cannot refuse you with justice; but if you cannot do this, then you are unjust to ask it; and, most assuredly, you would not succeed, even if you were the mightiest potentate on earth.

3. I would have you, then, to know your true condition, for it is the thing, in all the world, of which you men of rank are the most ignorant. What is it, according to your notion, to be a great lord? It is to have the command of many objects of human gratification, and to be able thus to satisfy the wants and the desires of many. It is the wants and the wishes of men which collect them round you, and render them subservient; without that, they would not look to you exclusively; but they hope, by their attentions and adulation, to obtain from you some part of those good things which they seek, and which they see that you have to bestow.

God is surrounded by people full of the need of charity, who ask of him those blessings of charity that are his to give. Hence he is appropriately called, "The king of charity."

You are in the same way surrounded with a little crowd of people, over whom you reign in your way. These people are full of sensual wants. They ask of you sensual blessings. They then are bound to you by covetousness. You are then properly the king of covetousness. Your dominion may be of small extent; but as to the kind of royalty, you are on a level with the greatest kings of the earth. They are like you, monarchs of animal wants. This it is which invests them with power, namely, the possession of things after which men greedily crave.

But in thus recognizing your real and natural condition, use the means which are consistent with it, and do not pretend to reign by any other way than by that which actually constitutes you a king. It is not your natural energy and power which subjects the people round you. Do not pretend then to rule them by force, nor to treat them harshly. Satisfy their just desires; relieve their wants; find your pleasure in beneficence; help them as much as you can; and act in your true character as the king of animal necessities.

What I have said to you, does not go far into the subject of duty; and if therefore you rest there, you will not fail to lose yourself, though you will then, at least, sink as a virtuous man should do. There are men who destroy their own souls by avarice, by brutality, by dissipation, by violence, by passion, by blasphemy. The path which I point out to you, is undoubtedly more virtuous than these. But in any way, it is unpardonable folly to lose one's self; and therefore, I say, you must not rest at that point. You should despise sensuality and its dominion, and aspire to that kingdom of charity, where all its subjects breathe nothing but charity, and desire no other blessings. Others will direct you better than I can in this way; it will be sufficient for me to have turned you aside from those low and sensualizing ways, along which I see so many persons of rank hurried, from the want of a due acquaintance with their own real condition.

THE END

A

NARRATIVE OF THE VISIT

TO THE

AMERICAN CHURCHES,

BY THE

DEPUTATION

FROM THE

CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

BY

ANDREW REED, D.D. AND JAMES MATHESON, D.D.

NEW-YORK:
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1835.

DEDICATION AND PREFACE.

TO

THE CHURCHES

OF

ENGLAND AND AMERICA,

THIS NARRATIVE

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

WITH THE EARNEST DESIRE THAT IT MAY PROMOTE

THEIR MUTUAL AFFECTION,

AND THEIR UNITED DEVOTEDNESS

TO THE

WORLD'S SALVATION,

BY THE

DEPUTATION.

PREFACE.

It must be admitted that enough has been recently written on America, unless it were better written, or occupied some new field of discourse. The execution of the following volumes must be left with the judgment of the public; but the authors may claim the advantage of having occupied new ground.

Notwithstanding the numerous communications made by travellers within these few years, relative to this interesting country, the ample fields of Nature and Religion remained almost unexplored and unreported. Happily, these subjects are in keeping with each other, since to illustrate one is to assist the conception of the other; and happily, too, they were most in accordance with the taste of the writers, as well as in the very spirit and design of their mission. Religion, indeed, must be considered as the great subject of inquiry; and if nature and outward circumstance, in the form of narrative, are associated with it, it is from a desire of commending to the memory and heart, with greater facility and power, the things that are "invisible," by "the things which do appear."

The Congregational Union was formed in the year 1831. It had been several times contemplated; and at length arose, partly from the growing exigencies of the times, and partly from the improved spirit in the churches. It was felt that, in pleading with unwavering resolution for the principle of independence, under difficult circumstances, we were liable to adopt a limited view of its import; and that it was desirable, on every account, to convey the acknowledged strength and efficiency of our individual churches to those churches in an associated capacity. The attempt has been successful beyond the expectations of many; and it is earnestly to be hoped, that, since the *sign* of our religion is Union, and the *spirit* of it Love, its success will be complete.

One of the best and earliest effects of this union was, to express sympathy to kindred fellowships, without restriction from national bias or geographical boundaries. An affectionate correspondence was soon opened between it and the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies of the United States, which afforded much gratification. Affection was strengthened by its exercise; and it was proposed to seek the higher profit and pleasure which might arise from personal intercourse. In this spirit, a Deputation was appointed to make a fraternal visit to the churches of tha 'and; to assure them of our Christian esteem and affection; and to bear home again the responses of kindness and confidence. The churches of America have shown their eagerness to participate in this communion; not only by the temper in which they received the Deputation, but equally by the celerity with which they determined to send their delegates in return; while the efforts which we have already made have certainly disposed us the more fully to renew and perpetuate the delightful intercourse.

One should have thought, that such a movement on the part of churches in different regions of the globe, could have been viewed only with unmixed satisfaction and joy. Yet the Deputation, on returning, have concern, if not surprise, to find that, in some quarters, and in the name of religion, their mission has been open to misrepresentation, and their motives to misconstruction. They trust, however, when it is found that their mission was as catholic as the religion they profess; that they had no political or party purposes to accomplish; that their embassy was one of fraternal and Christian charity—to express love and to invite love—nothing more and nothing less—that justice will be done to a service which, apart from the *manner* of its execution, demands only the approbation of the generous and the good. Whatever may be the ultimate conclusion of those who have indulged in hasty, and perhaps prejudiced objection, their judgment is fixed—unalterably fixed. They have reason to regard it as one of the noblest acts to which the church, in recent times, has given herself; they are confident that, if rightly sustained, the *consequences* will be most felicitous; and they must regard it, *in itself*, as among the most cheering signs of the times, if, indeed, the union of the church is to anticipate the conversion of the world.

It was no part of the engagement, that the visit of the Deputation should issue in an extended and published report. But they have been ready, with such ability and opportunity as they might command, to obey urgent request; and the more so, as the interest which the mission has created in their minds, disposes them to contribute to the utmost to render its effects extensively and permanently beneficial. They have felt that this part of their undertaking is attended with delicacy and difficulty. Every statement is likely to be seen through the medium of opposite habits and partialities; and on that account alone, while it gives pleasure to one party, it may give offence to the other. All offence, indeed, might have been easily avoided, by avoiding discrimination; but to write without discrimination would be to write without profit. They have confidence in the manliness of the American character to believe, that candid remark, when meant for improvement, will be candidly received; and if comparison and discrimination should sometimes reveal defects on our own part, they cannot think that it must necessarily give offence. They have sought to fulfil their commission in forgetfulness of prejudice on the one hand, and partiality on the other; and they will not suppose that, on this ac-

count, they will be deemed worthy of blame or suspicion. It were ungenerous of them not to do justice to America; but it were unnatural of them to depreciate England for the purpose of exalting America. They are truly sensible that their mission is one of pure charity; they would deeply regret that it should not be consummated in this spirit; and should it seem to be otherwise, in any instance, they crave of the reader to supply the charitable construction which may be wanting in the writer.

The circumstances of time, of distance, and of the Deputies having, during the visit, kept separate notes, made it requisite, in preparing the following volumes, that there should be a division of labor. It will be seen that the report on Canada and Pennsylvania, and the arrangements of the Statistical Tables in the appendix, rested with Mr. Matheson; for the remaining portions, the other member of the Deputation is responsible.

They cannot allow themselves to commit this work to the public, without a distinct and grateful acknowledgment of the manifold kindnesses expressed to them during their residence in the United States. Especially they desire to assure those friends who so readily made them a home in their own families, when they were so entirely separated from their endeared connections, that they do and must retain a deep and indelible sense of their affectionate and self-denying attentions.

On the whole, as the fruits, at the time, were unquestionably good, may it not be hoped that they shall abide and improve with years? And by such intercourse, maintained on Christian principles, why may we not expect that the churches of the two countries shall become ONE; the people become ONE; and their efforts to benefit the world ONE; till all nations shall be blessed, even as England and America are blessed? And England and America the more blessed, for the common deed of righteousness and love?

London, April 28, 1835.

NARRATIVE.

LETTER I.

My dear friend—I remember when called to separate from you, that I promised to supply you with a narrative of our visit to the Western world. I originally meant to do this by a succession of letters, transmitted from date to date, as I might change the place of observation, or find opportunity to copy and forward my impressions. Such, however, was the pressure and continuity of my engagements, as to make this quite impracticable. All that I could do was to take hasty notes, to defend me from the treachery of the memory; in the hope that I might afterward give them such form and correctness as might render them intelligible and acceptable to you. I now propose to fulfil this duty; and I have the persuasion that, under the circumstances, you will receive it as a real, though a late, redemption of my promise.

On the morning succeeding the very solemn and affecting valedictory service at Zion chapel, I left town for Liverpool. On arriving at that place, I was sought out by my esteemed friend Mr. Bulley, and kindly urged to make his house my home.—Here I was joined by Mr. Matheson, who was to be the companion of my travels. Every thing had been arranged by our friend for our departure; and we had only to realize and confirm those arrangements previously to our sailing.

The *Europe*, in which vessel we had engaged our passage, was announced to sail on the 16th; but we had hope that as the tide would not serve till two o'clock, and as the wind was not promising in the opening of the day, that we might pass our Sabbath in quietude. With this doubtful hope we participated in the morning worship at Dr. Raffles's, and had an especial place in the prayers of the church and congregation. At the close of the service the word was—"The wind serves—all on board immediately." We obeyed the summons; parted with our friends; joined our vessel; and committed ourselves to the ocean and to God.

The passage is now so regularly made, and it has been so often described, that it is needless to offer particulars. Our packet is considered one of the finest on the line; it is fitted up in the most handsome style; it has a table not inferior to our best inns; it is indeed a floating hotel. Our company, too, composed as it was of all professions and pursuits, was respectable and agreeable; they were rather disposed to respect than to depreciate us on the ground of our ministerial character; we parted with many of them with much regret, and afterward in our travels met with some of them with sincere pleasure. Indeed, every thing was acceptable and pleasant, with the exception of close air, coffin-like cabins, restless but confined motion, and —the sea-sickness. These deductions, unhappily, belong to a sea life; and though the allowance made for them may be various with various persons, I think it is uniformly considerable; for I have always observed that both the sailor and the passenger equally admit, that the *quick* voyage is the *good* voyage.

You know my admiration for the ocean; I had one opportunity of seeing it in its majesty. We were in a smart gale of wind for a day and a half. Unwell as I was, I could not forego the unobstructed enjoyment of the scene. I got on deck, and secured myself as well as I could by the cordage, and observed in silence. Every thing was raised from its ordinary state of being, and was full of power.—The calm earnestness of the captain; the awakened and prompt attention of the sailor; the subdued anxiety of the passenger; the straining and groaning of the vessel; the roaring and battling of the waters as they resisted our impetuous course; were full of sublimity. At such a time, the snapping of a cord or the starting of a plank might have brought not merely disaster, but death. But the ocean, what shall be said of it? When it rose in all its mightiness, and shut up our view, which was before illimitable, to a small span in the heavens; when it stood around our little bark in unbroken mountains, as once it did around the Egyptians, threatening to ingulf us in an instant and for ever; then I had an advanced and unutterable conception of nature and of Omnipotence. In crossing our channels, and in running along our coasts, I had thought I knew what the sea was; but I was then satisfied I had never seen it before.

I will not trouble you further with sights. We did not see the icebergs nor the sea-serpents. We were told that we saw some whales; but I should fear to avouch it. Indeed, we were now beginning to look for the land, as decidedly the most interesting object. But while searching for it, calm and fog came on, and made us in turn fearful of the object of our anxious search. This pause to our hopes was hard to bear so near to our haven. Every wish was now directed to the pilot-boats; and when at length one was discovered, like the wing of a bird through the opening mists, there was universal joy.

We felt as if, on getting the pilot on board, we should make a decided movement towards our port. But the breeze was still faint, and the fog heavy. Fogs, it is understood, prevail very much at this season of the year for many days; and they arise from the sudden return of hot weather, which dissolves the ice, and produces immense evaporation. We moved slowly through the Narrows into the expanding bay, and dropped anchor in the evening off Staten Island, and about six miles from the city. In the morning we quitted our vessel for a steamboat. The mists were still heavy, and veiled every thing from sight; we lost, therefore, for the present, the view of the bay, which is admitted to be exceedingly good. This, with a new world before us, was but a slight disappointment. About ten o'clock I sprang on the landing at New-York, and realized the presence of a country, which had long dwelt as a picture of interest and of hope in my imagination.

We made the best of our way to Bunker's hotel. Our first inquiry was for single-bedded rooms, as we understood that to be the only matter of doubt. They were readily obtained; and a black servant was commissioned to conduct us to them. After dressing, our first concern was, to use our retirement in acknowledging the Hand which had conducted us safely over the great Atlantic; and in committing ourselves to its renewed guidance, now that we were strangers in a strange land.

Before we retired to our rooms, we had expressed a wish for some refreshment; and I expected, on coming down, to see a little breakfast-table set for us. Nothing of this sort was, however, visible. I went into the bar-room, and looked at the papers, still waiting for a summons to the anticipated re-

freshment. At last I approached to the bar, and ventured to ask for it. The master of the ceremonies, without speaking, placed a small basket of biscuits and a plate of cheese before us as we stood. We were amused, as well as disappointed; and, as we seemed to be without choice, we partook of the supply that was offered. We thought, at least, that the little set-out had been for us; but while we were busy with it, two or three gentlemen came up, and, without permission, or without seeking a separate knife or plate, claimed a share. We asked for a glass of wine; a glass was literally supplied, and the decanter restored to its place. When our repast was over, we still waited in the bar-room, and must have shown some of the awkwardness of strangers. At length our host was conscious of this, and came with an apology for having forgotten to show us to a sitting-room. We were then introduced to a handsome withdrawing-room, which was open to other residents at the hotel.

While I give you this incident as illustrative of manners, you are not to suppose that the other arrangements of the house were on a level with this: they were excellent. But the case was, our appetite was out of time. The breakfast hour was past, and the dinner hour was not come; and the American inn, while it provides bountifully for periodical hunger, has no compassion for a disorderly appetite. There is one hour, one table, one meal, one summons; and if you are ready, you may fare very well; if you miss the opportunity, you must digest the consequences as you can. It was interesting to see how readily the American, with his love of freedom, submitted to these restraints, while John Bull insists on naming his own dinner, at his own table, at his own time, and in his own room. He has certainly more independence in his *habits*, if not in his *opinions*, than his transatlantic brethren.

After disposing of our snack and our host, we naturally desired to see something of the world around us. We walked up the Broadway. It is every way the principal street: its width is about that of Piccadilly, and its length about two miles and a half. It meets the eye well. The straight line it offers to the sight is relieved, in some measure by the foliage of trees and the towers of churches, while it conveys to the imagination a sense of magnitude and importance beyond the reality. My first impressions from the objects were such as these. The habitations, from frequently having the Venetian or other shutters closed, as the readiest mode of excluding the sun, affected me painfully, as though death had entered them. The ordinary signs of health could not be so prevalent as with us; for I was continually saying to myself, How ill that man looks. The shops are not at all English; they are Parisian; indeed, nowhere but in England can you meet with that shop-front which is so indicative of wealth, or the security of property, and of tact for catching the eye of the hasty passenger. The ladies, who were using the Broadway as a promenade, struck me as of less stature than ours. Those who aspired to fashion, used Parisian dresses; and they had a mincing tread, which was meant to be Parisian, but is certainly not so; it is affectation, and therefore disagreeable.

New-York is the counterpart of Liverpool; they have grown remarkably together. At no very distant period, they both had some 5,000 inhabitants; they have advanced almost thousand by thousand, and are now nearly equal in population. In point of site, Liverpool has the advantage. It springs boldly from the water, and, by its various elevation, presents more picture to the eye; while for water conveyance, and the mere purposes of business, the advantage is with New-York. It stands on a plane only sufficiently inclined to ensure a good drainage, and of course supplies great facilities for the transit of goods. At present, Liverpool does by far the greatest amount of business; but, because New-York has more home trade, there is with it a greater show of mercantile activity and life.

This city is really worthy of the reputation she has for the frequency of the fires. There were six to my knowledge in ten days. They appear to arise partly from wood being the common fuel, which is less safe than coal; and partly from flues being carried through frame-buildings, which is very hazardous. Some, however, as with ourselves, are intentional; persons of bad principle and embarrassed circumstances abuse the benefit of insurance, and seek to save themselves by fire, reckless of whom they destroy.

In the afternoon of the day, we were kindly waited on by Drs. Cox and Peters, and the Rev. W. Patton. They came as a deputation from the Third Presbytery, which was then in session. They stated that they were instructed to invite us to attend its sittings, and to accept of accommodations which had been made in Mr. Patton's family, in expectation of our arrival. We accepted the invitations in the spirit in which they were given; and were refreshed by intercourse with brethren whom we had known and esteemed in the Father Land.

LETTER II.

My dear friend—On the following day, according to the previous arrangement, we changed our habitation, and did honor to the invitation of the Presbytery. There were about thirty persons present. We were received by the Moderator, in the name of the body, with affectionate respect. We were glad to observe their methods of business.—They are similar to those with which we are familiar in our committee meetings. Several subjects were discussed and disposed of; but they were only of ordinary interest.

In the afternoon a young man was on trial for his license. His examination at this sitting was theological. He read a theme which discovered fair talent and true piety. It was pretty closely discussed. I could see that the examiners were not quite agreed among themselves. This circumstance gave an unnatural perplexity to the subject, as well as to the person examined. He obtained, however, the favorable suffrage of his brethren.

We had declined all application for ministerial service on the Sabbath after our arrival. I had suffered so much in the voyage as to leave me unfit for it; and besides, I was anxious to improve an occasion for hearing, which I foresaw it would be more difficult to secure as our stay advanced. On the morning of the day we attended at Laight-street church, and united in the thanksgiving and prayers which Dr. Cox affectionately offered on our account. It was an affecting thing, after traversing the great deep, to commit one's self for the first time to an act of worship, in a strange land, with the people of God; and it was the more affecting from the strong resemblance it has to what we most enjoy at home. The order of service, the singing, the hymns, the tunes, the sermon, the devout aspect of the congregation, were as our own. It brought one directly into a state of fellowship; it destroyed the sense of distance, and disposed one feelingly to say,

> "No more a stranger or a guest,
> But like a child at home."

In the evening of the day we went to the opening of a free church. Of the nature of this class of provision for the religious wants of the people, I

shall have occasion to speak in another connection. It was to be opened by a protracted meeting, running through the week; and Mr. K., an active revivalist preacher, was to take the service. We had reason to expect, that, at such a time he would try the effect of the *anxious seat.*

The exterior of the church was void of all taste; but it was large, and apparently well built. The ground-floor was fitted up for schools: the superior floor was the area of the church; and although this was at an elevation of some twenty steps, there were above it two tiers of galleries, and these running along three sides of the place. It would accommodate 2000 persons; and I suppose 1500 might be in it. The service was good; the sermon very good. I had been led to think that I might hear some statements which might be deemed extravagant; but there was in this exercise nothing of the kind. The preacher was evidently pious and truly in earnest: his statements were plain and scriptural: his appeals were popular, appropriate, and direct to the conscience and the heart. The impression was strong and general on the people.

When the sermon would have closed with us, I observed that the preacher was giving his remarks a new direction; and I was speedily led to conclude, that he was about to try the anxious seat.—He attempted to justify the measure, and then to challenge the people to use it, as a means and expression of religious decision. The persons occupying the two seats immediately before the pulpit were requested to vacate them, that the anxious might use them. Then a pause occurred. Two or three females, by degrees, appeared on the end of the seat. The preacher, with some of the awkwardness of disappointment upon him, renewed his address; and urged the young persons, and especially the young men, to decision, and to this mode of expressing it. Another pause was made; but no young men came. Dr. L., the minister of the church, renewed the appeal; and employed rests in different parts of it, as if waiting for signs of compliance; and when he saw that no greater effect was likely to follow, he changed the terms of the invitation, and begged all those who wished to be *prayed for* to come forward. He then gave out a suitable hymn; and while this was singing, the congregation began to disperse; and many serious persons, as might be expected, went before the pulpit to join in the proposed act of prayer. It was by this time nearly ten o'clock, and we left with the congregation.

This, then, was the first occasion on which I saw the anxious seat employed; and if employed, I can hardly conceive of its being with less extravagance or more sagacity; but it was certainly a failure. Without deciding here on the abstract merits of this measure, its adoption in this instance was assuredly bad. The sermon had shed seriousness over the congregation, and had produced tenderness on many; and had they been allowed to retire at a suitable hour for reflection in their closets, one could not avoid hoping that the effect would have been most happy. As it was, I had deep regret.—When it was felt, indeed, by the people, that the seat was to be used, there was a sensible excitement produced, which the novice might commend, but which the judicious would deprecate. I could perceive that a large portion of the people were excited to see how *others* would act in this crisis, and were thus relieved from thinking of themselves; while another portion, composed of such as had been affected by the discourse, feared that they should be overcome by the alarming appeals usual to such occasions, and by diverting their attention, stopping their ears, or a suppressed shuddering, told you that they were hardening themselves into resistance as well as they could.

But I must offer a different picture to your attention. You are aware that the time of our arrival in New-York was one of great excitement. Without indulging in political opinion, it may be understood that this excitement was created by some decided measures recently adopted by the Government relative to the National Bank. Those measures, whether good or ill in their issue, had so shaken public credit, that two hundred and fifty mercantile houses were prostrate in insolvency, and their vibrations were felt in the remote parts of Europe. A municipal election was about to happen, and it was proposed to make a matter of local and limited interest the test of opinion on the policy of the General Government. The polling for the city elections is taken in the different wards, and it usually occurs not only without danger to the peace, but without interruption to business. On this occasion, however, there was a riot in one of the wards. The losing party, with its other losses, as is usual, lost its temper; and when it could not succeed in obtaining votes, set itself to breaking heads. Some twenty persons were seriously hurt in the affray. A slight show of military power prevented farther evil. If these things were to happen, I was not sorry to see them, as they throw up national character; but the good citizens were greatly scandalized that such scenes should disgrace them as had never happened, they said, in the republic before.

The Whigs, as the friends of the Bank strangely called themselves, although they had not the majority of votes, considered that they had gained the victory; and they were resolved on a Whig celebration. I readily accepted a ticket of admission, as it enlarged my field of observation. I must endeavor to place it before you. The place of celebration was the Battery; and the manner was by a collation and speeches. The Battery stands on a slip of open ground at the end of the Broadway and butting on the Hudson river. It is now dismantled; not being used for purposes of defence, but for those of recreation and amusement. When we arrived many thousand persons were assembled within and without; and it was after delay, and with difficulty, that we succeeded in making an entrance.

We ascended to the bulwarks, which are built in a circle, and are usually a promenade, but which were now fitted up with a gallery of seats, and filled with spectators. We looked on a circular area of large dimensions, which was also crowded with people. Opposite us was the port by which we entered, and over it some rooms which had been provided for the officers formerly on duty here. On the roofing, parapets, and abutments, were flags, wooden guns, and a rigged vessel surmounting painted waves. This dumb show was animated by a number of spectators, whose ambition could be satisfied with nothing less than the highest point; but their presence gave a ludicrous air to the whole, as there appeared to be men sitting in the ocean, and upholding a vessel which should have held them. A balcony was prepared before the windows of the rooms I have named, for the speakers; a band of music was beneath, to fill in the pauses; colors were displayed in all directions, and were floating gracefully over the many headed multitude. Immediately over us, and opposite the rostrum, was the national flag, with its dark blue field and brilliant constellation of twenty-four stars; and above it, that all the decorations might not be void of reality, was a living eagle, placed on a perch, and fastened by the leg, as the emblem of liberty!

At this moment there was a pause in the regular engagements; but the good people were by no means idle. The Americans, who are quick to

dine, had finished their refreshments. Many were evidently ready to attend to such addresses as might be made; but many also, who sat down to eat, rose up to play. These were giving themselves to all manner of practical jokes. Hats and the remnants of bread were flying about; ladders were made of human shoulders to convey water, and glasses, and bread, from those in the area to those in the galleries; while in the centre of the picture a far more earnest group were surrounding and surmounting some barrels of beer, the contents of which they were exhausting with alarming speed.

A cry was made for silence and attention. The music stopped; but the multitude seemed little disposed to listen. A carman, with his frock on, came to the balcony. The fellow-feeling which the more noisy had with him disposed them to attention.—That class of persons in New-York is thriving and respectable; and this man was one of the best of his class. He had the good sense to make a short speech; and he uttered himself with plain sense, stout honesty, and especially with decision on the Whig side of the question. Trade, and of course, carts and wagons, had a vital interest in it. When he finished, hurrahs rang round the bulwarks, and ascended into the air; and that nothing might be wanting to the scene, the man who had the care of the eagle twitched the string and made the bird flap its wings over the assembly. But heroics did not long suit them; they eagerly returned to gossip, or to sport, or to the barrels in the centre of the court, which were still rising in popular favor.

Another call was made, and one of their orators came forward. He had no doubt claims on them, from his zeal in the cause, but he could have little to oratory, or the people would have been more sensible of it. He raised a stentorian voice; but in vain. Those at the windows and beneath him gazed and shouted; but his words died in his own atmosphere, and could not subdue the conflicting sounds in the distance. This gave a new character to the picture. Speech-making and sport, the grave and the gay, were so mixed and opposed, as to make the whole, to an eye like Hogarth's, exceedingly amusing and comical; while the numbers of the meeting, the beauty of the thronged amphitheatre, opening only into the bright blue heavens, saved it from the trivial, and made it interesting and delightful. I observed it for some time; and then, as the more respectable portion of the assembly was moving off, I prepared to leave with it.

I soon found myself moving with a body which had become processional, walking in order, and three or four abreast. It was understood that the celebrated Daniel Webster was at a house in the neighborhood, and the procession moved in that direction into the Broadway. The people gathered about the residence and cheered him. He advanced to the window. He could not have been heard in a speech, and therefore contented himself with bowing, and throwing out at the top of his voice a few short sentences as watchwords to the party. They received them with hurrahs, and passed on in order. The procession must have been quite a mile in length.

As this was the first, so it was the largest assemblage of this interesting people, which I witnessed while in the States. There was less of dignity and gravity about it than I had been led to expect from so grave a people; and there was more of English animation, humor, and audible expression of opinion, than I looked for, and more, certainly, than is usual. It is, however, to be remembered, that this was not a deliberative, but a commemorative occasion; and there was no crisis directly before them to point the speeches or to quicken the attention. On the whole, it was a meeting highly creditable to those who composed it. I saw not a single person intoxicated; nor did I hear afterward a single squabble, or of a pocket spoiled of its contents. It is remarkable, too, and indicative of a great sense of feminine propriety, that I saw not within or about the place a single female. It was feared that the meeting might provoke the Tories to come and create a disturbance: but they were satisfied with the mischief they had already done, and remained quiet at the West End of the town.

The evening of this celebration day was spent at Mr. T.'s. I wish it accorded with my plan to give you a sketch of the party which we had the gratification of meeting. Suffice it to say, that though it was composed of the friends of temperance, there was no want of elegant refreshments; that though composed of religious persons, it was cheerful and refined; that though composed of the two sexes, there was no want of ease in the intercourse or variety of the conversation; and that though composed of Americans, there was no lack of good-breeding or benevolent attentions. In fact, that it was the reverse of every thing lately held up to ridicule under the denomination of "domestic manners," and equal to any thing to be found, of its own grade, in the parent country.

LETTER III.

My dear friend—I must now take you with me to Washington, without pausing to expatiate on the Hudson, or Philadelphia, or Baltimore, in our way. A more favorable opportunity will occur for a brief notice of them.

Among the advantages of our speedy passage was the redemption of time; and of the time so redeemed I was anxious to make the best possible use. It appeared to us that no appropriation of spare time could be better than that of employing it for a visit to the capital, and the Congress which was then sitting; since it would not be possible to have a well-balanced opinion of the country we were visiting, in total ignorance of the character and proceedings of the American Parliament.

It took us three days to overcome the distance. The first two days we travelled by steamboat, or rail-road, and very pleasantly. The last day was mostly consumed in going from Baltimore to Washington; we were nearly seven hours in going less than forty miles, and sometimes with six horses.—The road, though the highway to the capital, was exceedingly bad; in many parts it was several inches deep in dust and sand, and in others it was clogged with loose stones as big as our paving-stones. No excuse could be offered for this, except that they were constructing a rail-road, and so were disposed to consign it to premature ruin.

This was the first time of using their stage coach, and it calls for notice. It is very like the single bodied coach which you have seen in France. It is heavy and strong, to meet the condition of the roads. It carries no outside passengers; but it has three seats within, and each seat receives three persons. To atone for the want of external accommodation, it is open all round, from the elbow upwards, and the roof takes the appearance of a canopy. If you wish to be enclosed, there are sliding shutters, partially glazed, to the doors, and leather curtains for the other openings; a provision that may do very well in the summer, but which must be far from comfortable in the really cold weather. When we took our seats the vehicle was not full: and as the day was very hot, we hoped not to be crowded; but before we had cleared the skirts of the town, three men, rough and large, sought admittance

Myself and an elderly lady occupied the back seat, and the stoutest of the three directed his movements towards us. We retired into our corners, and left him what room we could in the middle. He showed some desire for the outer seats; but this was not regarded, and he took his place. I soon saw that he had the abominable habit of chewing the "noisome weed," and began to fear for myself and the good lady; and he as soon began to look about him for relief. He looked on my side; I sat forward and looked very grave; he looked on the lady, and regarding her as the weaker sex, he put his head forward and spat across her face into the road. Nobody, not even the lady, seemed surprised at this, though she must have been annoyed. It was so often repeated as to induce her to change seats with him; and I fear it must be said that the annoyance was the more readily renewed in the hope of such an issue.

On the whole, it was an unpleasant ride. The country was not interesting; and, what with the heat of the day, the dust of the road, the crowded state of the coach, and our slow progress, we were rendered weary and unwell. We were glad to be set down at Gadsby's hotel, which is very large, has good accommodations, and would be all you could desire, if somewhat cleaner.

In the morning I did not find myself much refreshed by rest. The glass had dropped down from 80° to 70°, and being chilly and feverish, I determined to take a tepid bath, and was directed to an establishment at the back of the hotel for that purpose. It was certainly a poor affair for such a place as Washington. An old woman, with the occasional help of her daughter, was in attendance. She showed me to a room. It was a mere closet, with a wooden bath, a brick floor, and no fire-place; and the passage was the waiting room. She began to supply it with water; but I saw she had no guide to the heat. I said, "I want it at 90 degrees."—"It will do, sir," was her reply. Unsatisfied, I said, "Have you no thermometer?"—"O no; it was broke some time ago." "It is a strange thing," I said, "to have a bath establishment and no thermometer!" "O," she cried, "I'se can tell, as is used to it—It's blood heat—I know it's blood heat." And so saying she left me. I tried it; it was 96° or 98°. This was not all. Another gentleman came and ordered a bath. The cocks leaked; so that when the hot water was turned on his bath from the main pipe, it began to flow into mine, and I was in danger of getting hotter than I wished. There was no bell; and my only remedy was in quitting it earlier than I designed.

Washington is well placed on a fork of the Potomac. The plan of the city is magnificent; it is laid down in right lines, answering to the cardinal points of the compass, and these are intersected by diagonal lines to prevent a tiresome uniformity of aspect. It is a city that is to be, however; and is never likely to become what was intended, as its distance from the sea, and other disadvantages, deny it the benefits of commerce. While it is waiting to be something better, it appears less than it is. It is computed to have a population of 30,000 persons; but from the width of the streets, with a comparative meanness of the buildings, and from the scattered and unfinished state of every thing, you would think 10,000 the utmost amount. There is, too, a want of timber about here, which gives a nakedness to the picture that does not please you, and leaves you in doubt whether it is a city shrinking from its dimensions into ruin, or ascending upwards to life and magnificence. The only buildings of importance are the President's house and the Capitol; and these are connected by an avenue some 120 feet wide, and about a mile and a half long, which would, indeed, be fine, if it were sustained by a fine growth of timber, or fine lines of habitations.

We were quickly found out by Mr. Post, the excellent minister of the first Presbyterian church, and he insisted on our removing to his dwelling; urging that it was against usage in America to allow clergymen to stay at an inn. We met his kindness with returning confidence, and passed several days in his family—days to which my memory will always revert with pleasure.

Our first concern was to visit the Capitol, and become acquainted with the Congress, and our friend was anxious to secure to us every advantage. The Chamber of Representatives is always regarded as the chief object of sight. It is indeed highly imposing. It is a very large room, with its roof sustained by twenty-four fine marble columns of grand dimensions. The *President*, or chairman, has a raised and canopied seat in the centre of the straight line, with more glitter about it than you would find about the British throne; and the desks and seats of the members diverge from it in radiating lines. A gallery runs behind the pillars, through the course of the half circle. The general impression was not on the whole pleasing. Less than one-third of the place was occupied; and the empty space and large proportions of the room give a diminutiveness and insignificance to the persons present.

There was not much of interest in this house at the time. But I heard one speech that was certainly long, and that was considered to be good. The speaker rose from his desk; his speech lay written before him; he delivered it, however, without much reference to the document, and with a strong voice and energetic manner. But it was all a forced effort, and of necessity it was such. No one listened to him, and he seemed to expect no one to listen. It was understood by both parties that he was using the house as a medium of speech to his constituents across the Alleganies; and they seemed content to have it so. It is in this way that the floor is occupied here for two or more days together; and that the most important business of the state is postponed or neglected, while the house is afflicted with speeches which none will hear, and which are meant to be pamphlets that, with few exceptions, none will read.

The celebrated Colonel Crockett made an advance on this vicious usage, and it would be a great relief if his proposal were acted on. It is said he rose and claimed the notice of the chair, and stated that he had many times tried to obtain the floor, but had been so unfortunate as not to succeed; that he was now leaving to visit his constituents; and as he could not then deliver his speech, he begged to know whether he might publish it as a speech *intended* to have been delivered in the Congress. People were so uncandid, however, in the colonel's case, as to think this was a mere trick; and that he wanted to impress the public with a belief that he had sought an opportunity to make an important speech, but had not been able to find it, when in fact he had no such speech to deliver.

The Senate Chamber is of far less size, and of no pretensions; but it is well adapted to its uses, and therefore gives the eye satisfaction. All the interest, too, at this time, was here. The larger house had agreed to sustain the President in his measures against the Bank; but in the Senate, some strong resolutions had been adopted against them. The President sent down a protest on the subject, and the excitement was raised to the highest. The occasion called up all their best speakers; and if they spoke with less preparation, they spoke under those present impulses which throw out a man's best

thoughts in his best manner. It was really a fine opportunity.

Were it not that one is aware what confusion will arise among shrewd men, by the action of strong party prejudices and sudden excitation, it would have been concluded that this deliberative body had very small knowledge of the laws of debate. The discussion soon turned from the principal subject to a point of order, and strange to say, it was two days in disposing of this point of order. The party opposed to the protest proposed some resolutions to the effect that the protest be not received, and for reasons contained in the protest. Their object was to prevent the protest being entered on the records; but their resolutions made it necessary. The other party saw this error, and proposed, as an amendment, that the word *not* be omitted, and for reasons contained in the protest; so that which ever way they dealt with it, they would do what the objecting party wished to avoid—place the protest on the minutes.

None of them could see their way out of this! They contended that the protest was received, and that it was not received; that no amendment could be proposed which was a contradiction to the original proposition: they applied to the chair; they applied from the chair to the senate; and from the senate back again to the chair; till they were more than thrice confounded.

The Senate is now unusually rich in distinguished men. In this, and some following discussions, we heard most of them: Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Clayton, Leigh, Ewing, Frelinghuysen, and Forsyth. I should like to give you a sketch of these men, as they dwell in my memory, but opportunity fails me; and perhaps I might do them some injustice if I attempted any thing more than general impression, from such slight opportunities of knowing them. Suffice it to say, Clay's strength is in popular address; Webster's, in cool argument; Calhoun's, in his imagination, and his weakness too; Frelinghuysen's, in his truly Christian character; Ewing's, in his stout honesty, notwithstanding his bad taste and false quotations; and Forsyth's, in his vanity—certainly, in my eye, the very image of self-complacency.

On the whole, I was much gratified in becoming acquainted with the Congress of this great empire. Yet I must candidly admit, that it fell somewhat below my expectations. In its presence I was not impressed, as I think I should have been in the presence of the men who signed the Declaration; and my eye wandered over the assembly, anxiously seeking another Washington, who, by his moral worth, mental sagacity, and unquestionable patriotism, should, in a second crisis, become the confidence and salvation of his country; but it wandered in vain. Such a one might have been there; the occasion might bring out many such; but I failed to receive such an impression. Nor do I think, on the whole, that the representation is worthy of the people. It has less of a religious character than you would expect from so religious a people; and it has also less of an independent character than should belong to so thriving a people. But as matters stand, it is now only a sacrifice for the thriving man to be a member of Congress; while, to the needy man, it is a strong temptation. In this state of things, it is not wonderful that the less worthy person should labor hard to gain an election; or that, when it is gained, he should consider his own interests rather than those of his constituents. The good Americans must look to this, and not suffer themselves to be absorbed in the farm and merchandise; lest, on an emergency, they should be surprised to find their fine country, and all its fine prospects, in the hands of a few ambitious and ill-principled demagogues.

It was pleasing to find that a number of the members were formed into a Temperance Society; and that a smaller number were accustomed to meet weekly for religious exercises. Many of the elder members too, whose minds are certainly not under a religious influence, have, since the days of Jefferson, come to a conclusion that religion is essential to the stability of their institutions. This is salutary.

Before leaving the Capitol, do you expect that I should sketch it? It stands on a swell of land, which is so abrupt on one side as to have the effect of being artificial. The inclination should be made far less acute. The erection is of very large dimensions, approaching, though still very distant, to our St. Paul's. It is composed of two wings and a centre; and the centre is graced with steps, portico, and dome. The columns of the portico are too slender; and they are made to look more so, from the oppressive flights of steps which lead to them. The smaller domes and semicircular lights in the roof, are dissights which might readily be avoided. It is, however, with these and other faults, a grand building, and every where in the distance, has a very striking effect. There is, in its principal front, a monument which was prepared in Italy. It is not only unworthy of Italy, but of America. Were the names not on it, it would say nothing; and, worse than all, it stands in a basin of water.

The President's house is the reverse of the Capitol; and the two places might be supposed to indicate the genius of the people. It has no pretensions; but is a plain erection in the Grecian style; and, in size and aspect, resembles greatly the modern dwelling of our country gentleman. It is however, not unsuitable to the claims of Washington, and the other provisions made for the chief magistrate by the constitution.

Our kind friends had taken care to supply us with many letters of introduction for Washington, and among them was one for the President. If we had intended, we had no occasion to use it. An intimation was made by one of the household that the President would have pleasure in receiving a call from us. It was of course accepted. It was in the evening of the day; and Mr. Post was with us. We were received with respect, but without formality. The President is tall; full six feet in height. He stoops now, and is evidently feeble. The thermometer was at 72 deg., but he was near a strong fire. He is sixty-eight years of age. He is soldier-like and gentlemanly in his carriage; his manners were courteous and simple, and put us immediately at ease with him. He conversed freely; chiefly of the older country, as interesting to us. He expressed pleasure at the growing intercourse between the countries; at the arrival of ourselves as a deputation in evidence of this; and at the prospect there was of continued peace. He spoke of the Banking question also without reserve. He thought there was a resemblance between the state of the moneyed interest in America, and its state with us in 1825, and was desirous of information. We conversed of it freely, and for some time. Without judging his opinions, with which, as they are political, I have nothing to do in this communication, my impression was, that he held them with a strong conviction that they were right, and beneficial for the country. After remaining about half an hour, we took our leave, with very pleasant recollections of our interview.

Some days afterward we received an invitation to dine with the President. By this time the excitement on the Bank question had risen very high; and it was reported that his dwelling was guarded by troops, from fear of assault on his person. Instead of which there was less of form than before.

When we arrived, the entrance-doors were open; and on being conducted, by a single servant, to what we thought an ante-room, we found the general himself waiting to receive us. We were soon led into the dining-room. The table was laid only for six persons; and it was meant to show us respect by receiving us alone. Mr. Post, whom the President regards as his minister, was requested to implore a blessing. Four men were in attendance, and attended well. Every thing was good and sufficient; nothing overcharged. It was a moderate and elegant repast.

After dinner, we retired to the drawing room. Conversation was there renewed; and by the general on the Bank affairs. It was a delicate subject; we passed from it to other interests of the new country. On leaving, the President inquired of our route; and when he found that I was designing to travel into the west, very obligingly pressed me, if I should visit Tennessee, to tarry at the Hermitage, the name of his estate in that country, and to which he retires in the summer.

The President regularly attends on public worship at Mr. Post's, when he is well. On the following Sabbath morning I was engaged to preach. Himself and some fifty or sixty of the Congress were present. His manner was very attentive and serious. When the service had ended, I was a little curious to see how he would be noticed. I supposed that the people would give way, and let him pass out first, and that a few respectful inclinations of the head would be offered. But no; he was not noticed at all; he had to move out, and take his turn like any other person, and there was nothing at any time to indicate the presence of the chief magistrate. You might be disposed to refer this to the spirit of their institutions; but it has a closer connection with the character of the people. They have, in most of the States, less aptitude to give expression to their sentiments than the English. When afterward the general was passing through Lexington, on his way home, where a strong feeling existed on the part of the merchants against him, I inquired if any marks of disapprobation were offered to him. The reply was, "O no, we merely kept out of his way, and allowed him to change horses, and go on without notice." I think it may be safely said that John Bull would have acted differently in both cases: in the one, he would have offered some decided marks of respect; and in the other, he would not have been backward to show that he was offended.

It was at Washington we first saw the slave-pen. It is usually a sort of wooden shed, whitewashed, and attached to the residence of a slave-dealer. Slaves are bought up here, as at other places, to forward to the south: the gain is considerable, and the inducement in proportion. The slaves have great horror of this. One poor woman, who was expecting to be thus transferred, lately escaped; and on being pursued, she jumped over the bridge, choosing death rather than such a life. But I shall have other opportunities for this subject.

There are here a great many of the colored people who are free; and they appear to thrive. They attend in large numbers to worship, and have lately purchased the place in which Mr. Post's congregation did formerly assemble. I attended on one occasion: it was full, and they were very serious. They are Episcopal Methodists; their bishop was with them, and they were holding a conference. It was a high time. It was remarkable to have a white person among them. On leaving, they were happy to be spoken to, and free to converse. I also was happy to realize that they held with us a common faith and the common hope of salvation.

While at Washington, I first witnessed the windstorm, which is common in this country. It is peculiar—sometimes awful. The morning had been hot, and the sky fair; I had been to the Senate, and was now resting and writing in my chamber. Quietly the soft and refreshing breezes went down; a haze came over the sun, so that it shone as behind a gauze curtain. Every noise was stilled, except that of the frog, which was unpleasantly audible. The sky got silently darker and darker; the atmosphere became oppressive; and not a breath of air was felt. Suddenly, in the distance, you would see things in commotion; and, while every thing was yet quiet about you, you might hear the distant roaring of the wind. Then the cattle run away to their best shelter; then the mother calls in her heedless children; and the housewife flies from story to story, to close her windows and shutters against the entrance of the coming foe. Now the dust, taken up in whirlwinds, would come flying along the roads; and then would come the rush of wind, which would make every thing tremble, and set the doors, windows and trees flying, creaking, and crashing around you. You would expect the torrent to fall and the thunder to roll; but no, there was neither rain nor thunder there. It was wind, and wind alone; and it wanted nothing to increase its power on the imagination. It raged for a few minutes, and then passed as suddenly away, leaving earth and sky as tranquil and as fair as it found them. It is not easy to account for this very sudden destruction and restoration of an equilibrium in nature. The phenomenon, however, supplies a fine illustration of some striking passages in holy Scripture.

We spent one day with Dr. Laurie before we left the city. He is a Scotchman, and happy to commune with any from the parent land. He has been many years here, in the Presbyterian church, and holds an office under government; but he has lost none of his nationality. He was kind enough to take us to Georgetown. Here is a Catholic seminary of some celebrity: it is a great help to the Catholic interest, and is nourished from Europe. It is said that the bishop of the district has lately received 25,000 dollars from the pope. We paused to take refreshment at Colonel Bumford's, for the sake of knowing an amiable family; of seeing a nice cottage, in somewhat English style, situated on a beautiful estate, commanding fine views of the river and of the city. We afterward rode over the heights; and I was thankful to our friend for this excursion, as, without it, we should not have formed so just an opinion of Washington and its vicinity.

We could not quit this neighborhood without visiting Mount Vernon, the place where Washington lived and died, and is entombed. We left early in the morning, with Mr. Post, by steamboat to Alexandria. This town is on the margin of the river. It presents what is, in this country, an unusual spectacle, of a place in a state of declension. It had a population of 10,000 persons, but it has now not more than 7,000, and there is an air of desolation on it. We engaged a carriage here to take us to Vernon, a distance of nine miles; and we were two hours and a half going, with good cattle. However, it was a fine spring morning; the hillsides were pretty; most of our way was through the forest, and the woodlands were bursting into life. We were not sorry to feel that we were getting out of the world; and were much delighted with the number of wild-flowers which were expanding to the sun. The ground-honeysuckle, and the brilliant dogwood, especially engaged us.

About a mile and a half before you reach the house, we entered the estate. It is in fact a continuation of the forest; as wild, as quiet, and as

beautiful. We were received by a black servant, old and worn out in the service of the family. We presented our cards, and the servant was instructed to attend us over the grounds. We walked quietly round. They assorted with our feelings. Every thing had an appearance of desertion and decay. No hand of repair had seemed to have passed over the cottage, the garden, the plantations. We were about to visit the dead, and all was dying around us, except only vegetation, and that had been allowed to grow so thick and high, as to throw heavy shadows and quiet solemnity on all things.

At length we descended a bank, and stood before the tomb of Washington. It is built of brick, with an iron door. All, except the face of the vault, is hidden; it is grown over with dwarf cedar and forest-trees. I cannot tell you my emotions. I chiefly longed for hours to rest there in silence and solitude.

We went to the cottage. The interior was in harmony with all the external appearances. We were received in the library; it was just as the general had left it. We saw the curiosities: they were just where he had placed them. The inmates, too, were affectingly in keeping. Three females: a widow, an orphan, and an unprotected sister. And they moved and spoke as if the catastrophe had just happened, and they had dried up their tears to receive us. I shall never forget that day. I have had more pleasure and more melancholy; but I never had more of the pleasure of melancholy.

Mrs. Jane Washington was indisposed; but she sent us kind messages as to Englishmen, and some small remembrances of the place and the departed. We wound our way quietly from the cottage, and we soon left the domain, perhaps for ever, which was once dignified by the presence, and which is still sacred by the remains of Washington:—

WASHINGTON,
THE BRAVE, THE WISE, THE GOOD:
WASHINGTON,
SUPREME IN WAR, IN COUNCIL, AND IN PEACE:
WASHINGTON,
VALIANT WITHOUT AMBITION; DISCREET WITHOUT FEAR; AND CONFIDENT, WITHOUT PRESUMPTION:
WASHINGTON,
IN DISASTER CALM; IN SUCCESS MODERATE; IN ALL HIMSELF:
WASHINGTON,
THE HERO, THE PATRIOT, THE CHRISTIAN;
THE FATHER OF NATIONS, THE FRIEND OF MANKIND;
WHO,
WHEN HE HAD WON ALL, RENOUNCED ALL;
AND SOUGHT,
IN THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY AND OF NATURE
RETIREMENT;
AND IN THE HOPE OF RELIGION,
IMMORTALITY.

Forgive me, my dear friend, this ebullition. I never can turn to the name of Washington without enthusiasm. But I will glance at a more sober and worldly view of the case. It is said the government made an offer to purchase the property of the family. How could they make such an offer! How noble it was in the family to decline it, since it would have brought them moneyed advantage, and they are in confined circumstances! Again: How can the people suffer the place to pass to ruin, and the remnants of the family to exist without the means of sustaining it? Surely, if the people of America really knew the state of the case, they would rather sell New York than suffer such things to happen.

LETTER IV.

My dear friend:—We remained nine days at the capital; and might have remained longer to advantage, but the meetings at New York were coming on, and it was needful to hasten thither. I looked to these meetings with something more of confidence and pleasure now, as my strength was considerably recruited; although I was still suffering from cold and partial loss of voice. This cold was brought on by one of those sudden changes of temperature to which this climate is subject. On the previous day to our arrival at Washington, the glass was at 80°, and the day before we quitted it, it was at 48°; and we were shivering with cold, and thankful for good fires. Later than this, even in the middle of May, it was colder still; we had severe frosts, which cut off all the fruit; and snow fell in abundance in the state of New York.

On returning to the place which we considered our home, we were received into the family of Mr. Boorman, of Washington Square; an arrangement kindly suggested by Dr. Cox, and none could have afforded us more real comfort.

We found ourselves fully engaged for the following Sabbath, the 4th of May; but in consequence of the affection of voice from which I still suffered, I could in the issue only answer for a portion of my engagements. I was fixed to preach in the evening at the *consecration* of a new church in Brooklyn. What is called the consecration of a church among the Presbyterians is only what we should call an opening; and as, at this opening, a collection was to be made, I was very unwilling to disappoint them. The occasion was an interesting one. The church was handsome, and well built. It was the result of a revived state of religion in the place. It cost 20,000 dollars, and would accommodate 1,200 persons. It was very full.

As the week of anniversaries opened, there were decided marks of activity and engagement in the religious community. Previously, too, a wise regard is had to method and accommodation. The pastors give notice to their congregations, that those persons who are desirous to entertain one or more ministers during the meeting, may communicate their intentions either to himself or some elder appointed for that service. A counter notice is inserted in the newspapers, to inform the ministers visiting at the time, that accommodation will be provided; and directing them where to apply. At the place of reference an entry is made of all the friends who are prepared to accommodate; and the names of the applicants are filled in as they apply. The whole of this arrangement is effected on Christian principle, and it is on that account effectual. Of course, a respect is had to the requests of friendship, where they exist; but I could not learn that a minister ever failed of accommodation because he was either poor or unknown; nor could I find that, whatever might be the numbers, any suffered disappointment. There must have been from 300 to 400 ministers at this time in New York; but I believe none were necessitated to sojourn at the hotel or the lodging house.

To facilitate also the attendance of strangers and the community generally, a small map is prepared of that portion of the city which is to be the theatre of pious interest and activity; and cards are printed containing a table of the meetings. I insert a copy of one; which, although it does not embrace the meetings of Baptists, Methodists, or Episcopalians, will show that the week is by no means an idle one.

"FIRST OF MAY.

"ANNIVERSARY WEEK.—The following is a complete list of the meetings for the Anniversary Week, so far as we h ve been able to ascertain:—

"*Monday, May* 5.

"AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

"AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; meeting of Delegates at Society's rooms, 130 Nassau street, 4 P. M.

"*Tuesday, May* 6.

"AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 o'clock, A. M.

"REVIVAL TRACT SOCIETY, at Third Free Church, corner of Houston and Thompson streets, 4 P. M., and in the evening.

"Convention of Delegates, AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, 4 P. M., at Society's house.

"AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, 4 P. M.

"NEW YORK SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 P. M.

"CHILDREN OF THE SABBATH SCHOOLS appear in the Park at half past 3 P. M.

"*Wednesday, May* 7.

"AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 A. M.

"Delegates to AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, at Society's house, 4 P. M.

"NEW YORK COLONIZATION SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, 4 P. M.

"AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7. P. M.

"AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, at Mulberry street Church, 7 P. M.

"*Thursday, May* 8.

"AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 A. M.

"Directors of AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, at their rooms in the Tract House, 4 P. M.

"SEVENTH COMMANDMENT SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, 4 P. M.

"PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATION SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 P. M.

"AMERICAN and PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATION SOCIETY united.

"*Friday, May* 9.

"Meeting for the FOREIGN MISSION BOARD, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 A. M.

"NEW YORK CITY TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 P. M.

"NEW YORK INFANT SCHOOL SOCIETY, in Canal street Church, 10 A. M.

"Morning prayer-meetings will be held at half past 5 o'clock on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, in Chatham street Chapel, and in Mr. Patton's church, Broome street, near Broadway."

Had I leisure, it would not be desirable that I should attempt to describe all these meetings: for they are very similar to each other, and indeed very like our own; but I will endeavor to place one before you as a sample of the whole, as I believe this has not yet been done by any friendly hand. Do not, however, expect that it should equal in magnitude what we have seen in Surrey Chapel or Exeter Hall; for this would not be just. The states have at present no metropolis; the interest of their meetings, therefore, is divided among several places, rather than concentrated in one, as it is in London. However, if I succeed in placing it properly under your eye, you will not think it inconsiderable. If it does not equal our central, it surpasses most of our provincial meetings.

The Societies creating the most interest are the Tract, the Home Mission, the Education, the Bible, and the Foreign Missionary. The last of these was the last in order; but, as it surpassed, perhaps, all in impression, it is to this I will refer.

The ordinary place of meeting is Chatham street Chapel. The place was a theatre; it has been purchased and converted into a free church; and it is, on the whole, deemed the best adapted to the purposes of public meetings. It has, like Zion Chapel, strong indications of what were its original uses. The platform of the stage remains. In the centre of the front line of the stage is a roomy pulpit. From the foot of the pulpit springs a gallery of seats, which rises backwards to the external walls, and fills the whole space over the stage. This is reserved for the ministers; and when it is filled by them, it presents to the eye, as you pass up the aisles, a striking and impressive object. On reaching the platform, and turning round, you have a face of things presented to you somewhat resembling what it would be in a similar position in Spafields Chapel. There is a considerable area, and over it two tiers of galleries. The place, I should think, will contain 2,000 persons; and filled, as it was on this occasion, there could not be less than 2,500.

At this meeting of the Foreign Mission Society, the Hon. John C. Smith presided. Dr. Proudfit was called on to open the proceedings by prayer. Dr. Wisner then, as Secretary to the Society, was looked to for a report of its state and prospects. This was not the occasion on which that Society makes it full annual report; it was an auxiliary exercise, and the statement made was a mere abstract. That abstract, however, was wisely given; it was brief, clear, discriminating, and made to turn on vital and great principles of hope and of action; and it was delivered, not by dry and hasty reading, but with freedom and cogent earnestness.

Mr. Winslow, an excellent missionary, who had returned from Ceylon, followed. He gave an interesting account of the condition of missionary work in India, with much pious feeling, and urged for support in correspondence with the opening prospects. A very good impression was made by his speech; shown not in audible admiration of the man, but in silent appreciation of the subject.

Dr. Beman supported his resolution in a speech of different character, but not of contrary effect. It was argumentative, but popular, serious, and urgent, embracing large views of a great subject, and making strong claims on the conscience. The temper of the meeting was fully sustained by his address.

I was expected to follow him with another resolution. I began by referring to my responsibility, for at that moment I deeply felt it. What was said was received with the greatest indulgence and attention; and I was thankful if it did not disturb or allay the state of feeling which happily existed.

After a slight pause, the Rev. Mr. Blagden, of Boston, rose, and referring to the felt state of the meeting, proposed that contributions should be immediately made, and that we should resolve ourselves into a prayer-meeting, to seek the especial blessing of God on our object and ourselves. The president and one or two senior members about the chair, thought that they had better first pass through the usual and remaining business. This was conceded. Messrs. Alder, Matheson, Bethune, and Dr. Spring, followed. They spoke under some disadvantage. The general feeling required not to be excited by continued appeal; but rather to be re-

lieved by devout supplication. The business was disposed of. Notice was given that contributions should be sent to the collectors of the several congregations; and I was requested to close the meeting in prayer. I sought to be excused, but in vain. It was a most solemn and delightful occasion. The profound silence showed that all were engaged in one act; and sweet and refreshing tears were shed in abundance. That time is worth a thousand ordinary ones; it stands out in the places of memory as Bethel did in the recollections of the patriarch, never to be forgotten!

Happy as the service was, it was generally regretted that the suggestion made by Mr. Blagden was not acted upon. Some 5,000 dollars would certainly have been added to the funds of the Society; and such an occasion, so seldom occurring, improved by special prayer, might have led to extraordinary results. To plead order under such circumstances, and to prevent the exercise of religious feeling, is reducing order to formality, and turning the good into an evil. However, the feeling was so strong after the disappointment it had suffered, and after the expression which had been given to it, that before the meeting separated, it was resolved to open two places for special prayer on the following Sabbath evening. These meetings were thronged, and most serious and interesting.

The meetings were mostly held in the morning and evening; commencing at ten and half past seven, and finishing at an uncertain time. The evening meetings closed about ten o'clock, and the morning about two; the one I have described finished at half past two. The meetings, as a whole, were pronounced to be more interesting than they had ever been, and this was said in connection with the assurance that they had been much longer. The morning meeting had previously seldom exceeded two hours or two hours and a half. The societies which were not so fully supported, and which met in the evening, threw some singers into the gallery behind the rostrum, and relieved the meeting by one or two musical compositions. This was not, to my taste, an improvement. Had the whole assembly been challenged to sing, as an expression of the feeling which possessed it, it would have been natural and beautiful; as it was, it appeared too theatrical. It was a common thing to prepare printed slips, with the resolutions and names of the mover and seconder, as a bill of fare.

Generally, the meetings were, in my judgment, delightful. There was more spirit and efficiency in them than I had been taught to expect; or than one might reasonably expect, in the remembrance that the platform meeting is of later date with them than with us. They are in no way inferior to our meetings at Bristol, Liverpool, or Manchester; and in some respects they are perhaps superior. They have fewer men that speak; but then they have fewer formal, inappropriate, and turgid speeches. There may be with us more play of talent, and more beauty of period; but with them there is less claptrap, less trifling, and no frivolity. They meet as men who have a serious business in hand, and who are determined to do it in a manly and serious manner; and they look with wonder and pity on the impertinence of a man who, at such a time, will seek to amuse them with pun, and humor, and prettiness. The speakers, perhaps, ask more time to prepare than in England, but they do not lean more on their notes; and if they have less action, they do not create less interest. That interest is, indeed, not expressed as with us, by strong and audible signs, till one's head aches. I witnessed, in all the meetings, but one burst of this kind, and that was severely put down by a rigid chairman. But if the speaker has a worthy theme, and if he is worthy of it, he shall find, in commending it to the judgment and the heart, that he is addressing himself to a people who can wait on his lips with intelligent smiles, and silent tears, and with what, after all, perhaps, is the highest compliment, silence itself—deep and sublime—like the silence of heaven.

Two things should be remarked before this subject is dismissed from your attention. The first is, that, at no one of these meetings, was a public collection made; and the other is, that, in connection with all of them, early prayer meetings were held at different parts of the town.

At length this busy week came to its close. A week it was, in which I had made more acquaintance than in any similar period of time; in which the dwelling of our worthy host was made too much like a house of call; in which a field of service was opening before us, not only in the States, but over the Canadas; and in which my poor stock of strength was perfectly exhausted.

LETTER V.

My dear friend—I have now to introduce you to new and different scenes. Hitherto we had seen nothing of the rural population; nor had we found an opportunity of marking the effects of a very recent revival. Morristown, which is some thirty miles from New-York, and in the State of New-Jersey, supplied the double occasion; and our kind friend Mr. Phelps, partly to meet this desire, and partly from a benevolent concern to relieve me from the pressure of too many engagements, proposed to take us thither. We readily accepted his offer, and left on Saturday for that place.

We went by a steamer to Elizabethtown, and from thence by a coach, which was waiting the arrival of the boat. The road was bad, and the run heavy; but the country was varied and pretty, and all the objects were new. Apple orchards prevail greatly about here. That fruit has been cultivated extensively and profitably for distillation; but the Temperance Society has destroyed the trade. I saw, on the road-side, a good sized house just finished, and placed on stilts, with this notice on it:

"TO BE SOLD AND REMOVED AT THE DIRECTION OF THE PURCHASER."

Morristown is beautifully located. It is placed on ridges of land, which drop away into the valleys. The scattered cottages run round a green of irregular form, and having the Presbyterian church as a centre-piece; and from the green they run off again into the different avenues which lead to it, and are half concealed among the tress. The cottages are what is called *frame buildings;* they have a frame or skeleton of wood; and this is clothed externally with feather-edged boarding. The roof is covered with shingle; which is a sort of wooden slate, made either of pine or cedar. Every thing indeed is of wood except the chimneys, which are carried up in brick. When they are kept nicely painted, and have green Venitian shutters, as is mostly the case here, they look pretty, and will endure a long time. The church was raised of the same materials; with a tower and spire springing from the ground, and forming a projection on the front elevation of the edifice. This is the usual material, and the usual form given to it, in the construction of the rural church.

Not being expected here, nor having even the knowledge of any person, we made our way to one of the two inns on the green; but before we could make our little arrangements, the rumor of our arrival had got abroad, and we were not allowed to

stay there. Mr. Matheson went to Mr. Hover's, the minister of the Presbyterian church; and Mr. Phelps and myself accepted the invitation of Mr. Cook, a zealous member of the Methodist church, and who had first shown us kindness.

The next day was the Sabbath. I declined all engagement for the day, not only as necessary to my state of health, but as I sought those opportunities of hearing and of quiet observation which were requisite to assist one's judgment. I had the less delicacy in this, as the ministers were all prepared to meet their flocks, and as Mr. Matheson had engaged to assist Mr. Hover in duties somewhat arduous.

In the morning I worshipped at the Presbyterian church. The avenues and green were animated by the little groups hastening to the house of God; some sixty light wagons stood about the green and church fence, which had already delivered their charge. The people were all before the time. I should think twenty persons did not enter after me, and I was in time. There were, I should think, above a thousand persons present. The exercises were well and piously conducted. Mr. Hover read his sermon, but he read it with tears. It was on the duty of parents to their children, and it made a good impression. It was adapted to this end; for it was excellent in composition and in feeling. The people did not show much interest in the singing, nor all the interest in prayer which I expected; but on the whole it was, perhaps, the best time of both pastor and people; for they were still surrounded by the effects and influence of a revival which had lasted most of the winter. The particulars of this revival I will here put down; postponing any observations on the subject generally, till I can give it the full consideration which its importance demands.

From all I could learn, religion must have been low in this congregation previous to the revival; that is, lower than it usually is in our churches. There are many causes that might contribute to this; and chiefly, I think, it might arise from many persons, who, as they grow up, have no wish to be thought irreligious, and yet have no conscientious regard for religion; and who, feeling towards the predominant church as a sort of parish church, attach themselves to it, and thus from time to time infuse into it a worldly character. Several pious persons, principally the minister and elders, I believe, felt for the condition of the people, and the want of success in the ordinary means of grace; and they met together for prayer and consultation. The pastor engaged to bring the subject, as it impressed themselves, before the attention of the church; and special meetings for prayer and a special visitation, were determined on. The township was laid out in districts, and thirty-four visiters were appointed. They were to go two and two; and to visit every family and individual more or less in attendance at church. Their business was, by conversation and prayer, and earnest appeal to the conscience, to press the claims of domestic and personal religion on all; and this was to be done without mixing it up with ordinary topics of converse, or partaking of social refreshments, that nothing might interfere with the impression. The visitation was to be made within one week; this limitation was of great use; and as this people have much leisure at the period of the year which was chosen, it could be attended with no difficulty.

The results were highly encouraging. Many were revived, and many were brought under conviction and serious inquiry. The deputies reported whatever was interesting to the pastor, and encouraged the people to communicate with him; and his hands were soon full of occupation. He determined on holding a protracted meeting in the month of February for some days, and by this means he brought to his youth, and his overladen hands, the help of some brethren in the ministry. It was conducted, I believe, with prudence and efficiency; and it advanced the good work which had been begun. As the fruit of these exercises, the happy pastor was looking to receive nearly fifty persons to the communion of the pious at the next sacrament. It should be observed that their sacraments, and consequently their admissions, occur only once in three months; and that this circumstance gives to their amount of admissions an apparent advantage over ours.

In the afternoon of the day I attended the Episcopal church. It is small and thinly attended.—There were not two hundred persons. The minister is, I believe, of worthy character, and seriously disposed; but he reads a sermon in essay style; fairly put together indeed, yet void of thought, of distinctness, and of point. It would provoke neither objection nor inquiry; and was therefore not likely to do good. The service closed as it began: the people were evidently not interested. O what a lifeless thing professed religion may become, and what a responsibility rests with the minister, lest he should deprive it of life as it passes through his hands!

On leaving the place, I took a circuitous and unfrequented path home, and was delighted with the scenes it presented to me. One spot especially dwells in my memory. You stood on a slope above the village; and in looking upon it, you saw only the turret of the hall, the spire of the church, and the angles of a few cottages through the foliage of the poplar, the oak, and the pine, which concealed all the rest. Here and there little parties appeared and disappeared, as they quietly moved on from the school or the church to their quiet home. Behind you were two verdant lanes, which promised to transport you from the world; while at your side the land broke suddenly away some hundred feet, and presented you with a small lake finely fringed with wood; and again it fell away, and ran into the distance, giving to the eye vale after vale, and hill after hill, beautifully formed, beautifully clothed, and in beautiful perspective. The sun was shining brilliantly on this distant scenery; and a fine dark cloud had risen like a curtain over the other portion of it, so as to throw as much of quiet animation into the whole picture as possible. It was a sweet study.

In the evening I went with Mr. Cook and my friend to the Episcopal Methodist church. It is not large, and has been recently built. The men occupied one side of the place, and the women the other; an unsocial plan, and more likely to suggest evil than to prevent it. We were there before the service commenced. The silence was interrupted disagreeably, by continued spitting, which fell, to a strange ear, like the drippings from the eaves on a rainy day. They have the custom of turning their back to the minister in singing, that they may face the singers; and they have also the practice, to a great extent, of interlining the prayer with exclamations and prayers of their own. Such as these, for instance, were common:—Amen—Do so, Lord—Lord, thou knowest—Let it be so, Lord—Yes, yes, Lord—Come, come, Lord, &c.—You will recognize in this only what you have witnessed at home.

Their minister came out from Ireland. He is an intelligent, humble, pious man; and preached a sound and useful sermon. But he has no management of his voice; it was at one elevation, and that the highest, throughout. By this means he lost the power to impress; and threatens, I fear, to wear

himself out with vociferation. The ministers in this connection, I found, are allowed to settle. He is just settled; he has a wife and three children, and has 500 dollars a year.

It was nearly ten o'clock when we left. The night was dark. The clouds had settled heavily all round the horizon, and the lightning was flashing most vividly through the whole circle. We seemed like Saturn surrounded by rings of fire.—I had not before seen American lightning.

On the whole, the state of this township is very good. There are in it 3,500 persons. There are 2,500 in attendance on worship, and about 1,000 in communion; and there are not less than 700 children in the schools. The change, too, must have been great. One fact will satisfy you of this; there were in this township, before the temperance efforts, fourteen stores for the sale of spirituous liquors—apple-gin, rum, and whiskey; now there is only one.

It would have been pleasant to us all could we have stayed a day or two here; but as we had to be present at the sittings of the General Assembly, we were obliged to leave on the Monday evening. We parted with our friends with the hope of meeting again; and hastened back to New-York. So soon as we arrived we found that, in consequence of the special prayer-meetings having been so well attended, and of some disappointment having arisen from our absence, a supplemental prayer-meeting had been fixed for that evening, and we were announced as expected. We made haste therefore to go; and united with Dr. Spring, Mr. Norton, and other ministers, in conducting the meeting.

The following day was fully occupied; the morning in meeting those claims, which arose on leaving our American home for a considerable time; and the evening in the society of many friends, which our kind host and hostess had invited to meet us. The following morning, at five, we started for Philadelphia, with the happiness of still being attended by Mr. Phelps, who was delegated to the Assembly, and two of his daughters, who were availing themselves of this opportunity to visit the city. We were not strangers to the place, as it had lain in our way to and from Washington; nor had we to seek a dwelling, for Dr. Ely, who had before received us, still insisted that we should accept of the hospitality of his hospitable family.

LETTER VI.

My dear friend—We had no sooner time to look about us in Philadelphia, than we found ourselves in a full tide of occupation, not inferior to what we had known at New-York. The Assembly would require a close attention, and have heavy sittings, and crowded attendance, as questions of great, and, in the judgment of many, of fearful interest, would come on. In addition to this, the public institutions availed themselves of the favorable occasion to hold anniversary meetings, which were edged into all the niches of time, which it was hoped the Assembly would leave disengaged; and it was a matter of earnest request that we should attend them. Our home, too, gave the same signs of busy engagement. Dr. Ely on these occasions keeps open house. There were thirteen or fourteen of us dwelling there, and always more than this number at the dinner-table. As these visiters were our brethren, and came from all parts of the States, it supplied a means of profitable and pleasant intercourse, which suffered no deduction, except what arose from the difficulty of finding time to enjoy it. Let me, however, put the more important engagements before you in the order of their occurrence.

On the evening of our arrival, we found that the Episcopal Church Missionary Society was holding a meeting. I went to it. It was respectably attended. The venerable Bishop White was in the chair. Several clergymen spoke from written speeches. They were good, one very good; and the only defect was in the awkwardness and formality of the delivery. Dr. Milnor, a name well known among us, and now very pleasant to my recollections, had come on with the effects of the New-York meetings upon him, and he urged that something should be done for China. A vote was carried unanimously to send out a missionary; and it gave new life to their proceedings. This altogether was an infant attempt on the part of the evangelical Episcopal clergy, and it was well and piously sustained.

The next morning we attended the General Assembly. They met in the church which was built for Mr. Hay, formerly of Bristol; it is the seventh Presbyterian church. It is capacious and handsome, and well adapted for sight and sound. The sittings are opened by a devotional service of the usual order; and the moderator of the last year is always appointed to preach. The place was thronged, and with such an assemblage of pastors, elders, and saints, as is seldom witnessed. The preacher was Dr. W. M'Dowell; his text, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;" and the sermon breathed the spirit of the text. The whole service—sermon, prayers, psalmody—was devout and refreshing. It was like some of the best things we have at home, and was calculated to have a happy effect in the pending discussions.

After the public worship, the congregation dispersed or retired to the galleries, or to that portion of the area which was assigned to spectators; the one half of the area nearest to the pulpit being retained for the uses of the members of assembly. The Assembly is formed by the standing committee of commissioners, making a report of the persons present who are duly appointed to sit as commissioners in this convention. It appeared that there were nearly 200 present; the numbers returned had been reduced, to avoid the inconveniences which attach to very large bodies sitting in legislative and judicial capacities. The congregational bodies send delegates to this Assembly, but they are not allowed to vote. By the time that the body had got into form and shape, it was needful to grant a recess.

At four o'clock they met again. The first business was, after prayer, to choose a moderator and temporary clerk; who, with the two permanent clerks, composed the official staff of the court.—Committees were then appointed, whose duties were either to dispose of trivial business, or to prepare more serious business for the consideration of the Assembly. These arrangements were followed by reports from the permanent and stated clerks, Dr. M'Dowell and Dr. Ely, on the correspondence and the outline of business waiting the attention of the commissioners. These were all preliminaries, and when they were arranged it was time to adjourn, or at least it was deemed so by the meeting.

Dr. Philip Lindsley, President of Nashville college, was chosen as moderator; a gentleman whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making at Washington. So far as intelligence, impartiality, and urbane and Christian carriage were qualifications, the choice was a happy one; but a person who presides over a large meeting, where one half of the persons are unused to the forms of proceeding, and where strong discussion and party feeling are expected to break out, requires, above all things, much promptitude and tact in the ways of business generally, and a good acquaintance with the practices of the body over which he is placed in particular. This Dr. Lindsley candidly acknowledged he

did not possess; and, from the want of it, both himself and the court were often embarrassed, sometimes in a humorous, and sometimes in a vexatious manner.

On the following day, much time was consumed in minor affairs; but at length came the subject of the complaint and appeal of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia against the Synod of Philadelphia. An effort was made by an amendment to postpone it, on which there was much confusion. But all were waiting for the discussion, and the proposition was overruled; and the complaint and appeal were allowed to take their hearing. A long hearing it was, for it lasted beyond the remainder of our stay, and very little else occupied the attention of the Assembly. This indeed was the question of questions; and as it was by no means one of local or temporary interest, I must endeavor to place it briefly before you.

Some of the pastors and churches in this city had adopted opinions and courses which fall generally under the head of *new measures;* while those who have not adopted them have fallen, by a contrast of terms, under the denomination of *old measures.* As these measures, both new and old, affect other churches besides the Presbyterian, they must be noticed distinctly and more at large elsewhere. It is sufficient to state here, that they were the occasion of much, and sometimes of bitter dispute, in the existing Presbyteries. The new-measure party, who were a minority in the existing Presbyteries, and who felt themselves annoyed, proposed to withdraw their connection, and form themselves into a separate Presbytery, as a measure of peace, under the style of an Elective Affinity Presbytery. The existing Presbyteries of the Synod felt that this was to place themselves beyond what they deemed a salutary influence; and especially they were alarmed at a proposed departure from the constitution of the church, which recognized no such principle of separation. The whole matter went before the General Assembly; and, after seven days' heated and painful discussion, the Assembly confirmed the existence of the Second Presbytery, and instructed the Synod to receive it. The Synod refused to comply, and assigned its reasons in a string of resolutions, and the Presbytery came up again with its appeal and complaint. Thus the affair stood at this time; and it was now thrown open, and with it the old wounds, to fresh exacerbation. Each party was heard by its own advocates even to weariness, for the argument lay in a small space, and a great length of time was bestowed on it. Then came the rights of the judicatory. The roll was called, and every member in giving his vote had the right to give his reasons too; and very many availed themselves of it. At last the votes were taken, and it was found that about two-thirds of the court were against disturbing the previous determination.

On the character of the discussion as it advanced there is not much room for remark. There was not a great deal of good speaking. One speech was argumentative and very clever, but it wanted perspicuity and condensation to give it power. Another speaker was remarkable and amusing, from the manner in which scraps of common Latin fell from his lips at every third sentence, and with all sorts of accent. And another awakened extraordinary excitement by his power in biting sarcasm, a power used so waywardly as to alarm both friends and foes. While many in the course of the debate expressed themselves with brevity, in nothing remarkable, except for that good sense and gracious feeling which savoreth all things.

I have given you this account somewhat in detail, because this body is next in importance to the Congress itself. The persons composing it are the elect of their particular societies, and they come from all parts of the States; some of them the distance of 1,000 and 1,200 miles. Many of them were ashamed that we should witness discussions which involved much personal allusion, and which, while man is man, will throw up his infirmities to the surface. For my own part, I was glad of an occasion of observing the conduct of such a body under very trying circumstances; and the result was that of unfeigned *admiration.* Apart from the conduct of the leading speakers, who, residing in the city, and pledged to certain views, might be regarded as *ex parte* advocates, the Assembly generally did not forget their character as judges, but carried themselves with much gravity, impartiality and forbearance. They overlooked the effects of passion in others, and subdued them in themselves; they evidently acted under the fear of God, and with a desire of promoting the things that "make for peace." I could not help thinking, at various times of provocation, what a different conduct would have been shown had it not been for the restraints of religion; and how much of religious influence must have been silently felt to produce the amount of restraint. I have seen many religious bodies, when less tried, and when more habituated to this sort of trial, and when dwelling in a more refined atmosphere, not behave so well.

In saying as much as this, however, in favor of the court, you must understand, what I have already intimated that this question was regarded by neither party, nor by the Assembly, as of local interest. It was not a question whether a new Presbytery, constituted on new principles, in Philadelphia, should exist or be annihilated; but it was a question which was considered as a test of the strength or weakness of the *new-measure men* throughout the whole church. That the new Presbytery should be willing to make it so is not surprising; but that the Synod should have been so disposed is amazing, as it was placing a subject which they deemed to be of the first magnitude in a most unequal and perilous position. In fact, it was no trial of strength on the new and old measures. The Assembly had, at a former sitting, heard and passed judgment on a case brought regularly before them by appellant and defendant. The Synod had refused to act on that judgment; and the real question now was, whether the Assembly should retain its place in the constitution as a supreme and final court of appeal. All who know how backward men are to review and reverse a decision they have formally made, will see that there were few chances, even if wrong, of getting it set right, and if right, just no chance at all. And the Synod, by still identifying the case with the greater question, have created an impression in favor of the new measures, which they must deem as fatal as it is general. Up to this moment, it is generally considered that the majority obtained against the Synod is a victory on the side of new measures; whereas, you will now see, that it is a resolution of the Assembly to assert its own supremacy. And certainly, were a calm decision sought on the subject of measures only, the division of this court would be very different.

Before leaving the Assembly, I must yet make one or two references. In the course of the proceedings some interesting reports were brought up, relative to their college, the mission cause, and the state of religion. The report on the state of religion was brought up on the Monday morning after our arrival. We were looked to, in our turn, as delegates from the Congregational Union, for some account of the numbers and condition of our churches. Mr. Matheson made a brief and general state-

ment, and presented the congratulations of our constituents. I was urged to support him, but from the renewed loss of voice, I was obliged to excuse myself. The reports generally were not made so prominent and interesting as I expected, or as, perhaps, they commonly are; there was at this time an exciting and absorbing subject before the meeting unsettled, and, of course, there was an eagerness to pass to it.

It is the custom of the Assembly to set apart a morning during their sessions for special devotion —reading the Scriptures, exhortation, and prayer. Considering the design, and its special character, I went to the place of meeting with high expectation of thronged attendance and happy worship. But no; it was too much there as it is here; the persons who will crowd to a religious debate are not the persons who rejoice in a pure act of worship. At the time of commencement there were not more than two hundred persons present. However, the attendance soon increased to eight hundred or a thousand, and these, without doubt, of the more serious and pious character. I was associated with five of my Presbyterian brethren in leading the services. There was over the meeting a very subdued and tender spirit. All unused to tears, I never saw so many men weeping before. We enjoyed much; and it was an evidence of what might have been enjoyed in more auspicious circumstances.

At the close of the service, Dr. Green, the father of the Assembly, rose and proposed that, instead of proceeding to business, as was usual, they should adjourn, in order to cherish the impressions made. But business pressed greatly; and it was overruled by a proposal that they should receive the Mission Report, which was thought to be in harmony with the existing state of feeling.

Of the other engagements while in this city little need be said. My object is not to report all that was done and said, but so much as may afford information and advantage. The public meetings were mostly duplicates of those held at New-York. The chief of them were connected with the Presbyterian Education, the Temperance, and the Sunday School Union Societies. These were all well attended and well sustained. The Sunday School Union has its establishment here, and appears to be admirably conducted.

There is one service, however, which may claim notice. It was the ordination of Mr. Parker as a missionary to China. It took place on the second evening of our arrival, in the presence of a large assembly of persons. It was by the Second Presbytery, and we were made corresponding members for the time. The Presbytery was constituted by prayer. Afterward Dr. Wisner, Secretary of the Society, gave an introductory sermon. Dr. Ely asked the usual questions; which were replied to, not as with us, but by the mere expression of assent. He then offered the ordaining prayer, with imposition of hands; and led in giving the right hand of fellowship, which is not given in silence, but with explanatory and affectionate remark. Mr. Barnes gave the charge. Mr. Winslow and myself then followed with short addresses, and the service closed with singing and prayer.

This was in itself a delightful service; to me it was peculiarly so. It was the second service, in order of time, which I attended here, and both services related to China. I had for the last three years attempted to call up attention to the claims of China at home, but in vain, and I went out to America not prepared to find much interest there; and when I really found that Christians of that country were looking on China as a field of present labor, and were sending forth not a single missionary, but many, for its redemption, it seemed as though one had crossed the Atlantic to receive an answer to one's prayers.

Still, on returning home, you are surprised with the question, Is China open? My reply is, America has answered that question. China is as open now, and has been for the last twenty years, as it ever will be till we strive to enter. It is not open to indolent inquiry; it is open to faith, prayer, and fixed perseverance. Our negligence to this subject for a long period is the more remarkable, since we have had the greatest facilities for the work; and to justify what we had done, it was indispensable that we should do more. Thirty years ago China secured our attention. Morrison and Milne were devoted to it; and with the most exhilarating success. Malacca, Singapore, and Penang, were taken up as out-posts, to bear on this great empire, and have been sustained, at an immense expense, for some twenty years, only for its sake, and yet no movement of the least importance from that time to this has been made on a country which, with its dependants and accessories, contains one half of the world's population. Surely the churches will awake to a sense of their duty; and while expending their resources on fields of acknowledged importance, will still maintain, that the *first* in importance has, in wisdom and in mercy, the *first* claim to our services of benevolence.

You will perhaps be scarcely satisfied if I leave Philadelphia without speaking of it as a place.— What has been often said, I need not repeat: it will be enough if I give you my impressions. It is indeed a Quaker city, neat, clean, uniform, without any striking features. There is the drab bonnet, and the drab gown, and the frill, and neckerchief and apron to correspond; all very good, and, in a certain accep ion very handsome; but there are no feathers, no flounces, no gaudy colors, and no finery, either genteel or shabby. The streets intersect each other at right angles; and every street is so like its fellow as sometimes to tire on the eye and perplex the course. It is the cleanest city I have seen in this new world; has the finest market; and is admirably supplied with excellent water. I should think a family would find as many comforts and as few inconveniences as may be, in residing here. The females, too, struck me as more interesting in appearance; but they might owe this to their dress. You seldom see the Quaker dress in this town; but it has evidently qualified all you do see. It is a happy medium between what you would find in Quaker life and fashionable life; it borrows taste from the one, and feminine nicety from the other. The society, I should think, is agreeable and excellent.

As for sights, after what I have said, you will suppose that they may soon be disposed of. Yet there is something under this head. We saw the exchange; it is just finished, at a large expense; and, like many of our expensive things, ought to be good. It is built of marble, and has some fine Corinthian columns, with beautiful wrought capitals; but, for the rest, it is sad indeed. Surely no architect could have given such an elevation. The porticoes to the two banks are admirable; I remember gazing on the larger one, in the moonlight, with great pleasure. The corner of the ground in which Franklin lies, and the room in which the Declaration of Independence was first read, interested me. There is here an excellent library and museum. The library has upwards of 30,000 volumes, and is more select than most. It has been greatly enriched by the bequest of an English clergyman. The museum is chiefly remarkable for a fine skeleton of the mammoth.

I saw also the spot where Penn signed his treaty with the Indians. A tree, springing from the roots

of the parent tree under which they stood, shades the spot. The Penn Society have lately placed a small monument there; I will not say erected, for it is not more than half the size of one of our obelisks; and it has a shabby enclosure.

On the several faces there is inscribed:

PENNSYLVANIA, FOUNDED 1681,
BY DEEDS OF PEACE.

TREATY GROUND OF WILLIAM PENN
WITH THE INDIAN NATIONS, 1682.
UNBROKEN FAITH.

REPLACED BY THE PENN SOCIETY, 1807.

I went also to see the Water-works and the Penitentiary. The former is the boast of the town. As a work of art, affording great benefit to the people, it is good; as a place of agreeable resort, it is very inviting; but, as a discovery in science, which is the ground of boast to many, it is nothing. A thousand mill-streams are made available on the same principle.

The Penitentiary is really admirable. I can confirm what has generally been said of it. There are some nice and skilful arrangements for the order, supervision, cleansing, and ventilation of the prison. All was good—all, except the method of warming, which had perplexed them. They were about to try a new method, which would also fail. I promised to supply Mr. Woods with the plan adopted in the London Orphan Asylum. He is an excellent man, a Friend; who presides over the establishment gratuitously, finding his reward in the fruits of his benevolence.

I have referred to the Quakers. I am sorry to say that a considerable portion of them have lapsed into fatal heresy. The orthodox have separated from them, and they now bear the appellation of Hicksites. I could not, assuredly, learn their opinions, but I fear it amounts almost to deism. On authority, which I believe I may trust, it is said that they have lately resolved that the word *Holy* shall no longer be an affix to the word *Bible*.

On the morning of the 24th, we quitted this city for New-York, on our way to Boston; after having had the most favorable opportunity of becoming acquainted with the habits and character of the people, and after having had much enjoyment in truly Christian intercourse and worship. Of Dr. Ely's kindness, from first to last, in sickness and in health, we have, and shall have, a grateful impression. We parted with an understanding that we would meet again before we left these shores. Our friends, the Phelps', returned with us. Now, as always, we had kind admonitions to look well to our luggage. The good people have, every where, alarm on this subject, and there must be a cause for it; but I think it is rather to be found in the mistakes that happen by careless package and the frequent change of conveyance, than in dishonesty. I was referred to an old woman on this trip, who had been so deeply inoculated with this fear, that she sat on one portion of her luggage, and kept her eye on the rest, which lay at her feet; and, lest her thoughts should wander, or the amount be forgotten, she kept amusing herself, and, of course, the passengers who overheard her, with this cheerful ditty:—

"Great box and little box,
Band-box and bundle:
One, two, three, four.
Great box and little box,
Band-box and bundle:
One, two, three, four."

LETTER VII.

MY DEAR FRIEND—The reason which pressed us to return to New-York on the Saturday was, that we had engagements to fulfil in that city. I preached on the Sabbath at Laight-street, and at the Middle Dutch church. I had become acquainted with the ministers of this church through Mr. Abeel, their missionary, who had stayed as an invalid some weeks in my family: and the greater my acquaintance with them, the greater was my esteem. They invited us to their classes, and passed resolutions expressive of congratulations on our arrival, and sympathy in our object.

On the Monday morning, we left home soon after five, to attend a merchants' prayer-meeting, which was held weekly at six o'clock, and passed in rotation from house to house. On this occasion it was held at Mr. Oliphant's, and it was the more interesting, as he and Mr. Parker, the recently ordained missionary, were about to leave for China. Though he went as a merchant, he wished rather to advance religion than to secure gain. Two friends engaged in prayer; and then the president, as the meeting was of a special character, invited us to offer remarks. Mr. Matheson referred to what Mr. Angus had sought to do in this country; but with little encouragement. I expressed a wish to know if they had defined objects before them in this friendly meeting. It was stated that they had, and they were understood to be—To advance personal piety; to intercede for their families, and to seek, *as merchants*, the promotion of the missionary cause.

Of course, we could only express warm sympathy in such objects; but it was suggested whether, by assuming a more open character, and calling up the attention of the merchants generally, they might not give a fine example to the world, of that important interest consecrating mercantile avocations to missionary objects. Extending remarks of this nature were kindly received, and were to be seriously considered. Mr. Parker also addressed the meeting with humility and affection. There was a sweet spirit over it, and all were, I believe, refreshed with the interview. Altogether, there were about eighteen of us present.

After the exercise, we breakfasted with Dr. Spring. The subject became naturally a principal one in our conversations. He entered into it as warmly as ourselves; and we agreed that we would work in its favor as we had occasion, in the hope that, before we left, something equal to the object might be attempted.

In the afternoon of the same day, we left for Boston by the *Providence* steamer. Messrs. Boorman and Wilder, whom I had known in Paris, attended us to the boat; and Dr. Peters and Mr. Vale, of Cincinnati, were our companions. The Sound, of which little is said, is very beautiful. We had to travel all night; and, as the temptations to "go below" were few, and the evening was fine and warm, I remained on deck. As the night advanced, which was dark, the effect of the sparks emitted from the pine wood used in the furnace, was peculiar. You saw not whence they came; they spread over the dark ground of the sky, and shot abroad with every variety of form and motion; they were equal in brilliancy and grace to any fireworks which I have seen.

Morning came, and we found ourselves surrounded by heavy mists; so that the vessel was obliged to reduce her speed almost to nothing, for the want of landmarks. We reached Providence four hours later than usual. The mail was waiting our arrival, and we went on by it. We travelled at the rate of eight miles an hour, the quickest I have witnessed in this country. It was very hot

till we came within five miles of Boston, when the temperature changed many degrees, and made us chilly. We reached the Tremont Hotel at half past seven o'clock. A meeting of the Home Missionary Society was then assembled, and we had been announced as expected. Persons were watching the first arrival; and Dr. Codman and other friends were immediately with us, to convey us to Park-street church. Remonstrance was in vain, and without dressing and without repose, away we went. I soon found myself on the platform of a crowded assembly; and, weary and dirty, and unwilling as I was to take a public part in the engagements of the evening, I was still happy at last, and thus suddenly, to be in the midst of the children of the Pilgrim Fathers. We had an excellent meeting. It was after ten o'clock when we got away; and Dr. Codman kindly attended us to his honor Lieutenant-governor Armstrong's, who had invited us to a residence in his family.

In the morning, Dr. Codman, who was anxious to show us all kindness, called to take us to the Pastoral Association. It met in a large vestry, or lecture-room; there were about one hundred present; the Association, of course, embraced only the ministers of the State of Massachusetts. We were introduced to the moderator, Dr. Fay, and afterward received the fraternal congratulations of the brethren. There was no special business before them. We afterward went to hear the annual sermon for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; yes, it is exactly so; in this, as in most things, you shall find here a type of all that we have in the olden land. Mr. Stearns preached. He is a poet; and the style of the sermon was rather too poetical for prose. It was fine; it was good; but it did not carry the auditors sufficiently from the preacher to the subject.

The following day I attended, with Dr. Codman, the Congregational Convention. This, unlike the Pastoral Association, includes Unitarians. The Convention is of the nature of our Widow's Fund Society; and, like it, it embraces persons of different creeds, and yet is committed to an exercise of public worship. I can easily see how the Unitarian and the orthodox may act together for any purely civil or charitable end, without difficulty; but if it is to be extended to acts of prayer, and the ministration of the word of life, I see nothing but difficulty. So far, however, as the difficulty is practical, the brethren think it is overcome, as of late years the decided majority is with the orthodox, and they always appoint, by the consent of the minority, the preacher.

The business of the Convention was unimportant, and the forms not peculiar. There were but few present; as it was understood, at the previous meeting yesterday, which was large, that little remained to demand attention. The meeting broke up; and quickly after, the public service began in the same place. The sermon was plain and orthodox; but it was orthodoxy with effort, and orthodoxy fearing to offend. The worthy preacher felt, I am persuaded, that he was not in his own pulpit; and passed through the service with constraint.

Of the public meetings generally I need not speak; except to say, that we had enough to do to attend them, and that they were attended with an interest and in numbers equal in proportion to what we had seen elsewhere. There is, however, one meeting which, perhaps, I ought to notice briefly, on account of its results, and on account of its belonging to another denomination.

We had uniformly desired to show that our mission was not from one sect to another sect; but from the Christian churches of one land, to those of another and a sister land; and had sought all opportunities of discovering that catholic spirit, which, after all, alas! has so few occasions to show itself. The friends of the Baptist denomination had applied to me to attend the meeting of their Education Society; and I readily consented to meet their wishes, not only on the principle to which I have alluded, but to offer what support I could to the cause of ministerial education in that body. Next to the Methodists, the Baptists, perhaps, were wanting on this subject; they were now awaking to a sense of the evils attendant on an uneducated ministry, and were demanding that their instructers should themselves first be instructed.

The meeting was held in a chapel of moderate dimensions. It was full, but not crowded, and it had less wealth about it than most of the meetings. There were about a dozen ministers on the platform. The early part of the meeting was not very promising. After the report was read, which was good, and ought to have been very impressive by the facts it recorded, one of the brethren rose to offer a resolution. His speech was written, and he used the notes freely, and yet did not appear at liberty. It was an argument in support of the society; reason after reason was adduced; and at length, as the climax of all, it was to be shown, that the peculiar opinions they held as Baptists, were peculiarly favorable to the cause he was pleading. This was evidently not meant for unbaptized ears. The ministers looked at the speaker, then at me; the people were disconcerted. He, from not having been at liberty, became confused, and felt perhaps more generously than he need to have done. He referred "to what might have been said; but as they were favored with the presence of visiters, he would pass it by;" and then he hastened to a conclusion; and I confess, such is the perversity of our nature, that I have always wished to know what this argument, which I am never to know, could have been.

This little slip of a brother was truly useful. It awakened the dormant feeling in the meeting; and all that feeling was kindness. When I rose to support his resolution as requested, all were generously attentive. At the close, I alluded emphatically to one fact in the report, which was, that out of 4,500 churches, there were 2,000 not only void of educated pastors, but void of pastors; and insisted that, *literally*, they ought not *to sleep* on such a state of things.

The Rev. Mr. Malcolm, who has visited our country, and who is an excellent minister in this city, rose out of turn, and expressed his great pleasure at the presence of a brother from England; and referring to what had been said, he confessed that he, for one, could not sleep with things as they were; he had never felt them as he did then; and he must do something to correspond; he proposed to answer for another scholarship. To support a scholar at college is estimated at from sixty to seventy dollars a year. Another person below the platform rose, and, referring with much simplicity and feeling to that part of the report which announced the death of an excellent man of their number who had sustained two scholarships, said he would answer for another scholarship, and then there would be no loss by the demise of their friend to the society. Another person, alluding to the same bereavement with tears, said he would take a scholarship. By this time a delightful feeling was in the place; not boastful and ostentatious, but meek and subdued. I sought to catch a little of it, and to improve an evident occasion of usefulness. I rose, and spoke with brevity; and proposed that if the meeting, under a sense of duty and gratitude, should be disposed to answer for nineteen scholar-

ships, I would answer for the twentieth. This, from a stranger, and he belonging to another section of the church, had an effect beyond any thing I could have expected. A tender spirit, and from heaven, as I trust, came over the people. They rose in succession, and with deep emotion gave in their pledges till they had made up the nineteen, and secured me. Still, on the feeling went—and on it went, till no less than FORTY-FIVE SCHOLARSHIPS were taken. This, under all the circumstances, was the most remarkable meeting I had yet attended: the effort for the people was so great, and the spirit which anointed and sustained it so admirable. "Surely God was in that place!"

One pleasing incident I must yet attach to this meeting. On the next morning I received a letter from a Mr. Jones, stating that he had been at the meeting—the pleasure he had in having been there—his pleasure at the participation of a stranger from the Old Country in the exercises; and a request, expressed in the most handsome terms, that I would allow him to be responsible for my scholarship. This letter contained the check for the amount. The letter I value as a specimen of what is most courteous and generous in Christian conduct.

I should, perhaps, have remarked, that the public meetings, which ran through the week, and were attached to the Congregational body, were not only good; they improved as they advanced. The last, the Foreign Mission, was excellent. From the state of the meeting, it was suggested to the managing powers that a special concert of prayer, for the conversion of the world, would, if proposed, be well received, and would have a happy effect. It was kindly received; and the people showed then, and afterward, in the exercises, that they could appreciate a devotional service for such purpose. It occurred, as proposed, on the Sabbath evening, in Park-street Church. That large church was full. I united with Drs. Cogeswell and Jenks and Mr. Blagden in leading the service. It was a delightful and solemn season.

In the morning of this day, I preached at the Old South Meeting: the places of worship here preserve their puritanic designation, although they have the form and aspect of a church, equally with Bow Church, Cheap-side. The history of this place is curious and interesting, and shall receive more extended notice, as it deserves, should I hereafter find opportunity. It is, I believe, the original place; and it is the only place which held fast the name of Christ, and kept itself pure in the great defection. It is the place where Whitefield has preached, where the troops were quartered in the revolution, and where, to this day, a band of Christians have continued together, like the primitive saints, "to sing hymns to Christ, to engage each other to commit no sin," and to wait, in prayer and hope, for the light of a better day.

It is like one of our good old churches, and is very nicely kept. We had a double service, as the sacrament was to be administered. The attendance was large to both services; full to the first, and about four hundred communicants at the table. The saints here retain more than ourselves, and for natural reasons, the puritanic form and precision. As a stranger, I was kindly supplied with the order of service. There were no less than *seventeen things to be done* in succession. Only two deacons officiated on the occasion, but there was a full supply of cups and plates; and as they merely conveyed them to one person in a given section of communicants, who passed it from hand to hand, the service was as quickly, and perhaps more quietly done, than when many are employed. Nor do the deacons sit with the pastor, as with us; they come out from their respective seats, when the distribution or collection is to happen, and stand before him till he is ready, and on fulfilling each service, retire to their seats. The whole exercise lasted about three hours. All the associations made it to me an interesting season, and to the people, I trust, not wholly unprofitable. Mr. Matheson spent this Sabbath at Dorchester, preaching for Dr. Codman.

While at Boston we received an affectionate letter from the brethren at Plymouth and its neighborhood, urging us to visit them. It was quite in our mind to do so; and on the Monday we went. It was about the same distance as to Providence; but the travelling was very different. In a run of forty-two miles we consumed seven hours; had to change coaches three times, and broke down once. However, the country was all new and mostly pretty; and, as you know, I can make much of a little good scenery when there is not a great deal to be had. On our arrival, we found the Hon. George Robins ready to welcome us to his family, a man every way worthy to be a descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers.

But the rock—the rock! I had a feverish desire to see it, and could not well address myself to any second thing till I had. Mr. Robins sympathized with the feeling, and kindly led us to the spot, all the time making such explanations as might cool down our enthusiasm. This was considerate; for if the impression were to be taken from present appearance only, it must be weak indeed. It is in the most unpoetical predicament imaginable. You look for a bold piece of rock work, standing out in the ocean, distinct and alone, great in its own greatness; instead of which, it is already under your feet; small piers, for the use of the small craft, have been carried out over it and beyond it, and you require to examine the spot you occupy before you are assured that it is substantial rock. But what of all this; it was the rock—the very rock still, which first offered a resting place to the foot of the weary pilgrim; which was first anointed by his tears and prayers, and which introduced him to "a wealthy place," where he might dwell unscathed by the fires of persecution, and irresponsible to man in "the things that are God's." We might, indeed, complain of the neglect and misdoings of the good people in this matter; but for me, it did not need to be adorned with the palisade, the chisel, or the inscription, to make it interesting: I stood on it, and trembled as I stood. I know of no spot more sacred on earth, except the one spot where the Holy One suffered, "the just for the unjust."

We had wished only a social service, but we found that a public one had been fixed for the next morning. We could not, however, stay over the morning of that day; and in this difficulty, it was necessary to arrange as they could for it that evening. Although there was not an hour's notice, the meeting house was filled, and it would accommodate from 700 to 800 persons. Unitarians and Universalists all came. The Rev. Mr. Conant, of the Baptist Church, offered prayer. The Rev. Mr. Boutelle then introduced us to the meeting, and addressed us in its name. He has since supplied me with a copy of his address; and as it is short and appropriate, and may be taken as a specimen of the spirit in which we were received by the Christians of New England, I think you will be pleased by its insertion:—

"It is with heartfelt gratification, Rev. sirs, that we welcome you to this hallowed spot, where our forefathers first planted their feet—a spot hallowed by their sufferings and tears, their pious labors and sleeping dust.

"We welcome you as descendants of the Puritans—that noble race of men, who, during the six-

teenth century, rose as benefactors of mankind, and in the midst of surrounding darkness, hung up, in mid heaven, the lamp of civil and religious freedom; thus kindling a light which has been glowing ever since with a constantly increasing lustre, and which is destined to blaze on until its bright beams shall have illuminated every dark spot on earth.

"Descended from the Puritans ourselves, we delight to cherish their memory, and to extend our fraternal love to those of their posterity dwelling on the other side of the water.

"*Our* ancestors were *your* ancestors; your forefathers our forefathers; we therefore are brethren. As such, most cordially do we welcome you.

"As delegates from more than 1,600 Congregational churches in our father land, we welcome you. Contending as those churches are for religious toleration, for the faith of our common ancestors, and for that form of church polity for which *they* so nobly struggled, we cannot but feel a deep interest in your welfare. We pray for, we rejoice in your prosperity; and we will strive to be co-workers in promoting essentially the same great objects.

"As citizens of England, we welcome you—that land whence our Pilgrim Fathers came;—that land of science, of literature, and of great national prosperity, where so much is doing for the cause of human freedom, for the advancement of pure religion, for the amelioration of the great family of man, and the ushering in of millennial glory. As brethren of our common Lord, we welcome you, and commend you to his favor and protection.

"May Heaven smile propitiously on your mission, rendering it subservient to the interests of his kingdom, both in England and America, and making it conducive to the strengthening of those cords, which should unite in one common brotherhood two nations, exerting a powerful influence on the destinies of the world."

Of course, we could do no less than acknowledge the address. The last address and the concluding prayer devolved on me; and we then united in singing the fine hymn in Watts—"Give me the wings of faith to rise," &c. I never saw so much of its beauty, for I never sung it in such appropriate and affecting circumstances. It was, on the whole, a remarkable service; and was evidently deemed a considerable event in the history of this small and quiet town—an event, I trust, not without permanent advantages.

As you will have a strong interest in this place, I will aid your conceptions of it by briefly stating, that the township has a population of 5,400 persons. There are four orthodox Congregational places, having 1,200 hearers, and 400 communicants; there is one Baptist, having about 350 hearers and 100 communicants; there are one Unitarian and one Universalist, having together about 600 hearers and about 40 communicants. The schools are in proportion. About 600 of the males are sailors. In consequence of a neglect of pure religion, and a corresponding temptation to the use of ardent spirits, the people had sadly degenerated from the manners of their fathers; but there is now, in manners and in religion, a great change for the better. The Temperance cause here has wrought most beneficially. Three fourths of the pauperism has been destroyed by it; and last year, where so much liquor was once used, not one person applied for a license to sell it. Many might still have been glad of the profits; but none was willing to incur the infamy, for such it would have been in this community.

With such decided benefits always visible to them, it is not wonderful if the good cause should have been, in some instances, pressed too far. We had often heard, that many, in their zeal, had pledged themselves and each other to disuse tea, coffee, &c.; but had not met with such persons. There were many here; and our excellent hostess, at least, provided for such a state of things. At our tea-service, I observed that there were two pots, as usual. When asked, which I would take? I replied, "Tea and coffee, have you?" "No, sir," was the answer; "the one is tea, and the other is water." And this arrangement was necessary; for one half of the persons present, I should think, declined the tea, and took either water, or milk and water.

The next morning, early, we visited the Court-House, the Pilgrim Hall, and the Burial-Ground. The first has nothing very remarkable besides the original charter, signed "Warwick." The Hall is a recent erection, and still unfinished. It is for the speeches on the commemoration days, and for the care of relics and curiosities. At present there are not many, nor do these demand to be noted. The Burial-Ground is unique. It is on the face of a rude hill above the town, and has, in a high degree, a rough, weather-worn, old, and venerable aspect. It is the genealogical table of the whole people. Many of the dates go back almost to the first settlers. It realizes, more than any thing, to the mind, the whole story of the Fathers; and, more than most things in this new country, it speaks of an olden time—of men and things that were and are not, and have long gone by. Give it me for effect before Pere la Chaise. It is the grave, and nothing but the grave. It must be seen to be felt; and, after all, many will see and not feel.

Where I could have coveted hours, minutes only were allowed me. I hastened home, to prepare for leaving, and requested that we might have a special act of prayer before we separated. Our host brought all his family together from their various abodes—three generations. I urged him to present our prayers; and it was well I did: I might have forgot him otherwise; I shall never forget him now. I think we all prayed; certainly we were all interested.

Other ministers and friends now arrived, expecting our stay; but our coach was ready, and our calls imperative; and at ten o'clock we left for Boston. Soon our beloved friends were out of sight; and soon Plymouth itself disappeared; but neither the one or the other will soon pass from memory.

From this time we stayed only a single day in Boston; but I shall have more to say of this important and interesting city. This I wish, however, to reserve for a subsequent visit, as it was a period of greater leisure, and will allow me to do so with more matured knowledge.

LETTER VIII.

My dear friend—The reason of quiting the metropolis of New England so soon, is to be found in some variation of plan. In consequence of the earnest representations made from Canada, we determined to visit that country; and this made it needful to resolve on staying over the month of September, instead of returning in that month, as at first proposed. Throughout, I had determined to visit the West; and it appeared that both visits might be more safely made at the commencement, than at the close of the summer. With these views, we prepared to move immediately in these directions; and to reserve the month of September for a revisit to these States. We have much cause to be thankful that we came to these arrangements, as, quickly after we had left the Canadas, the cholera swept over the whole territory; and the West, though dangerous to a foreigner when I was there, was becoming daily more so.

We left early on the morning of the 5th, after rather exhausting services on the previous day, for

Burlington, which was to be a journey of three days. The coach arrangements at present have little regard to the convenience of the passengers. At the office, on inquiring at what time we were to start, the answer was, "At four o'clock." "And the next day?" "At four o'clock." "And the third day?" Still, "at four o'clock." And to start at four, of course it was necessary to be up at three. And all this was without advantage. We travelled on an average about seventy miles a day; and arrived each day in the afternoon. For us to have been two hours later, would have been no inconvenience; and to have started so much later, a great accommodation.

Most of the way we had a soaking rain. The coach was of the ordinary kind, such as I have described it; and though it is open and cheerful in fair weather, when it is closed on account of cold or heavy rain, it is dark and confined, and prison-like beyond any thing we know. However, these occasions took one out of more select circles, and allowed you to look on the world in this country as it is, and from this circumstance they were desirable. The present was by no means an unfruitful occasion; if we were shut up greatly from the objects on the road-side, the companions of our journey supplied us, if not with edification, certainly with some entertainment. First of all, our coachman was a very saucy fellow; he evidently thought himself better than one half of his passengers, and as good as the other half. I complained to him, when we stopped, that my luggage was getting wet. "Why," he exclaimed, "you don't expect to keep it dry such a day as this, do you?" "Why," I replied, "it is the very sort of day in which it is your duty to keep it dry!" "Ha, ha, it will be all right," he cried, and left me. In the end, I found that it was soaked through. He did, indeed, give some directions on the subject; but the care of the luggage has little attention here.

When we stopped at Lowell, to change horses, a female wished to secure a place onward. We were already, as the phrase is, more than full; we had nine persons, and two children, which are made to go for nothing except in the waybill. Our saucy driver opened the door, and addressing two men, who, with us, would have been outside passengers, "Now, I say, I want one of you to ride with me, and let a lady have your seat." The men felt they were addressed by a superior, but kept their places. "Come, I say," he continued, "you shall have a good buffalo and *umbrel*, and nothing will hurt you." Still they kept their places, and refused him. His lordship was offended, and ready to lay hands on one of them; but, checking himself, exclaimed, "Well, if I can't get you out, hang it, if I'll take you on till one of you gets out." And there we stood for some time; and he gained his point at last, and in civiller terms, by persuading the persons on the middle seat to receive the lady; so that we had now twelve inside. I name this as it occurred; not as a sample of this class of men. Generally, they feel that they owe you nothing; but if they offer you few attentions, they seldom offend you. This was the worst instance I met with, I think, at any time.

Then within, crowded and almost suffocated as we were, we had an old lady who did not fail to amuse us. She sat opposite me, and would force a conversation; and as her voice was sharp and shrill, what was meant for me went to all, and diverted all. "As for religion, she thought one as good as another, if we did our duty; and her notion of duty was, to mind our own business. For her part, she had always done so—she ridiculed those who employed others to do it for them—she could always do hers best for herself—she could make fifteen per cent. of money—had small sums out now at fifteen per cent." She felt that this was not approved. "Oh, she was not hard with the poor creatures—if they were pressed, she waited, and lent them a little more, so that they could pay at last. She had always been unmarried, not for want of offers, but she liked her independence, and would resent the offer of any man who would want to get her property." I remarked, that she had done well not to marry; as a person like herself, who could do every thing so well, could have no need of a husband. "Right, right, sir," she cried, laughing. Then, getting thoughtful, she continued, "But I have a great deal of care; and I often think I should like to retire, and be quiet; and then I feel as though I could not be quiet—and then I should have no friend. I should want a friend if I retired—else I could afford it, you know." "O, I had no doubt of her having a handsome property." "O, no, sir, your joke is very pretty; but I did not mean to say I was rich. I have somewhere or other about 7,000 dollars; but I guess you have more money than all of us put together." And thus she continued through the journey, never embarrassed, always prepared to meet you in reply, and always satisfied with her own shrewdness. She was really a character—person, features, dress, all—but a most pitiable one. A great usurer on a small scale; the love of money had become in her the root of all evil; it made her indifferent to a future world, and destroyed all that was feminine, tender, and benevolent.

We reached Concord in the afternoon. Many of the brethren had arrived here to take their place in the meeting of the Pastoral Association. We took our repast with them, and united in prayer, and then retired to our inn, as we had to start again early in the morning.

The next day we left for Royalton. It was a fine day, and we had a most delightful ride. I could perceive that the previous ride offered some fine scenery to the eye, but it was now evidently improving, and to enjoy it, I took my seat with the driver. The views on the borders of the Connecticut, and the Black and White rivers, are full of picture, and will compare with some of the good things on the Rhine and the Bangor road. The objects are brought closer together than is common in this country, and give force to each other. They are, too, just what you could desire; but I must not dwell upon them. Conceive of yourself running along the margin of a sweet river, sometimes in quiet, sometimes in gushing motion; of undulating land, of green corn-fields, of pretty cottages, of hill rising above hill, clothed with verdant and olive fir-trees, and of the Green Mountains of Vermont, lying in the distance, all placed in their best relations to each other; and you will, in some degree, participate in the actual scenes and pleasures of this ride.

We passed through some interesting towns and villages. Hanover is one of them; pleasantly situated, and reputed for its college. Montpelier is a young and thriving town, and is raising to itself a very handsome court-house. One office that we should deem considerable, however, remains on its old scale. It is a wooden room, not a house, with its gable-end to the street; the door was standing open, exhibiting a desk, table, and chair of the plainest kind. Over the door was the label, *Secretary of State*. A small plate with the word "Mutual" on it, now began to make its appearance over or on the doors. At first it might be taken for the name of the resident; but we soon found that there was an insurance company bearing that designation. I was pleased to observe, that most of the detached dwellings had on them, or near them, raised on a

pole, a bird-cote for the use of the marten, the wren, and the blue-bird. They were frequently a miniature representation of the house itself; and they were a grateful assurance of the kind-heartedness of the people. Such habits are beautifully illustrative of that religion, which teaches us that God cares for the lowest work of his hands, and which commands us to be the cheerful ministers of his mercy towards them.

Sharon and Canterbury, also, are delightful locations. The latter is a Shaker settlement. I will not now detain you by setting down the extravagances of this people. Their great peculiarity is, that they repudiate marriage, and the intercourse of the sexes; they can, therefore, only exist as an excrescence on society. They are a sort of Protestant monastery; and their settlements are fed by similar causes. But, apart from their religious views, their economy, in its effects, is admirable. I have seen several of their establishments, and all of them, like this, are finely situated, finely cultivated, and in the best state of preservation. There are no farms like theirs; and in the market their articles go by their name, and fetch a higher price in consequence. Their dwellings have the same character; they are neat, clean, well painted and kept. The eye was refreshed by the spectacle, standing, as it did, in contrast with all around it; and there was nothing to abate the satisfaction, except that the people did not look happy, and that—there were no children.

We began now to meet with the wooden bridge, which abounds in this country. It is usually sustained on stone or wooden uprights, and composed of trussed girders, with loose boarding, and mostly with a roof to protect it from the weather. A notice is put up at each end, of *No trotting over this bridge;* a most needful provision, for certainly a good trot would bring some of them down. A few of the more important ones have been constructed recently on an excellent principle, and are very steady. They say you should "speak well of the bridge that carries you safe over;" and certainly I never felt so much disposition to do a set of bridges justice, for while they always discharged their duty, they often left me wondering how they were able to do it.

We met on this route with a great many Irish, who were passing from Canada to Lowell and Boston for employment: many of them very poor, and suffering much. Those who still had some means, clubbed together and hired a cart, and this took the women and children; the weaker men getting relief in turn. One poor fellow, with bare and blistered feet, and haggard look, cast a very imploring eye on me. I felt he was a countryman, and that we were both strangers in a strange land; I cast him what little silver I had; and his "God bless your honor" touched my heart, for it spoke to me of home.

The next day we were to reach Burlington. We had been charged to go by the Gulf road, as presenting some extraordinary scenery; and I was rejoiced to find, that on this day the coach took that course. With high expectations, I took my seat again outside, much to the surprise of the coachman, as no one sits with him by choice. The early ride resembled what occurred yesterday; but differently circumstanced. Heavy mists hung over the landscape, as if unwilling to be compared with what was to follow. Then, as the day advanced, the sleeping mists began to expand and separate, to curl and sail over the picture, veiling and unveiling all by turns, so as to clothe it with a bewitching loveliness.

At length the features began to heighten and concentrate, and indicated that something greater was to come. As we ran down an inclined plane, the scene continued to thicken and rise about us, till we found ourselves in the very crevice of the gulf, shut up from every thing beside, and with only room for our carriage and a small slow stream, to make their way through the surrounding brushwood. The gulf is three miles through; it is composed of precipitous hills, running twice the height of those at Clifton; they are much closer and finer clothed. At one point, especially, it is most striking. The sluggish water gathers life and tumbles over a rocky slope on which you stand, with sweet gushing sounds. You occupy a dell into which the sun never shines. You look up on surrounding galleries of bold and beautiful hills, clothed all over with the bursting green foliage of spring, and mingled with the dark hues and grand forms of the primitive pine. The sun has risen in all his effulgence on the upper world; and his vivid lights shoot across the picture, so as to cover its higher parts with all his brilliancy, and to leave you in a state of distance and darkness which is felt and visible. It is, as a scene, perfect of its kind. But I know not that it is now what it was then. As we began to ascend, we found the hand of man busy in indiscriminate destruction.

But I will not trouble you with unavailing lamentations. On getting free of the gulf, the scenery was still good. One view especially was in contrast with it, and at that time of a very novel character. The hills still stood about you in grandeur. The forests had some years since been fired.—Young timber had grown up in their stead; but the blasted and black firs rose above all on the rocks and heights, as of other generations, and gave, in an eminent degree, an air of wild sublimity to the scene. It was the hour of noon, and every thing supported the general impression. The indolent river seemed to sleep on the greensward. The woodman's cot was deserted; the door open; the axe and billet lying on the threshold. Nor man, nor child, nor beast, nor bird, was to be seen or heard. Nothing broke on the wild silence of that hour, but the distant cry of the bull-frog.

We arrived at a small place called Waterbury, to dinner, and were supplied with the plainest accommodations. I was greatly surprised to find, in this old country, districts of such wild aspect, and *clearings* going on so extensively. But they prevail here as much as in the new countries, and from the following cause. Parties take possession of the land, and clear it by firing all but the stump, for they are sure to be rewarded for one or two seasons with good crops. By this time the land, which is poor, is exhausted, and will only repay them on condition of being well cultivated. Rather than go to this expense or labor, they abandon it, and move elsewhere, mostly to the west, where they find a soil more grateful for less exertion. The land is no sooner abandoned than a new forest springs up; and thus the processes of destruction and renovation are continually succeeding each other. The methods of removing the timber are by felling, by firing, and by girdling. The first is used if it is wanted, or will fetch a price; the second method consists in setting fire to some of the trees in the dry season; it will quickly spread to any extent you desire, and sometimes beyond it. A small plot in this vicinity was fired, and the fire ran over a district of twelve square miles, consuming every thing in its way. The third method, of girdling, is by cutting a ring in the bark of the tree, which prevents the sap from rising, and kills it. When the methods of firing and girdling are adopted, the trees remain a long period leafless, withered, blasted, and in every stage of ruin; and they give to the scene, on some occasions, an air of grand deso-

lation, unlike every thing I had beheld. So far as husbandry is concerned, the great expense lies in extracting the prodigious roots; and if you see this operation going forward, you may know that the party has determined on a permanent settlement.

On reaching our dinner station, I concluded that my sights were over for the day, and was quite willing to ruminate on what the eye had seen. To my astonishment, however, we had not got two miles from the inn, before we reached what are called the Waterbury Falls; and a view was opened before us, surpassing all that had been previously exhibited. But how shall I make you see it? Let us try. A sweet smiling river is gliding along, like a bed of quicksilver, at your feet. A little below you, its quiet course is obstructed by a rock, which springs suddenly from its bed, and which is in place, form, and color, among the finest I have seen; and it is crowned with dark and primitive firs. One half the river runs off to the left with quickened motion, but in friendly channels; while, on the right, the other half has cut its passage through the rock, and is dashing down the ruin it has made. Beyond this obstruction, you see the two streams hastening to embrace each other, like sisters who have been separated and in trouble, but are one again. This is the foreground. Then, on the one hand, close on the Fall, rises abruptly rather a mountain than a hill, presenting you with a ledge of rock-work, by which you are to pass, overhanging the waters, overshadowed with trees, and supplying you with a loop-hole to look out on the distant scenery. On the other hand, tiers of hills form themselves into receding and rising galleries, adorned with forests of the brightest and darkest hues. Before and beyond, others still spread themselves in the distance, in rival forms of loveliness, till at length the picture is closed by the fine outline of the camel-backed mountain. The distant openings supply the picture with all the advantages of perspective; the striking foreground is thrown up with surprising power; while the eye reposes beyond it in fields of softened brightness and beauty.

But I must have done with descriptions; at least, of this class. Did I not know that you have strong tastes for the beauties of nature, and that they contribute so delightfully to the innocent gratifications of life, I should fear I had utterly wearied you. But I really want you to become acquainted with this people and with this country; and these sketches may possibly assist you to that acquaintance better than means of more imposing pretensions.

Early in the afternoon we came in sight of Burlington; and below it lay the Lake Champlain, expanding in all its glory. Had I wished for another scene this day to compare with the previous ones, and yet of an entirely new character, I could hardly have had a better. The town is excellently situated, for health, for appearance, and for business; and it is in a very thriving and advancing state. The boat by which we were to cross the lake to St. John's, would not arrive till ten o'clock. We joined the evening meal at the *table de hote;* and having looked over the town and the bookstore, took a seat under the piazza of the inn, and watched for the boat. The scene immediately before me was animated and interesting, but it hardly agreed with the quiet joys of the day. I found myself on one side of a square, which was the centre of bustle and parade to the good town of Burlington; and being the last evening in the week, it was specially occupied. The inn itself was very noisy. Numbers of youth who boarded here, had closed their labors, and were full of frolic. The boys were engaged in some of their stormy plays. One auctioneer had just finished, to his satisfaction, his mountebank sale before the door; and another had just begun his noisy gibberish in a distant shop.—Though distant, I could distinctly hear. His voice, in the first instance, answered the purpose of a bell, to call the people together, and it did it effectually. To hear him cry as he did! "Six cents and a half—only six cents and a half! What! shall it go for six cents and a half?—shall it go for nothing?—Nobody bid any more—not another cent!" That ever man should crack his voice, and emit a world of noise, about six cents and a half!

One person—a gentleman of this district—was sporting a tandem about the square, and had really started several times to go home, but could not get courage, poor man! I do not wonder. At home he could not exhibit either his tandem or himself; how, then, could he part with the admiration of the square? All were engaged; but they seemed poorly engaged. One of the finest lakes in the world lay under their eye in the last lights of evening—no one saw it! The bright and lovely stars were walking in silence over their heads, through the paths of heaven—no one admired them! But I must check myself. The day had not disposed me to noise and bustle, and it was Saturday evening—a period usually given to serious objects and absent friends; and I was in danger of being severe on this work-a-day world—so full of itself, and so much without God!

From Burlington we passed into the Canadas.—As the excursion into this country will be separately noticed, I shall pass forward to Niagara, the point at which we again entered the American territories.

LETTER IX.

My dear friend—Now for the Falls. The town of Niagara has no connection with the Falls of Niagara; they are fifteen miles apart. We left the town, therefore, on the morning of the 24th, deeming the time lost which kept us from the great object of pursuit. The ride is very pleasant, by the side of the river, which is here narrow and deep, compressed by hills on both sides, and finely fringed by forest trees. The land is good in this vicinity, and some of it in good keeping; the roadside is verdant, and is made fragrant and cheerful by an abundance of sweet-brier, which is growing wild, and was then in bloom. We passed through Queenstown, the heights of which are made memorable and interesting by the gallant defence and lamented fall of General Brock, in the last unhappy war. There is a monument erecting to his memory. It is about 120 feet high, and must supply a fine view of the country. But *onward* was our word now; and we were eagerly looking out for some indications of the great wonder which we were so rapidly approaching.

At length we saw the spray rising through the trees, and settling like a white cloud over them; and then we heard the voice of the mighty waters—a voice all its own, and worthy of itself. Have you never felt a trembling backwardness to look on what you have intensely desired to see? If not, you will hardly understand my feeling. While all were now searching for some glance of the object itself, I was disposed to turn aside, lest it should surprise me. This, no doubt, was partly caused by the remark I had so often heard, that the first view disappoints you. I concluded, that this arose from the first view not being a fair one, and I was determined to do justice to the object of my reverence. In fulfilling this purpose, I reached the Pavilion without seeing any thing; disposed of my affairs there, and hastened down towards the Falls; and

found myself actually on the Table Rock to receive my first impressions.

Let any one pursue the same course, and he will not talk of first impressions disappointing him; or if he should, then he ought to go twenty miles another way. Niagara was not made for him.

From the Table Rock I descended to the base. There I clambered out on the broken rocks, and sat—I know not how long. The day was the least favorable of any we had. The atmosphere was heavy; the foam hung about the object and concealed one half of it; and the wind blew from the opposite side, and brought the spray upon you, so as to wet you exceedingly. The use of cloak and umbrella were troublesome; you could not wholly forget your person, and think only of one thing. However, had I not seen it in this state of the atmosphere, I should have wanted some views which now occupy my imagination. The whole is exceedingly solemn when nature frowns; and when much is hidden, while yet the eye has not marked the outline, there is a mysteriousness spread over the object which suits your conceptions of its greatness, and in which the imagination loves to luxuriate. I can scarcely define to you my impressions on this first day; I can scarcely define them to myself. I was certainly not disappointed; but I was confounded. I felt as though I had received a shock, and required time to right myself again.

I returned to the Pavilion, which is about half a mile from the Falls, and retired to my chamber, which overlooked them. I mused on what I had seen, and was still confounded. I sought rest that I might be fresh for the morrow; but rest did not come so freely. The continuous deep sounds of the waters would have sung me to sleep, but the tremor of the house and ground, which shook the windows like those of a stagecoach, kept me wakeful; and when I fell into slumbers, the flitting dreams of what I had seen, would trouble and break them.

Notwithstanding all disturbances, I rose on the next morning in good spirits. The day was all that could be wished. The sun shining, the heavens transparent, garnished with bright and peaceful clouds. The wind, too, was gentle and refreshing; and had shifted to our side, so as to promise the nearest points of sight without the discomfort of getting wet through.

I now looked fairly on the scene as it presented itself at my window, in the fair lights of the morning. It is composed rather of the accompaniments of the fall than of the fall itself. You look up the river full ten miles, and it runs in this part from two to three miles in breadth. Here it has formed, in its passage, beautiful little bays; and there it has worked through the slips of mainland, putting out the fragments as so many islets to decorate its surface; while, on either hand, it is bounded by the original forests of pine. At the upper extremity you see the blue waters calmly resting under the more cerulean heavens; while nearer to you it becomes agitated, like a strong man preparing to run a race. It swells, and foams, and recoils, as though it were committed to some desperate issue; and then suddenly contracts its dimensions, as if to gather up all its power for the mighty leap it is about to make. This is all you see here; and it is enough.

I left the hotel, and went down to the Table Rock. This is usually deemed the great point of sight; and for an upper view it undoubtedly is. It is composed of several ledges of rock, having different advantages, and projecting as far over the gulf below as they can to be safe. But how shall I describe the objects before me? The mysterious veil which lay heavily yesterday on a large part of it, was now removed; and the outline of the picture was mostly seen. An ordinary picture would have suffered by this; but here the real dimensions are so vast, and so far beyond what the eye has measured, that to see them is not to fetter, but to assist the imagination. This fall, which is called the Horseshoe Fall, is upwards of 2,000 feet in extent, and makes a leap, on an average of about 200 feet. Now just enlarge your conceptions to these surprising dimensions, and suppose yourself to be recumbent on the projecting rock which I have named, as near the verge as you dare, and I will assist you to look at the objects as they present themselves.

You see not now above the cataract the bed of the river; but you still see the foaming heads of the rapids, like waves of the ocean, hurrying to the precipice; and over them the light clouds which float on the horizon. Then comes the *chute* itself. It is not in the form of the horseshoe; it is not composed of either circular or straight lines; but it partakes of both; and throughout it is marked by projections and indentations, which give an amazing variety of form and aspect. With all this variety it is one. It has all the power which is derivfrom unity, and none of the stiffness which belongs to uniformity. There it falls in one dense awful mass of green waters, unbroken and resistless; here it is broken into drops, and falls like a sea of diamonds sparkling in the sun. Now it shoots forth like rockets in endless succession; and now it is so light and foaming that it dances in the sun as it goes, and before it has reached the pool, it is driven up again by the ascending currents of air. Then there is the deep expanding pool below. Where the waters pitch, all is agitation and foam, so that the foot of the fall is never seen; and beyond it and away, the waters spread themselves out like a rippling sea of liquid alabaster. This last feature is perfectly unique, and you would think nothing could add to its exquisite loveliness; but there lies on it, as if they were made for each other, "heaven's own bow." O never had it, in heaven itself, so fair a resting place!

Besides, by reason of the different degrees of rarity in the waters and the atmosphere, the sun is pervading the whole scene, with unwonted lights and hues. And the foam which is flying off in all directions, is insensibly condensed, and forms a pillar of cloud, which moves over the scene, as it once did over the tents of Israel, and apparently by the same bidding, giving amazing variety, and sublimity, and unearthliness to the picture. Then there is sound as well as sight; but what sound! It is not like the sea; nor like the thunder; nor like any thing I have heard. There is no roar, no rattle; nothing sharp or angry in its tones; it is deep, awful, one!

Well, as soon as I could disengage myself from this spot, I descended to the bed of the fall. I am never satisfied with any fall, till I have availed myself of the very lowest standing it supplies; it is there usually that you become susceptible of its utmost power. I scrambled, therefore, over the dislocated rocks, and put myself as near as possible to the object which I wished to absorb me. I was not disappointed.

There were now fewer objects in the picture; but what you saw had greater prominence and power over you. Every thing ordinary—foliage, trees, hills—was shut out; the smaller attributes of the fall were also excluded; and I was left alone with its own greatness. At my feet the waters were creaming, swelling, and dashing away, as if in terror, from the scene of conflict, at the rate of twenty miles an hour. Above and overhanging me was the Table Rock, with its majestic form, and dark and livid colors, threatening to crush one. While immediately before me was spread in all its height

and majesty—not in parts, but as a whole, beyond what the eye could embrace—the unspeakable cataract itself; with its head now touching the horizon, and seeming to fall direct from heaven, and rushing to the earth with a weight and voice which made the rocks beneath and around me fearfully to tremble. Over this scene the cloud of foam mysteriously moved, rising upward, so as to spread itself partly on the face of the fall, and partly on the face of the sky; while over all were seen the beautiful and soft colors of the rainbow, forming almost an entire circle, and crowning it with celestial glory. But it is vain. The power, the sublimity, the beauty, the bliss of that spot, of that hour—it cannot be told.

When fairly exhausted by intensity of feeling, I strolled away towards the ferry, to pass over to the American side. The Falls here, from the distance, have a plain and uniform aspect; but this wholly disappears on approaching them. They are exceedingly fine. They do not subdue you as on the Canadian side; but they fill you with a solemn and delightful sense of their grandeur and beauty. The character of the one is beautiful, inclining to the sublime; and that of the other, the sublime, inclining to the beautiful. There is a single slip of the Fall on this side, which, in any other situation, would be regarded as a most noble cataract. It falls upwards of 200 feet; it is full 20 feet wide at the point of fall, and spreads itself like a fan in falling, so as to strike on a line of some 50 or 60 feet. It has great power and beauty.

I found that there was a small ledge of rock behind this fall, and ventured on it to about the centre. You can stand here without getting at all wet; the waters shoot out several feet before you; and, if you have nerve, it is entirely safe. I need not say that the novelty and beauty of the situation amply reward you. You are behind the sheet of water, and the sun is shining on its face, illuminating the whole body with a variety proportioned to its density. Here, before you, the heavy waters fall in unbroken columns of bright green. There, they flow down like a shower of massy crystals, radiant with light, and emitting as they fall all the prismatic colors; while there, again, they are so broken and divided, as to resemble a shower of gems sparkling in light, and shooting across the blue heavens.

I passed by what is called Goat Island to the extremity of the Horseshoe Fall on this side. There is carried out over the head of this fall a limb of timber, with a hand rail to it. It projects some 12 feet over the abyss, and is meant to supply the place of the Table Rock on the other side. It does so in a great measure; and as, while it is quite as safe, it gives you far less sense of safety, it disposes you the more to sympathize with objects of terror. Indeed, when you fairly get to the extremity, and find yourself standing out in this world of waters on a slip of wood only large enough for your feet to rest on, and which is quivering beneath you; when the waters are rushing down under you; when the spray is flying over you; and when the eye seeks to fathom the unfathomable and boisterous gulf below; you have, perhaps, as much of the terrible as will consist with gratification. Very many of the visiters never think of encountering this point of view: those who do and have a taste for it will never forget it. It is among the finest of the fine.

In returning, I wandered round the little island. It is covered with forest trees of a fine growth, and is full of picturesque beauty. Days might be spent here in happy and deep seclusion; protected from the burning sun; regaled by lovely scenes of nature, and the music of the sweetest waters; and in fellowship, at will, with the mighty Falls.

The next morning was the last; and it was given wholly to the Great Fall. I prepared, in the first instance, to go behind it. This is the chief adventure; and is by most writers described as dangerous. There is no danger if the overhanging rocks keep their places, and if you have moderate self-possession. I made use of the oil cloth dress provided by the guide, and was quarrelling with it as damp and uncomfortable; but that grievance was quickly disposed of. I had not made my entrance behind the scenes before I was drenched, and the less I had on the better. However, it was an admirable shower bath; and there was an end to the question of wet or dry. "Take care of your breath," was the cry of the guide; and I had need, for it was almost gone. On making a further advance, I recovered it, and felt relieved. "Now give me your hand," said the guide; "this is the narrowest part." Onward I went, till he assured me that I was on Termination Rock; the extreme point accessible to the foot of man.

As the labor of the foot was over, and there was good standing, I determined on making the best use of my eyes. But this it was not so easy to do. The spray and waters were driving in my face, and coursing down my sides most strangely: a strong wind from the foot of the fall was driving in the opposite direction, so as to threaten not to blow me down, but to blow me up to the roof of the vault. However, I soon ascertained that we were at the extremity of a cavern of large and wonderful construction. It is in the form of a pointed arch; the one span composed of rolling and dense water, and the other of livid black rocks. It was some 50 feet from the footing of the rock to that of the water, and I had entered about 70 feet. On the entrance, which is mostly of thinner waters, the sun played cheerfully, and with glowing power; but within it was contrasted by the dim light and heavy obscurity which are generated by the density of the fall, to which the whole power of the sun can give only a semi-transparency. What with this visible gloom, the stunning noise of the fall, and the endless commotion of wind and waters, the effect is most singular and awful. It is a scene that would harmonize with the creations of Fuseli; and it has, I will venture to say, real horrors beyond what the cave of old Æolus ever knew.

On returning to my dressing room, I received a certificate from the guide that I had really been to Termination Rock; a ridiculous device to give importance to his vocation, but in the success of which he does not miscalculate on human nature. The rest of the morning was employed in taking peeps at the Falls from favorite points of observation; but chiefly on the Table Rock, and at the foot of the Great Fall. The day was exceedingly fine, and every feature of the amazing scene was lighted up with all its beauty; and I now communed with it as one would with a friend who has already afforded you rich enjoyment in his society. I was delighted—was fascinated. Every thing, apart or together, seemed to have acquired greater power and expression. I studied all the parts; they were exquisite, lovely, noble; I put them all together, and it overwhelmed me, subdued me, fixed me to the spot. Long I stayed; but all time was short. I went; and returned; and knew not how to go.

I have been thus particular in my account of these Falls, because the world knows nothing like them; and because I wished you to participate in my pleasures. I have seen many falls, and with unspeakable delight; but nothing to be named with this. It would in parts present the image of them all; but all united would not supply a just idea of it. It is better to see it than a thousand ordinary sights; they may revive sleeping emotions, and so bring delight;

but this creates new emotion, and raises the mind a step higher in its conceptions of the power and eternity of Him whom "to know is life eternal." The day on which it is seen should be memorable in the life of any man.

I am sorry, in closing, that I cannot say much for the taste either of the visiters or inhabitants of this spot. The visiters seemed to regard the Falls rather as an object of curiosity than otherwise; and when they had satisfied their curiosity (which in most cases was very quickly done,) and could report that they had seen them, the duty was discharged. Such persons drove in on the morning, explored for a couple of hours, dined, and hurried away. Or, if they stayed, they had had enough of Niagara, and they made an excursion to see the burning springs. The album here, too, is full of miserable trash; it is a sad contrast to the album at Chamouni.

With the residents I am half disposed to be angry. On the American side they have got up a shabby town, and called it Manchester. Manchester and the Falls of Niagara! A proposition has been made to buy Goat Island, and turn it into a botanical garden, to improve the scenery—and such scenery! On the Canadian side, a money-seeking party have bought up 400 acres, with the hope of erecting "The City of the Falls;" and still worse, close on the Table Rock, some party was busy in erecting a mill-dam! One has hardly patience to record these things. The universal voice ought to interfere, and prevent them. Niagara does not belong to them; Niagara does not belong to Canada or America. Such spots should be deemed the property of civilized mankind; and nothing should be allowed to weaken their efficacy on the tastes, the morals, and the enjoyments of all men.

LETTER X.

My dear friend—Having paused so long with you at the Falls, we must move forward with the greater celerity. We left on the 26th for Buffalo. The ride is still along the Niagara, and is very pleasing. On coming opposite the Black Rock, we had to cross the river by the ferry boat. This boat was constructed on the principle of the steam boat; but the moving power was obtained from horses, as more economical on a small scale. The water wheels were driven by a horizontal wheel, which was impelled by four horses. It was provided with an upward face large enough for the horses to stand on; they were fastened by traces to a fixed bar, so that when they were in motion, instead of advancing, they thrust the wheel backward.

Buffalo is a beautiful town, situated on rising ground, at the junction of the river and Lake Erie; and it is thriving almost beyond example. In the year 1814, it was entirely destroyed by the British forces; so entirely that it is said only one house was left standing; and this was saved by a remarkable adventure on the part of an old woman, who is still living. Seeing every thing in ruin and in flames around her, and made desperate by the thought of her dwelling meeting the common fate, she resolved to enter the camp of the adversary, and plead her cause. In fulfilling this determination, she supplied herself with a broomstick, tied a white handkerchief to it, made her way to the centinels, and demanded an audience of the commanding officer. She was not in a temper to submit readily to denial; and at length she succeeded. She represented to him, with the feeling and tears which the occasion awakened, that she was a poor widow; that she had many fatherless children; that the house was all that the father had left to them; that it had hitherto sustained them; but that if it were destroyed, they were all utterly ruined. The house was spared at the prayer of the importunate widow.

On the close of the war, the Congress voted 80,000 dollars to atone for the losses suffered. This gave, in union with the indignation natural to the sufferers, great life to the efforts for restoring the town; and it quickly rose, like another phenix, from the flames. Advancing commerce, however, has done more for it than any other cause. In 1825, it had only a population of 2,300; now it amounts to 12,000! The Eagle Hotel, at which we stayed for the night, is excellent. The Rev. Mr. Eaton, with whom we had met at the public meetings, showed us kind attentions.

The morning of the ensuing day we left by the steam boat. We had no sooner got on board than we found that there was a strong opposition between this and another boat. Our boat actually stayed an hour and a half after time, to get the other out, that it might race with it. Some of us remonstrated; but the general impression was that it would be futile. At last our vessel was compelled to start first; but still not to abandon its purpose. It moved quietly down the creek, and beyond the pier, with the other boat in its rear; it then described a fine circle in the water, and thus brought itself fairly alongside of its antagonist, and thus gave it challenge on equal terms. Great and hazardous effort was now made on each side, the advantage being on ours. The other boat, after running us close, though still falling behind, either feigned to have or had an accident with her machinery, and suddenly stopped in the waters. We had no reason to think the occurrence serious to the passengers; and were not sorry to pursue our path on the waters unattended by this troublesome spirit of rivalry. My wonder was that the passengers, including judges and governors, should have been such mute witnesses of these liberties in public conveyances.

We were now advanced some thirty miles on the bosom of Lake Erie. On the one side land was not visible; on the other it was from two to four miles distant. The dimensions of these larger lakes are often quoted by travellers as pledges sufficient of their interest and grandeur; but, as you know, these properties are often in the inverse proportion to the dimensions. These waters, for instance, are too vast to supply you with the picturesque, and they are too small to supply you with the grandeur of the ocean. They are invaluable, however, as the highways of commerce; or rather, they have become so since the use of steam as a motive power. The average voyage to Detroit used to be three weeks; it is now four days. Six years ago there were only five steamboats on this lake; there are now thirty-five. In the last year, 1833, 100,000 persons were transported across these waters; and, what is remarkable, two-thirds of that number were natives.

The boat which was conveying us, is one of the best I have seen. Provisions, accommodations, and attendance, all excellent. Mr. Pratt, a proprietor, was on board. He was very obliging. He allowed no spirits to be on the table; and requested me to implore a blessing on our repast. This was the first occasion in which I had known it done at a public meal. Our company was very miscellaneous, but, on the whole, agreeable. We had, particularly, some interesting conversations with Judge Wilkinson on important subjects, and the Western country. There were some tradesmen on board, who, on reaching home, would have made a journey of from 2,000 to 3,000 miles to go to market.

After a run of about forty miles, we came to Dunkirk, a small town on the left bank, where we were to deposite passengers and take in wood. Mr.

Stillman, a worthy and discreet minister of the Baptist communion, who had been lately settled here, came on board. I embraced the passing opportunity to learn something of the religious state of the place. It was interesting. The population was about 600. There were three places of worship; Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist. When the settlement was much smaller, and before they could get churches erected, it was found that the people's morals were relaxing, and that many who came to settle refused to do so. Those, therefore, who had a worldly interest in the place, united with the religious in building churches. In this way, six persons of worldly habits and views had agreed at first to sustain him. They had, in the last winter, which was a season of revival, been converted, and were at this time building him a church. Thus it is that "the earth" is made to "help the woman," and in doing so becomes less earthly.

In the evening of the day we reached Erie; the place at which, by previous agreement, Mr. Matheson and myself were to separate. He thought this the best opportunity of visiting a relative in Pennsylvania; and as he had been several times indisposed, he was apprehensive of a more trying region. Indeed, the reports from the West had been discouraging; and under the circumstances, I did not feel at liberty to urge him when it might have been to his injury. For myself, my mind was fixed. It was indispensable to our duty, not that both, but that one of us should see as much of the West and South as possible. We parted, therefore, in the expectation, if life were preserved, of meeting at Pittsburgh.

As the night shut in, we passed by Portland, a still younger settlement, but very promising. it is chiefly remarkable for a lighthouse, brilliantly lighted from a burning spring, full three quarters of a mile from the spot.

In the morning we paused at Cleaveland. This is a great thoroughfare for the West: and it was here that I originally intended to debark. But on finding I should still be sure of conveyances by going on to the head of the lake, I determined on that course, as it would supply me with better opportunities of seeing the State of Ohio. The remainder of the passage was made pleasant by the conversation of a minister of that State who was returning to his charge. There had been recently two revivals in his and other congregations. Generally, they occurred in the following way.

In the first, concern came over the minds of a few Christians for a better state of religion. They met with him for prayer; and agreed to visit, and converse, and pray with the people. While thus feeling and acting, the monthly conference of ministers and elders came round to this place. Report was made of the state of the churches; and the awakened state of the people at the place of meeting was in turn reported. All were much impressed. The preaching and prayers received their character from it. The effect was very general and very good. Many became truly serious then; and for six months afterward, there were some instances of religious decision every week.

The second occasion was connected with the death of an aged woman, a member of the church, and "a mother in Israel." She had seven children: they were now grown up and settled in life; but, notwithstanding all her instructions and prayers, they had become exceedingly worldly, and during her lifetime, disregarded serious religion. Her death, however, did what her life failed to do. Her eldest daughter was much affected by the event, and by the painful reflections it brought with it. She was visited and conversed with. Her husband came in at the time; and the conversation, without changing its character, naturally turned to him; and the season justified a pointed address, and he also fell under the force of salutary conviction.—Another son, who was brought from New-York to the funeral, and who had been conspicuous in the infidel club of that city, became fearfully convicted of sin, and was driven to temporary despair; but in the end he confessed his sins, and professed Christ with great earnestness and decision. In such a rural population these things would not be done in a corner, but would be known to all. They had a very beneficial effect on many; and the good minister sought a careful improvement of the dispensation. The effect on this family was, that five of the seven children were united to the church; and the effect of the two seasons of revived influence was, that about one hundred persons gave good "reason of the hope that was in them." No peculiarity of method was adopted here; and the anxious seat was not used. At present, I merely record facts.

In the middle of the day we reached Sandusky, at which place I separated from the boat. It is prettily situated on the margin of a small bay; and the country lies well and quietly around it. It has not more than 700 or 800 inhabitants; but it is nevertheless a city, with its corporate rights and officers. Of course there are only small materials here for the composition of mayor and council, and they are, therefore, small men; but they are in keeping with the place and people, and that is more than one could say of the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, if they should be here. It is truly a city in a forest; for the large stumps of the original pines are still standing in the main street, and over the spots that have been cleared for settlement, the new wood is springing up with amazing vigor, as if to defy the hand of man.

I went to the best inn in the town. It was not such as one could boast of; but it had been better, had it been cleaner. It was, however, welcome to me, as a heavy thunder-storm was just beginning to put forth its tremendous power. When seated at the table of the refectory, in search of refreshments, I congratulated myself on my safety; but my confidence was quickly moderated, for the rain soon found its way within the house, and came spattering down the walls of the room in strange style. By-the-by, few things seem to be water-proof here. A second time my luggage has been soaked through. I had placed it *under* the upper deck of the vessel as a place of perfect security; but it was vain. A searching rain came on in the night; the deck leaked, and my portmanteau suffered. However, I had made up my mind, in starting, not to be disturbed by any thing that might be injured, lost, or stolen on the way: a precaution that had certainly more wisdom in it than I was aware of; for, without it, I might have had a pretty good share of disturbance. Already much was injured, and some was stolen: of the future I could not speak; but, if things went on in the same promising manner, I had the prospect of being returned to New-York in a coatless, shirtless, and very bootless condition.

There are two places of worship here; one for the Presbyterians, and the other for the Episcopal Methodists. The first is without a minister; and neither of them in a very flourishing state. They stand on the greensward; they are about thirty feet square, and for the want of paint, have a worn and dirty aspect. The good people here reverse the Dutch proverb; it is not "Paint costs nothing," but "Wood costs nothing;" and they act accordingly. They will, however, improve with the town; and at present they offer accommodation enough for its

wants; but half the adult population certainly go nowhere.

Indeed, the state of religious and moral feeling was evidently very low here. For the first time I overheard obscene conversation; and I heard more swearing and saw more Sabbath-breaking than I had before witnessed. There were many *Groceries*, as they call themselves, here; *Groggeries*, as their enemies call them; and they were all full. Manners, which are consequent on religion and morality, were proportionally affected. I felt that I was introduced to a new state of things, which demanded my best attention.

Having rested here over the Sabbath, I arranged to leave by coach early in the morning for Columbus. We were to start, I was told, at three o'clock; I rose, therefore, at two. Soon after I had risen, the bar-agent came, to say that the coach was ready, and would start in ten minutes, as the rain had made the roads bad. This was rather an ominous as well as untimely intimation. But there was no remedy; so I made what haste I could in dressing, and went down to take my place. I had no sooner begun to enter the coach, than splash went my foot in mud and water. I exclaimed with surprise. "Soon be dry, sir," was the reply; while he withdrew the light, that I might not explore the cause of complaint. The fact was, that the vehicle, like the hotel and the steamboat, was not water-tight, and the rain had found an entrance.—There was, indeed, in this coach, as in most others, a provision in the bottom, of holes, to let off both water and dirt; but here the dirt had become mud, and thickened about the orifices so as to prevent escape. I found I was the only passenger; the morning was damp and chilly; the state of the coach added to the sensation; and I eagerly looked about for some means of protection. I drew up the wooden windows; out of five small panes of glass in the sashes, three were broken. I endeavored to secure the curtains; two of them had most of the ties broken, and flapped in one's face. There was no help in the coach; so I looked to myself. I made the best use I could of my garments, and put myself as snugly as I could in the corner of a stage meant to accommodate nine persons. My situation was just then not among the most cheerful. I could see nothing; everywhere I could feel the wind drawn in upon me; and as for sounds, I had the calls of the driver, the screeching of the wheels, and the song of the bull-frog for my entertainment.

But the worst of my solitary situation was to come. All that had been intimated about bad roads now came upon me. They were not only bad; they were intolerable: they were rather like a stony ditch than a road. The horses, on the first stages, could only walk most of the way; we were frequently in to the axletree, uncertain whether we should ever get out; and I had no sooner recovered from a terrible plunge on one side, than there came another in the opposite direction, and confounded all my efforts to preserve a steady sitting. I was literally thrown about like a ball. How gladly should I have kept fixed possession of that corner, which I at first occupied with some degree of dissatisfaction! Let me dismiss the subject of bad roads for this journey, by stating, in illustration, that, with an empty coach, and four horses, we were seven hours in going twenty-three miles; and that we were twenty-eight hours in getting to Columbus, a distance of 110 miles. Yet this line of conveyance was advertised as a "splendid line, equal to any in the States."

At six o'clock we arrived at Russell's Tavern, where we were to take breakfast. I was quite as glad of the respite as of the meal. This is a nice inn; in good order, very clean, and the best provision. There was an abundant supply; but most of it was prepared with butter and the frying-pan; still there was good coffee and eggs, and delightful bread. Most of the family and the driver sat down at table, and the two daughters of our host waited on us. Mr. Russell, as is commonly the case in such districts, made the occupation of innkeeper subsidiary to that of farming. You commanded the whole of his farm from the door, and it was really a fine picture; the soil so good, the ground so well kept, and the young crops so blooming and promising in the midst of the desert. From the good manners of this family, and from the good husbandry and respectable carriage of the father, I hoped to find a regard for religion here. I turned to the rack of the bar, and found there three books; they were, the Gazetteer of Ohio, Popular Geography, and the Bible; they all denoted intelligence; the last was the most used. This was as I expected, and as it should be.

Things now began to mend with me; daylight had come; the atmosphere was getting warm and bland; I had the benefit of a good breakfast; the road was in some measure improved; it was possible to look abroad, and every thing was inviting attention. We were now passing over what is called the Grand Prairie; and the prairies of this western country are, as you know, conspicuous among its phenomena. I will not burden you by my speculations on the subject, except to say they are certainly of vegetable formation; and it may, I conceive, be readily determined by what processes. The first impression did not please me so much as I expected. The soil when recovered is rich, and the staple strong; but in its natural state much of it is inclined to be wet and boggy. It is flat; it is covered with a thick, coarse, knotted grass, and in the near view is prettily colored by the bright colors of the rose, the flag, the marigold, the dwarf willow, and the lupin, which is here a little shrub. It rather interests by its singularity, than otherwise. If there be any other source of interest, it may be found in its expansion over a wide region. In this respect it has been compared with the sea; but it can only suffer in the comparison; it has neither the movement nor the capacity of the ocean.

Specimens of the real log-hut, with its proper accompaniments, were beginning to appear. It is composed of stems of timber unbarked, and in their rough state, of from six to nine inches in diameter. These are notched at the extremities to receive each other, and are laid on till they get ten or twelve feet above the ground; they then shoot off to form the gables. The roof is composed of loose boarding (not amounting to shingle,) and it is kept in its place against wind and rain by stems, similar to those already used, laid lengthwise, at about two feet apart. They commonly afford two small rooms, and show a door and window in front. At one end there is a projection for a fire-place; it is carried up distinctly from the base, and is mostly constructed of a rude sort of lath, and coated with clay. In case of fire it can be instantly knocked down, so as to save the cottage. The best specimens do not look amiss in the picture, although they are far behind Switzerland. But where shall we find and thing of its class so picturesque as the Swiss cottage?

These huts, such as I have described, cost, in the erection, about twenty-eight dollars. Let me also add as an assistance to your judgment, that land here is worth about two dollars and a half per acre; and you may get a piece of five acres cleared, and a good eight-railed fence around it, for forty dollars.

Most of the recent settlers along this road seem to be Germans. We passed a little settlement of

eight families, who had arrived this season. They were busily engaged in clearing their land and getting up a shelter for the winter. The log-house is the only description of house in these new and scattered settlements. I passed one occupied by a doctor of medicine; and another tenanted by two bachelors, one of them being a judge.

But the most interesting sight to me was the forest. It now appeared in all its pristine state and grandeur, tall, magnificent, boundless. I had been somewhat disappointed in not finding vegetation develop itself in larger forms in New England than with us; but there was no place for disappointment here. I shall fail, however, to give you the impression it makes on one. Did it arise from height, or figure, or grouping, it might readily be conveyed to you; but it arises chiefly from combination. You must see it in all its stages of growth, decay, dissolution, and regeneration; you must see it pressing on you and overshadowing you by its silent forms, and at other times spreading itself before you, like a natural park; you must see that all the clearances made by the human hand bear no higher relation to it than does a mountain to the globe; you must travel in it in solitariness, hour after hour, and day after day, frequently gazing on it with solemn delight, and occasionally casting the eye round in search of some pause, some end, without finding any, before you can fully understand the impression. Men say there is nothing in America to give you the sense of antiquity; and they mean that as there are no works of art to produce this effect, there can be nothing else. You cannot think that I would depreciate what they mean to extol; but I hope you will sympathize with me, when I say that I have met with nothing among the most venerable forms of art, which impresses you so thoroughly with the idea of indefinite distance and endless continuity; of antiquity shrouded in all its mystery of solitude, illimitable and eternal.

The clearances, too, which appeared in this ride, were on so small a scale as to strengthen this impression, and to convey distinct impressions of their own. On them the vast trees of the forest had been girdled to prevent the foliage from appearing to overshadow the ground; and the land at their feet was grubbed up and sown with corn, which was expanding on the surface in all its luxuriance. The thin stems of Indian corn were strangely contrasted with the huge trunks of the pine and oak, and the verdant surface below was as strangely opposed to the skeleton trees towering above, spreading out their leafless arms to the warm sun and the refreshing rains, and doing it in vain. Life and desolation were never brought closer together.

It appeared, in this morning ride, that the storm which passed over Sandusky had spent its power chiefly on this road. I passed by a spot where it had been very destructive. A man had been killed by the lightning, and two cottages crushed by the falling timber. A road crossing ours was entirely stopped by the fallen trees; and along our course they were lying great in ruin. This variety in the scene has a surprising effect upon you in such circumstances. In travelling through these dense and elevated forests, you are awed by a deep sense of their power and majesty; but here was a Power, to which their resistance was as nothing, that struck them, crashing, groaning, to the ground. Like Niagara, it puts you surprisingly near to Deity.

The storm in the forest is not only awful; it is very dangerous. Even in a full wind there is considerable danger. A great portion of the trees are always in different stages of decay. They creak and groan in the wind, and with every gust they come dashing, like the avalanche to the earth.

About noon we arrived at a little town, and stopped at an inn, which was announced as the dining place. My very early breakfast, and my violent exercise, had not indisposed me for dinner. But when I inquired for it, I was told that none was prepared, as it was not often wanted. This was modified by an offer to "get something ready," which I willingly accepted. It took some time; but it was a very poor affair. The chief dish was ham fried in butter—originally hard, and the harder for frying; I tried to get my teeth through it, and failed. There remained bread, cheese, and cranberries; and of these I made my repast.

While here, a German woman, one of the recent settlers, passed by on her way home. Her husband had taken the fever and died. She had come to buy a coffin for him, and other articles of domestic use at the same time. She was now walking home beside the man who bore the coffin; and with her other purchases under her arm. This was a sad specimen either of German phlegm, or of the hardening effect of poverty.

Here also was a set of Mormonites, passing through to the "Far West." They are among the most deluded fanatics; and profess to be obeying a prophecy, in quitting the East, and seeking their millennium beyond the Mississippi. A gentleman inquired of one of them, why they left their own country? "O," he said, "there is ruin coming on it." "How do you know?" "It was revealed to him." "How was it revealed to you?" "I saw five letters in the sky." "Indeed! what were they?" "FAMIN," was the reply; a reply which created much ridicule, and some profanity.

We now took in three persons who were going on to Marion. I had the benefit of a better balanced coach; but this was all the advantage arising from the change. One was a colonel; though in mind, manners, and appearance, among the plainest of men. Another was a lawyer and magistrate; and the third was a considerable farmer. All of them, by their station and avocations, ought to have been gentlemen; but, if just terms are to be applied to them, they must be the opposite of this. To me, they were always civil; but among themselves they were evidently accustomed to blasphemous and corrupt conversation. The colonel, who had admitted himself to be a Methodist, was the best, and sought to impose restraints on himself and companions; but he gained very little credit for them. I was much grieved and disappointed, for I had met with nothing so bad. What I had witnessed at Sandusky was from a different and lower class of persons; but here were the first three men in respectable life with whom I had met in this state; and these put promiscuously before me—and all bad. It was necessary to guard against a hasty and prejudiced conclusion.

On reaching Marion I was released from my unpleasant companions. I had to travel through most of the night, but no refreshment was provided. I joined in a meal, that was nearly closed by another party, and prepared to go forward at the call of the driver. I soon found I was to be in different circumstances. We were nine persons, and a child, within. Of course, after having been tossed about in an empty coach all day, like a boat on the ocean, I was not unwilling to have the prospect of sitting steadily in my corner: but when I got fairly pinned in—sides, knees, and feet—the hard seat, and the harder ribs of the coach, began to search out my bruises, and I was still a sufferer. However, there were now some qualifying considerations. The road was improving, and with it the scenery. I had come for fifty miles over a dead flat, with only one inclination, and that not greater than the pitch of Ludgate-hill; the land was now finely undulated. My company, too, though there was something too

much of it, was not objectionable; some of it was pleasing.

There were among them, the lady of a judge and her daughter. The mother was affable and fond of conversation. She was glad that we had such agreeable society in the stage, as "that did not always happen." She talked freely on many subjects, and sometimes, as became a judge's lady, of refinement and education; but she did it in broken grammar, and in happy ignorance that it was broken. As the night shut in, and her daughter appeared to be getting drowsy, she challenged her to sing.—Mary was not disposed to comply. It made little difference to mamma; for she, without the least embarrassment, struck up and sang off, very fairly, "Home, sweet home." This was all unasked, and before strangers; yet none were surprised but myself. I name this merely as a point of manners. The lady herself was unquestionably modest, intelligent, and, as I think, pious.

At nearly one o'clock, we arrived at Delaware. Here I was promised a night's rest. You shall judge whether that promise was kept or broken. There was no refreshment of any kind prepared or offered, so we demanded our lights to retire.—The judge's lady and daughter were shown into a closet, called a room. There was no fastening to the door, and she protested that she would not use it. I insisted that it was not proper treatment. All the amendment that could be gained was a proposition "to fetch a nail, and she could nail herself in, and be snug enough."

I was shown into a similar closet. There were no dressing accommodations. I required them, and was told that those things were *in common* below. I refused to use them; and at length, by showing a little firmness and a little kindness, obtained soap, bowl, and towel. I dressed. By this time it was nearly two o'clock. I was to be called at half past two; and I threw myself on the bed to try to sleep, with the soothing impression that I must awake in half an hour.

At half past two I was summoned; and having put myself in readiness, and paid for a *night's lodging*, I was again on my way. The day broke on us pleasantly, and the country was very beautiful. We forded the Whetstone, a lively river, which ornamented the ride; we passed through Worthington, a smart town, prettily placed, and having a good college; and arrived at Columbus, the capital, at nine o'clock.

LETTER XI.

My dear friend—Columbus has a good location in the heart of the State; it contains about 4,000 persons, and is in a very advancing condition. This indeed is true of all the settlements in this State; and you will hardly think it can be otherwise, when I inform you, that forty years ago there were only 500 persons in the whole territory, and that now there are above a million.

The inn at which we stopped is the rendezvous of the stages. Among others there were two ready to start for Cincinnati. Our coach, by arriving at nine instead of eight, deprived me of the hour which should have been given to dressing and breakfast. If I went on, I must of necessity go on immediately. Time was precious, and I resolved on going. On seeking to engage my place, the enquiry was, "Which will you go by, sir; the fast or the slow line?" Weary as I was of the slow line, I exclaimed, "O, the fast line certainly!" I quickly found myself enclosed in a good coach, carrying the mail, and only six persons inside. In this journey we had but three.

In demanding to go by the fast line, I was not aware of all the effects of my choice. It is certainly a delightful thing to move with some rapidity over a good road, but on a bad road, with stubborn springs, it is really terrible. For many miles out of Columbus the road is shamefully bad; and as our horses were kept on a trot, however slow, I was not only tumbled and shaken as on the previous day, but so jarred and jolted as to threaten serious mischief. Instead, therefore, of finding a lounge, or sleep, as I had hoped, in this comfortable coach, I was obliged to be on the alert, for every jerk; and after all I could do, my teeth were jarred, my hat was many times thrown from my head, and all my bruises bruised over again. It was really an amusement to see us laboring to keep our places.

About noon we paused at the town called Jefferson. We were to wait half an hour; there would be no other chance of dinner; but there were no signs of dinner here. However, I had been on very short supplies for the last twenty-four hours, and considered it my duty to eat if I could. I applied to the good woman of the inn; and in a very short time, she placed venison, fruit-tarts, and tea, before me; all very clean, and the venison excellent. It was a refreshing repast, and the demand on my purse was only twenty-five cents.

"How long have you been here?" I said to my hostess, who stood by me fanning the dishes to keep off the flies. "Only came last fall, sir." "How old is this town?" "Twenty-three months, sir; then the first house was built." There are now about 500 persons settled here; and there are three good hotels. There is something very striking in these rapid movements of life and civilization in the heart of the forest.

On leaving Jefferson, we plunged again into the forest; and towards evening we got on the greensward, or natural road. This was mostly good and uncut; and we bowled along in serpentine lines, so as to clear the stumps with much freedom. The scenery now, even for the forest, was becoming unusually grand. It repeatedly broke away from you, so as to accumulate the objects in the picture, and to furnish all the beauties of light, shade, and perspective. The trees, too, were mostly oak, and of the finest growth. Their noble stems ran up some hundred feet above you, and were beautifully feathered with verdant foliage. There, they ran off in the distance, park-like, but grander far, in admirable grouping, forming avenues, galleries, and recesses, redolent with solemn loveliness; and here, they stood before you like the thousand pillars of one vast imperishable temple for the worship of the Great Invisible. Well might our stout forefathers choose the primitive forests for their sanctuaries. All that art has done in our finest Gothic structures is but a poor, poor imitation!

I passed, in this day's ride, the Yellow Springs, and Springfield. The former is a watering-place. There is a fine spring of chalybeate waters; and an establishment capable of receiving from 150 to 200 visiters; it is resorted to for the purposes of health, hunting, and fishing. Springfield is a flourishing town, built among the handsome hills that abound in this vicinity. It is one of the cleanest, brightest, and most inviting that I have seen. But all the habitations of man were as nothing compared with the forest. I had been travelling through it for two days and nights, and still it was the same. Now you came to a woodman's hut in the solitudes; now to a farm; and now to a village, by courtesy called a town or a city; but it was still the forest. You drove on for miles through it unbroken; then you came to a small clearance and a young settlement; and then again you plunged into the wide, everlasting forest, to be with nature and with God.

This night I had also to travel, and, weary as I was, I was kept quite on the alert. I had longed to witness a storm in the forest, and this was to happen earlier than my anticipations. The day had been hot, but fine; the night came on sultry, close, and silent. The beautiful firefly appeared in abundance; summer lightning began to flash across the heavens. All this time clouds were moving from every part of the circumference to the centre of the sky. At length they formed a heavy, dense, black canopy over our heads, leaving the horizon clear and bright. The lightnings, which at first seemed to have no centre, had now consolidated their forces behind this immense cloud, and were playing round its whole circle with great magnificence and brilliancy. Continually the prodigious cloud was getting larger and darker, and descending nearer to us, so as powerfully to awaken expectation. The splendid corruscations which played round its margin now ceased, and all was still. In an instant the forked lightning broke from the very centre of the cloud; the thunder, deep and loud, shook the earth, and rolled and pealed through the heavens; the heavy rain dashed in unbroken channels to the ground; and the mighty winds burst forth in their fury, and roared and groaned among the giant trees of the wood. There were we, in the deep forest and in the deep night, and in the midst of a storm, such as I had never witnessed. O it was grand! God's own voice in God's own temple! Never did I see so much of the poetic truth and beauty of that admirable ode, "The voice of the Lord," &c.

It ceased as suddenly as it began. The winds, which bore the cloud away, left all behind calm; and the firefly, which had been eclipsed or affrighted, re-appeared, and sparkled over us on the profound darkness; and presently the stars of a higher sphere looked forth benignantly on the lower elements, and all was peace.

The early morning found me still travelling, and getting seriously unwell. I thought I must have remained at Lebanon, a town about twenty miles from Cincinnati, to sicken and suffer without a friend; and then all the loneliness of my situation came over me. The stage halted here an hour; this allowed me some time to recover; and I resolved, if it was possible, to go forward to what I might regard as a resting-place.

Happily, every thing was now improving. The road was not unworthy of M'Adam; and we bowled over it at the rate of nine miles an hour. The country was covered with hills, finely wooded, and all about them were spread farms, in a handsome and thriving state of cultivation. Many ornamental cottages now appeared, and the whole suburbs put on a cheerful and beautiful aspect; so that, when you were expecting to reach the extremity of civilized life, every thing was rising into higher civilization. At last we drove into the western metropolis. I had travelled three days and nights; and was so wearied, bruised, and hurt, that I could not, with comfort, sit, lie, or walk. The remainder of this day I spent in my chamber.

Cincinnati is really worthy to be styled a city; and it is a city "born in a day, and in the wilderness." It has a population of 30,000 persons, and is not more than thirty-six years old. Its streets are composed of transverse lines, and are named a good deal after the manner of Philadelphia, but it has none of its formal aspect. The straight lines are broken by the undulating surface of the ground; the surrounding hills stand up beautifully at the head of all the streets; and the Ohio runs off finely at its feet. There are several good streets; some unlivened by business, and others ornamented by comfortable dwellings and the spreading acacia: out there are no very striking objects.

Some of the churches are good, but not remarkable, except the old Presbyterian Church in the main street, which is large and Dutch-built, with a brick face, with two brick towers projecting on it, which towers have turrets as heavy as themselves, and which turrets are chiefly remarkable for two dials which exactly agree. When I saw them they both wanted three minutes to six, and I doubt not if I could see them now they still want just three minutes to six. Besides this, there is, as it is called, "Trollope's Folly," an erection in which that lady, thus complimented, exhausted her means, and certainly did not show her taste. I was struck by the number of barbers' shops and groceries, or grogshops; it should seem that no man here shaves himself, and that Temperance has not yet fulfilled its commission. I believe there are not less than 200 grogstores in Cincinnati.

While I was seeking for my friend, Mr. Brainard, I fell in with Dr. Beecher, who insisted on my being at his disposal, and immediately found for me a very friendly reception, in a family resident in the town; but considering that I should have a better chance of health, he proposed that I should go with him to the Walnut Hills, two miles distant. For the reason kindly named, as well as for the pleasure of enjoying his society, I availed myself of the proposal, and became, during my stay, the guest of his family.

It happened that I was here on the 4th of July, the anniversary of the Independence; almost the only holyday kept in America; and I was glad to have a good opportunity of witnessing its observance. The previous evening gave note of preparation, by the continued report of firearms and small guns. In the early morning the young men met at the Mechanics' Institute, to enact in miniature what their fathers were to perform on a larger platform. There was an Ode, and the Declaration, and an Oration, and Yankee Doodle.

The grand fete came afterward. All the trades were to meet, and go in procession to the Fourth church, to join in a semi-religious service. The question of precedence, however, here as elsewhere, is found to be of no easy solution; and some of the companies, in dudgeon on this subject, had refused to take the place assigned to them. There were the butchers, and the carpenters, and the coopers, and few besides. The coopers had a temporary stage, and as they were drawn along they wrought at their business. The butchers, who could not well be so employed, were at liberty to display themselves, and they made the most of it in their way. They were full sixty in number, and were all mounted on good steeds. Some decorations were given to the horse, but many more to the man. It was a sight to see these men dressed out in purple and fine linen. They all had fine frocks on, some muslin; ornamented by silk sash, and scarf, and rosettes. These, with the usual accompaniments of a band of music, and showy colors waving in the air, with the insignia of the company on them, together with the holyday dresses of the spectators, who lined the pathway, composed the exhibition, and gave it a cheerful character.

As the service was to be at Dr. Beecher's church, he was the chaplain for the occasion. I went with him to secure a good sitting; but declined going into the pulpit, or engaging in the exercise, for obvious reasons. The spectacle was singular for a place of worship. There were in the pulpit, the chaplain, the reader of the Declaration in a fustian jacket, and the orator. On their right and left were seated the ensigns, bearing the national colors; and beyond these were resting the flags of the several trades. The companies occupied a large portion

of the area, and the band possessed the gallery.—The church was quite full.

A national air was played by the band. An ode was then sung by the choir, sustained by instruments. Dr. Beecher offered prayer. Then came the Declaration. It was read by a tradesman, who looked intelligent; but he read badly, and what was worse, rather bitterly; and in trying to give those terms which hit the Father Land, a hard and angry expression, he contorted his face so as to be very ridiculous. Another ode followed. Then the oration. It was written; but freely delivered. It showed good parts, manly thinking, and was, on the whole, composed in good taste. There was a reference to the past; a tribute to our common fathers; a eulogy on the constitution; a warning on the danger of disunion, on the one hand, and consolidation on the other; and, finally, an apostrophe to La Fayette. It was national, but not prejudiced. Dr. Beecher admitted, that they seldom on these occasions, had any thing so good. The ode, "Glory to God on high," &c., the music by Mozart, followed, and the exercises closed by a short prayer.

There was in the novelty of this service some gratification; and in its substance, I found no cause of offence. For the Declaration, I knew its contents, and prepared my nerves for invectives, which were, perhaps, natural at the time they were written; and for my good friend, Mr. Churchman, the reader, I could not smile and be unkind. I confess, to speak seriously, and to give you, as I always seek to do, first impressions, I was somewhat startled at the extraordinary mixture of the secular and the spiritual; and it was a question whether the tendency was not to make religion worldly, rather than the worldly religious. But when I reflect on the improved character given to these occasions, by not abandoning them to the irreligious, I am disposed to think that the ministers and friends of religion, are acting a wise part in employing that degree of influence, which they can legitimately exert in its favor. Nor if one could have all one wished, would I desire, as some do, to make the exercises of such a day purely religious. Our true wisdom, in consulting the good of the people, lies, not in excluding their secular concerns and pleasures from religion, but in diffusing religion through the whole of them.

There is one thing, however, that may justly claim the calm consideration of a great and generous people. Now that half a century has passed away, is it necessary to the pleasures of this day, to revive feelings in the children which, if they were found in the parent, were to be excused only by the extremities to which they were pressed? Is it generous, now that they have achieved the victory, not to forgive the adversary? Is it manly, now that they have nothing to fear from Britain, to indulge in expressions of hate and vindictiveness, which are the proper language of fear? Would there be less patriotism because there was more charity? America should feel that her destinies are high and peculiar. She should scorn the patriotism which cherishes the love of one's own country, by the hatred of all others. This would be to forego her vocation; and to follow vicious examples, which have already filled the world with war and bloodshed. She should carry out her sympathy to all men, and become the resolved and noble advocate of universal freedom and universal peace. O, how would the birthday of her own liberties be hallowed and blessed if it were devoted with wisdom and ardor to such an issue!

On the day succeeding the anniversary I was taken unwell, and confined to the house for three days. My journey might have accounted for this; but I ascribe it also in a measure to the atmosphere. This city, from all appearances, ought to be very healthy; there is reason, however, to think that the immense forest prepares for it a peculiar atmosphere, which, at this season of the year especially, is dangerous to strangers, and trying to all. Dr. Beecher and all his family had the fever on arriving here. For me, my indisposition was light, and it was made the lighter by the kind attentions of the family which had received me to its bosom, and of Dr. Drake, an excellent physician of the place, who obligingly insisted on my acceptance of his services.

On the Monday I was so far better that I could go to town and attend an Association of ministers. I had some interesting conversation with them.—The subject of slavery came under discussion, and I trust not unprofitably. I afterward had considerable communications with Dr. Beecher on that subject; and we agreed to renew it, and with others, when we should meet in New-England. In the evening of this day I was to attend a concert for prayer, and to address the congregation; but a thunder-storm came on, and prevented the service altogether. The thunder here, you must still remember, is not "our thunder," nor the lightning "our lightning;" and it is not less frequent than it is awful. I had been ten days in Ohio, and this was the seventh storm.

The next day I was to proceed on my way. In the morning I visited the Lane Seminary, and at the request of the professors, addressed the students. We had a pleasant devotional exercise. There were about sixty students and several visiters present. The college will receive one hundred, and it is nearly full. It is a manual labor institution, and I shall refer to it in this character hereafter.

Before I quit this place, let me throw a few particulars together. You may have concluded, from what I have said, that religion is in a low state here. In one sense it is; but, when you consider the rapid increase of the people, and the character of that increase, it is in a remarkably advanced state. The population has grown at about 1,000 per year; and this great influx has been nearly all of a worldly and unpromising nature Yet there are twenty-one places of worship, and they are of good size and well attended. When it is said that of 20,000, 4,000 are Catholics, mostly Irish Catholics, it may be thought, without a breach of charity, to account for the existence of many low groceries.

There is a great spirit of enterprise in this town; and, with an ardent pursuit of business, there is a desire for domestic comfort, and a thirst for scientific improvement, not equalled in such circumstances. They have libraries, and good reading societies; they have lectures on art and science, which are well attended. They sustain a "Scientific Quarterly and a Monthly Magazine," with a circulation of 4,000; and they have newspapers without end. Education is general here; the young people, and even the children, appear to appreciate it. They regard it as the certain and necessary means of advancement. I overheard two fine children, in the street, remark as follows. The younger one, about nine years old, speaking of her sister, said with concern, "Do you know, Caroline says she will not go to school any more?" "Silly girl!" replied the elder, about thirteen; "she will live to repent of that!" It must be admitted that this is a very wholesome state of feeling.

If there be a real inconvenience in the state of society here, and throughout this region, it is undoubtedly to be found in the want of good servants. There is no such class of servants as there is in Europe. If any give themselves to it, they consider it is only for a short time; all this short time they are disposed to scorn the duties of their vocation, and are eagerly looking to something better. Hence

it is that there are few servants; that they demand high wages; that they afford but little "help," and give less satisfaction. Two dollars a week are commonly given here for a female help; and a lady of this city told me that, in twelve months, ten persons were in one situation. It was not uncommon for them to disappear from the family, either in the early morning or the evening, without the least notice. On these accounts, the mistress of the family does more than with us; and establishments that would seem to require three servants, are often found only with one.

Much has been said, and with some ill-nature, on the circumstances of the servants claiming to sit at the same table with the family. It should be observed, in the first place, that this is no more true of the principal towns and cities of America, where wealth and occupation have created distinctions of classes, than it is with ourselves; and that it should occur in the newly-settled and farming districts, where all are of one class, cannot be deemed remarkable, unless we unwisely judge of it through the prejudiced medium of our own conventional habits. If a young woman engages herself to help a tradesman's wife, she is the daughter of a man who lives on his own farm in the vicinity, and who is equal to the tradesman. The only difference is, the one has land, and the other ready money; and the girl seeks to obtain some money, either to improve her education or her dress, or, as she hopes, perhaps, to prepare for her wedding. If a youth engages to work at a farm, he is most likely the son of a neighboring farmer, who has more children than the one who engages him, and he is equal with the family he enters, both in rank and in employment. Would it not be absurd, in such a state of society, when equality prevails in every other particular, to create, at the social board, an invidious and artificial distinction? We all remember the time when, with real distinctions between master and man, the servants on our farms claimed their place in the common hall, and at the common table; and we may well question whether the interests or happiness of either party have been advanced since the alteration.

As, in leaving this city, I shall also leave the state, I may as well set down any closing observations that occur to me. There are in Ohio, notwithstanding its rapid progress, not less than 500 ministers; excepting those who may, in different places, advocate heretical or anti-Protestant opinions. The people, in many parts, are so desirous of the means of religion, that they have erected the little church, and have to wait for the pastor. There are, at least, twenty places now in this predicament.

Some of the new made towns present a delightfully religious aspect. Of these I might name Columbus, Zanesville, and Granville. The first has 3,000 persons, and it has three churches and five ministers. The second has 3,200 persons, and six churches. And Granville is a small town, which, I believe, is wholly religious. As a settlement, it deserves notice. It was made by a party of ninety persons from New-England. On arriving at this spot, they gave themselves to prayer, that they might be directed in choosing their resting place in the wilderness, and enjoy the blessing of God. At first, they rested with their little ones in the wagons; and the first permanent building they erected, was a church for divine worship. The people retain the simple and pious manners of their fathers. They all go to church, and there are 400 in a state of communion. They give 1,000 dollars a year to religious institutions. One plain man, who has never allowed himself the luxury of a set of fire-irons, besides what he does at home, gives 100 dollars a year to religious objects. The present pastor is a devoted man, and very prosperous in the care of his flock. Some of his little methods are peculiar, and might be either objectionable or impracticable elsewhere. He meets his people in districts, once a week, in turn, for instruction. He keeps an alphabetical list of the members; and places each name opposite a day of the month throughout the year; and on that day all the church are to pray for that member. He has overseers in the districts, who are to make an entry of all points of conduct, under separate heads, during the year; and to furnish a full report to him at its close. This report, and the names of the parties, he reads from the pulpit, with rebuke or commendation, and the year begins afresh. Every one knows, therefore, that he is subject to report; and, in a small community, where there is neither power nor will to resist, it must act as a strong restraint Of course, the drunkard, the fornicator, the Sabbath breaker, are not found here; and, what is yet better, on the last report there was only one family that had not domestic worship.

LETTER XII.

My dear friend—After meeting the students and professors of Lane Seminary, on the morning of the 8th of July, I went to town with Dr. Beecher, in search of a boat to Louisville. There are usually ten or twelve steamboats lying off the quay; and there was one that would start in the afternoon. I caught a dinner at a hospitable table, took leave of my kind friends, and went on board. These vessels are well adapted to the rivers they have to navigate; and mostly offer more accommodations to the passenger than can be granted when exposed to more troubled waters. The cabins being erected above the hulk of the vessel, is a decided advantage in light and ventilation; and especially valuable in the hot seasons, as no places are so hot as the bosoms of these rivers.

I had a nice little state-room to myself, with lock and key; and our company was small, and none of it disagreeable. But there were some deductions. The weather was very hot, raging from 90° to 94°. The cholera had prevailed, and raged in some places on these rivers, and had caused them to be nearly deserted. The disease was certainly in Cincinnati, and the apprehension of it was evidently on most of the passengers. Our vessel, which in ordinary circumstances would, I suppose, have carried some 150 persons, now had only seven; one of the seven was a lady, and she sickened from fear. Depression and nausea still attended me; but, as the evening was fine and the temperature not so high, I sat out on the deck, and did pretty well.

I had now a fair sight of the Ohio; and it is worthy, fully worthy, of its French name, La Belle Riviere. It has a quick current, and is subject to great variations. It will rise and fall from forty to sixty feet. Where the eye is shut up to a near view, its precipitous and rugged banks, its turbid waters, its abundant driftwood, its uprooted trees, and its dark, overhanging forests, give to it an air of desolate grandeur. But, more frequently here, it runs in serpentine lines; appears to the sight a succession of beautiful small lakes; spreads open before you the distant prospects, and offers to your admiration most exquisite hill and river scenery, dwelling in the brightest and softest colors. It is certainly the finest river of America. The Mississippi has more hold on the imagination, but not half so much on the eye.

About noon on the following day we reached Louisville, having made a trip of 150 miles. I instantly found, on landing, that we had indeed en-

tered a slave State. A man of color had offered himself to take my luggage and guide me to the inn. He was running his light barrow before me on a rough pathway. "Remember, Jacob," said a severe voice, "there are twenty-one stripes for you —twenty-one stripes, Jacob!" I asked an explanation. He said he was liable to punishment for wheeling on the path. The person who threatened him was a colonel, and I believe a magistrate; and poor Jacob was evidently concerned at being detected by him, for, he said, he owed him a grudge. I do not answer for the correctness of Jacob's statement; I merely report what occurred.

On arriving at my hotel, I found its master, Mr. Throckmorton, who is a colonel as well as a tavern-keeper, busily engaged in making and distributing his mint-julap. It is a favorite mixture of spirits, mint, sugar, and water, and he has a high character for the just incorporation of the ingredients. Others were making a free and dangerous use of iced water, a luxury which is provided in great abundance throughout the States. Indeed, the disposition to drink now became intense—we had only to consider how we might safely gratify it. The thermometer rose this day to 100°, and the heat and perspiration were intolerable. I was compelled to relieve myself of my upper garments; to throw myself on a naked mattress; and with the windows open, and remaining perfectly still, the perspiration rose on my skin in globes, collected in my hair, and coursed down my face and hands. The discomfort is unspeakable. Every thing you have on feels wet; and if you change your cravat and shirt, they become quickly like wet rags hanging about you. You wonder, at first, to see the men and boys without cravats, and without either waistcoat or coat, and wearing mostly white linen; but when you really get at this temperature you understand it all. This was the hottest week we had; many persons were said to have died on the public ways, and twenty-five persons died at New-York from drinking cold water.

I used here, for the first time, the moscheto bar, as it is called; and it was not before it was needed. It is a gauze-like curtain, made to enclose completely every side of the bed. I thought it would produce, in hot weather, the sense of suffocation, but this is not the effect. On the contrary, when you really know what the bite of this insect is, and hear it singing about your bed, while it is unable to reach you, you have a grateful sense of security from your enemy. On the whole, I suffered but little from this source of annoyance; the common fly was a much greater evil, it is in such abundance, and is so much more obtrusive. It frequently bites and settles on your person and food in a very tormenting way. The refectories, in consequence, are provided with large fans, which are hung over the tables on pivots, and are connected by cords and pulleys, so that they may be worked by a little slave during the period of meals.

The accommodations given to the slaves now came under my notice. Where the family is of any consideration, they have usually a distinct, though attached, dwelling. At our hotel, they had at the end of the court-yard a large house, for they were numerous. The house, however, had but few rooms, and there were several beds in each room, so as to show that they were crowded, and that their habits of life were not very favorable to its decencies. I was struck too, perhaps the more, because I had just travelled through Ohio, with the attentions these people offer you. They are trained to do more for you than others, and they mostly do it with a readiness which shows kindness of heart. This certainly affords you personal gratification, and it is only checked when it is remembered that it is the price of liberty, or when it approaches to the tameness of subserviency.

It became necessary for me now to determine on my course. My considerate friends at Cincinnati had required a promise that I would not go farther by water. I found that to go to St. Louis, and accomplish my objects, would consume a fortnight of my time, which was more than I could spare. Besides this, I was still much indisposed, and disease was prevailing in these regions. I determined, therefore, to quit the vicinage of the rivers, and make my way across Kentucky, in an easterly direction, towards Virginia.

On the following morning I left for Lexington. I inquired when the stage would start. "O, between day-break and sun-rise," was the reply.—"And when is that?"—"O, between four and five o'clock." So that I was obliged to be ready at four, and we did not start till half past five. The morning was cool, though the previous day had been so hot. I was refreshed by the air, and got ready for breakfast. Accommodations were made for us in a very primitive cabin, and in a very primitive style. We had, however, a large supply—milk, eggs, coffee, and hot corn-bread, and all was good and clean. The husband and wife presided at each extremity of the table, making us welcome, not indeed with kind words and smiling faces, but with a considerate regard to our wants.

Soon after breakfast we passed through Selbyville, a stirring, busy village, at which there had recently been a considerable revival. We took in here a Mr. Franklin, who was much disposed to conversation, and who really had much to communicate. He had been the longest settled in that region. His father came with him when a child, and was employed by government to survey and let the land. He was shot by the Indians in the very act of surveying; they could bear any thing better than to see the lands enclosed. He referred me also to an old man in the village, who had killed six Indians in one affray. One would think he had killed them all; for they have all disappeared, and the land is all settled and generally in good keeping. It is worth, on an average, twenty dollars an acre; and, as he remarked, it is cheaper now than when it was bought at two dollars, considering the labor, and blood, and hazard which it had cost. The change was very great to his mind, and he delighted to dwell on it; but it was not always with congratulation. Even of these primitive and rude settlers around him, he was disposed to take up the old complaint of degeneracy. "O, sir!" he would exclaim, "the men are nothing, the women nothing now to what they used to be. I can recollect when the women would do more than the men do now. Every Saturday they devoted to firing at a mark; and they could handle a musket with the best of us."

We dined at a tavern, which is also a post-house, and is kept by "a 'squire." The 'squire, however, was not much of the gentleman; he made a very sorry provision for his passengers, and blustered with them a good deal about politics. My companion took occasion to remark, that he had been put in for the purpose, and that post-houses had been needlessly multiplied with this intention. Certainly the number is enormous; and he remarked, that between Louisville and Orleans there are no less than 126: you must not connect in your ideas the post-horse with the post-house, for here they have no connection. By-the-by, there is no such thing as posting throughout the States.

Early in the afternoon we arrived at Frankfort, and were told that we should go no further till ten the next morning. We had come fifty miles, and this was deemed excellent work. Of course I had

no choice; and I might have been called to give up a few hours to a less interesting place.

Frankfort is indeed a pretty town, situated on the banks of the river Kentucky, and surrounded by handsome hills. The erections are scattered over the small plain which is the site of the town, and are relieved by the luxuriant acacia, so as to give the whole a rural and pastoral appearance. This is greatly increased by the quantity of fine cows which are found here, and which really seem to be a part of the family. Most families have one or two, and towards evening they move about the streets like human beings, perfume the air with their sweet breath, and find their way to their resting place, frequently through the entries of the houses, in company with the children.

All the sights were not quite so rural as these. In moving about the town, I observed a fair supply of accommodation for religious services. There were also two schools. One was large, and for common purposes. The boys were, at the time, making a little use of their American liberties; they were coursing, not only over the desks, a very English trick, but over the roof also. There were five windows on this side of the structure, and there was not one pane of glass unsmashed: but this was all the better, in such a climate, for the present; and what have boys to do with the future?

Of the other school I had rather a curious notice. The shades of the evening were coming on, and as I suddenly turned the angle of a street, I saw a dark object projecting on my path from a window at a little distance. I soon perceived that it was the booted leg of a human being; and on coming nearer, I found it belonged to a pedagogue in class with some dozen youths, who, if not learning manners, were digesting Latin syntax as they could. This sort of trick is so peculiar, and so common, as to be almost an Americanism. I certainly never saw legs so strangely used as by many men in this country. To be on the fender, the jambs of the stove, the chair, the mantelpiece, is nothing; it is, perhaps, European. These aspirants seem never satisfied till their heels are on a level with their head; and at one hotel the feet have attained to the height of the door-way, and it is a point of serious ambition with young men to see who shall score the highest mark. This is certainly turning the world upside down, and inventing a new field of aspiration. The old strife among men has been to see who should carry his head the highest: it is now to be seen what distinction a man's heels may bring him; and this experiment, for aught I can see, is to be made in America.

In what will be the centre of this little town, there is just erected a Court-house; and in its immediate neighborhood are a number of little wooden offices for the accommodation of the lawyers who attend the court. They frequently sit out on nurses' wicker chairs, beside their offices; and, to a perverse imagination, look like the spider waiting to insnare the silly fly. The Court-house is built of marble, in the Grecian style, with a good portico. As is often our own case, it shows that the architect had no real taste. Where every thing is done by ancient rule, it is well; but when a deviation is made, or the artist is left to himself, what a falling off is there! All windows were suitably kept from the portico; but then the single door was miserably small; and over the portico was placed a cupola in lantern fashion!

I learned that this evening there was to be, in apartments adjoining my inn, what is called a *squeeze*. Now a Kentucky squeeze is meant to correspond with a London rout; and though not desirous to be of the party, I had some desire to know how it would be managed. Several rooms were put into a hasty state of preparation. A lady and her daughter, who were staying at the inn, were gliding about to direct the ceremonial. Articles of furniture were borrowed or hired from all quarters for the occasion; and, in the end, there was certainly a strange medley of the new and the old, the best and the worst. Over all the many lights shed their brilliancy, and the potted flowers shed their beauty; and the party providing were so satisfied with these arrangements, as told you that they had nothing to fear from the fastidious tastes of the visiters.

The company began to assemble as I was retiring to my chamber. There were about sixty ladies and forty gentlemen present. They came with little noise, for the doors were open to receive them, and carriages they had none; nor attendants, except the firefly, which sparkled beautifully about their path and their persons. The following morning, I inquired of my friend Franklin if he had been. "O yes," he said, "part of the time." "And what did you do?" I continued. "Dancing, cards, and music, I suppose?" "O dear no! it was quite a Presbyterian meeting, I assure you. It was all conversations and such like, as sober as possible—quite religious. It would not have suited me once—but now it does well enough—things are greatly altered now, and perhaps for the better. Dancing! Why, at Selbyville you could not get a couple of girls in all the place who would run down a dance—they are all converted!" This Presbyterian meeting, however, kept rather late hours, as I learned from the return of two or three young men, who had engaged the room next to mine. Their noisy conversations also told me that they had come into town to attend it, and undoubtedly with no religious intentions. I proceeded, at the time specified, on my journey. We went by way of Versailles, and were seven hours in making twenty-five miles. The country, however, was interesting; the farms large and park-like, and many of them showing good cultivation. The fine clear grazing land beneath the forest-tree is a peculiarity here, and is very grateful to the eye. Generally, the best farms, in comparison with ours, want exceedingly the animation of stock.

Our passengers also supplied some entertainment. They were mostly plain persons, but of good sense and behavior; several of them were evidently professors of religion, and were free to converse on the subject. You meet frequently, however, with persons in these districts, who, with circumstances all against them, pique themselves on fashionable display. A lady of this class was to go on with us, and complete the number. She wore silks, with hooped sleeves and petticoat. The difficulty was to get her into her seat; and when in, she was literally pressed into half her original dimension, with the exception of a large bonnet, which still projected on the faces to her right and left. The amount of mischief was not seen till she alighted, and she then presented truly a most ludicrous figure. The wire hoops in the sleeves had been flattened and bent upwards, and looked like two broken wings; the lower hoops had undergone a similar process, and the petticoat stood out before her as though it did not belong to her. She was confused, and tried to adjust her dress, but could not; while the spectators were not concerned to conceal their diversion.

Lexington is a good town of 6,000 persons, and for situation and promise, worthy to be the metropolis of this fine State. It must, one would think, be very healthy; it is surrounded by inviting country, and abounds in comforts to its inhabitants; yet it suffered fearfully by cholera. No less than 500 persons were cut off by it; and what was painfully remarkable is, that a family, consisting of nineteen members, actually lost seventeen.

The streets of this town are laid down on a large scale; but two-thirds of their width is at present overgrown with grass from the want of adequate use. The main street offers a nice promenade to the inhabitants; and the churches, Court-house, and University, decorate the whole, while the acacia, with its abundant foliage, softens the outline, and gives to it the appearance of a city in a wood. Many of the residents here are evidently wealthy; the people generally are bland in their manners, and have warm and generous feelings. It is not uncommon for a stranger to meet with a friendly and smiling inclination of the head as he passes, and to the heart of a stranger it is grateful.

At sundown, as it is called, a bell began to toll. I concluded that there was to be a meeting of some sort and somewhere; and as my object was to mingle with the people, I followed its voice, and soon found myself at the Court-house. It was a meeting of the friends of Temperance. There was a poor promise of attendance when I arrived; but at last there were nearly a hundred persons assembled; they were all men. An individual moved to the chair. He had no speaking powers, and simply called on the Secretary to read the minutes. It appeared from these that monthly meetings had been resolved on, at which questions should be discussed; and that this was the first meeting. The question before them was, "Whether, in the last one hundred years, intemperance had not done more harm to the human race than murder, disease, war, and all other evils?"

When the subject was thus announced, there was a pause. The chairman solicited remark. Still there was a pause; and nothing to relieve it. The lights were few; the room looked heavy and dull; and those who occupied it looked heavy also and dull. All was sombre and silent; except that spitting was engaging the interval, and was so continuous as to be like rain pattering from the roof, and so universal as to make you feel that you must get wet. I had a man sitting next to me who kept me constantly on the look-out; but while he often made me jump, he did me no harm. These men have surprising cleverness in spirting their tobacco-juice; and, like good drivers, they seem to have pride in showing how near they can run to an object without touching it.

But to return to my company. By this time you are to understand that a worthy clergyman arose, and had the boldness to take the affirmative of the question. Another pause occurred, with the same interlude. At length a person advanced, who, by his rough manner and bad expression, I took for a mechanic of the town, delivering himself honestly, but unused to the exercise. However, he quickly showed that he was an agent, and he made in the end a very indiscreet speech, in a most unwinning style. His statements relative to Lexington provoked some remarks. He hailed them—he hoped that he should be opposed—he delighted in it. A lawyer, of repute at the bar, spoke, but so strangely, that none could tell whether he was friend or foe. Some one expressed a fear that they should do no good without opposition; and proposed that they should adjourn to get up an opposition; he really feared that nobody would come again without it. And so it ended. It reminded me forcibly of a manœuvre played by one of our minor theatres lately. It had failed to get attention by other means; so it gave notice, by large placards, of *A Row at the Cobourg*, trusting in this as a last remedy for an empty house.

A principal object with me in visiting Lexington was to become acquainted with Mr. Hall of this place, who had seen much of revivals in his own connections, and who had lately contributed by his labors to those which had recently occurred in Cincinnati. He very kindly communicated with freedom on the subject. The most considerable which he had witnessed was at Lexington about six years since. At that time vital religion was in a very low state, and infidelity and Unitarianism were becoming fearfully predominant among the people. He, as a faithful pastor, felt it deeply. It happened that he and some other clergymen met in the street, and what was most on his mind became, very naturally, the subject of remark. They had similar feeling, and joined in the admissions and lamentations. What was best to be done? A camp-meeting was proposed. It was too late in the season for this. Mr. Hall advised a protracted meeting of four days. They fell in with his views. He too[1] the sense of his people on it, and they were like minded. Steps were taken in the town and the surrounding country to give it publicity and importance. It was the first of the kind in that region, and great excitement was created; and on the day of meeting there was a large influx of people.

On the first day, they began at eleven o'clock, with the usual order of worship, the sermon being suited to the occasion. The afternoon and evening were occupied in a similar way, and with good effect. On the second day, a prayer-meeting was held at sunrise. At nine o'clock there was an inquiry-meeting, which was well attended. The usual services were sustained at eleven and three o'clock. The third day, much the same engagements, with improved effect. The fourth day, the Sabbath, was a remarkably solemn day. Many sinners, hardened in infidelity or worldliness, fell under the power of conviction, and great fear came on the whole assembly. The exercises closed by an inquiry-meeting on the Monday morning, which was of a very affecting nature.

The brethren had this week to attend the Synod, and they went under the impressions of the recent services. Their temper was communicated to others, and every thing was delightfully interesting. The pastors renewed their affection to each other, and their covenant with God; and exchanged pledges to retire at a given time, to pray for the revived state of their churches.

When Mr. Hall returned home, he found his own people and those of other congregations the subjects not of less, but of far greater religious anxiety than before he left them. They were earnestly desirous of another protracted meeting, and he thought the peculiar state of the people would justify it. Within three weeks of the time, therefore, they held another meeting. It was conducted in the same manner, and by the same ministers, as on the earlier occasion; and, as might be expected, from the existing disposition of the people, with greater benefit. The total result of these meetings was, that about 500 persons made profession of religion, and were admitted, at their expiration, to different fellowships, according to their place of residence.

The general effect on the town was very good. "From that time," Mr. Hall emphatically remarked, "infidelity and Unitarianism broke down." He admitted, however, that some, and perhaps not a few, who had thus professed religion, afterward fell away; and that since, "neither revivals, nor cholera, nor any thing, had touched them."

Perhaps I had better add to this account, for the purpose of regulating your opinion of this revival, and of the general state of religion, a sketch of congregations in figures. There are two Presbyterian places, with about 1,200 attendants and 300 communicants. Mr. Hall's is one of these, and by far the largest. Two Baptist, with about 1,000 attendants, and 200 communicants; two Methodist,

about 1,100 attendants, and 400 communicants; two African, Methodist and Baptist, 1,000 attendants; one Episcopalian, about 500 attendants.

I found the people at this time under some uneasiness in relation to the spread of Romanism. The partisans of that system are greatly assisted from Europe by supplies of money and teachers. The teachers have usually more acquired competency than the native instructers; and this is a temptation to parents who are seeking accomplishments for their children, and who have a high opinion of European refinements. It appeared that out of four schools provided for the wants of the town, three were in the hands of Catholics. I heard a sermon by a young clergyman on this subject. It showed a good acquaintance with the subject, and a pious and affectionate regard for the welfare of his flock; but it did not awaken much attention. There was too much of Jove, and Minerva, and Penelope in it, and too little of pointed appeal and Christian obligation.

I had many attentions here from kind friends, and they would have been increased had I been able to tarry and receive them.

LETTER XIII.

My dear friend—On renewing my journey, I had again to sacrifice my rest; the coach by which I was to travel left at ten o'clock at night. But as we got on higher ground, my health was beginning to improve, and I was more able to contend with fatigue than I had been. Towards day-break we drew near Owensville. The forest, which had lately stood off in the distance, gathered round me, and demanded, with the confidence of an old friend, my admiration. Like ourselves, it was the same, and yet not the same. Every region presents you with its favorite species; and as they approach the line of separation, the species run into each other, and place before you every variety of combination, growth, and beauty. It is one of the wonders of the forest, that with such simple elements it supplies you with such endless variety. The kinds most prevalent now were the maple, the sugar-tree, the vine, the hickory, the beech, and the oak, in all its varieties. The first two are very abundant, and they yield large supplies of sugar to the inhabitants. Everywhere you see the sugar-tree subjected to the process of tapping. This is of course done when the sap is rising in the stem; the saccharine juice then oozes out, and running through a little wooden trough made to project from the side of the tree, it falls into a vessel below, which is placed to receive it. These molasses are very fine, and are much preferred by the people to those of the sugar-cane.

Owensville, when we reached it, was full of life. It was market-day. The people from the country far round were present, and were busy chapping, chatting, eating, drinking. It was a picture of its kind. We paused at the inn, and I alighted for the sake of seeing the persons assembled. Those in the bar-room were men from the country, with stick or whip in hand, swinging on their chairs, or driving their bargains. A couple of pedlers, too, had found entrance, and were trying to obtain customers for some pictures and showy books of a very *vile* edition. The day was hot, and it was an excuse for drinking; and most of them were availing themselves of this excuse by the use of some of the many mixtures which are prepared at these bars. Here, as everywhere, mint-julap was the favorite draught; and two of them had certainly drunk too freely. You would have been chiefly surprised to find yourself among such very plain persons; most of whom were, nevertheless, addressed, and addressing each other by sounding titles. Here was Captain Gray, and Colonel Ball, and Colonel—his name has slipped me—dressed in fustian, and dwelling in log-houses. But the Americans while they repudiate titles, are certainly fond of them. Nowhere do you meet with so many; in some districts, every sixth man seems to be either captain, or colonel, or judge, or doctor.

In this instance, the captain, an aged man, determined that I should not hear all and say nothing. He drew his chair nearer to mine, twirled his stick about his boot, and looking inquisitively, but with good-humor, said, "Well, squire! you have travelled far, I guess?"—"Yes, pretty far," I said. "You are a stranger, may be?"—"I came," I said, "from New-York."—"Ay, a Yorker, or a New-England man, I took ye for," he exclaimed, pleased with his sagacity. "Clever men be they," he continued; "I knew ye could not be of these parts. And where be ye going?"—"I am going," I replied, "into Virginia; I shall afterward return to New-York; and I really do not know exactly where I shall go afterward." I said so much, on Franklin's principle, hoping to get rid of my catechist. But I did not, as I suppose Franklin did not, wholly succeed. It is said of him, that when travelling, he would often anticipate the inquisitiveness of the people, by answering all they might wish to know, thus—"My name is Benjamin Franklin—I am going to Boston—I came from Philadelphia—My business is so and so—My wife is with me, and three children—their names are so and so, and their ages so and so."

As we advanced on our journey, we came into solitary ways; and the land rose, and the forest thickened around us, so as to indicate that we were getting away from human habitation, and among mountain scenery. We arrived at about seven o'clock at a lone house, and were told that we were to go on at eleven. This was very provoking; but there was no remedy. I took, therefore, my tea, which is both tea and supper here, and dressed myself, and laid down on a clean bed, to slumber till half past ten. When summoned, I was some time before I could get my eyes fairly open, and persuade myself to leave a comfortable bed, at an hour when most persons were looking towards it; but necessity was on me, and I was more refreshed than I expected to be. In fact, we were ascending among the mountains; and I doubt not that the air of the higher ground was imparting renovation. By eleven at night, then, we quitted our comfortable cabin, and began to ascend the gorges of the mountains. We were only three persons; the driver, myself, and another man, who was connected with this line of stage. I had regretted that I had not day-light, to see and admire the wild and noble scenery around me; but the night had its charms. The dark forms of the hills gathering about you; the forest-trees doubling their immense size by their local elevation, and casting their heavy shadows on you; the utter absence of all signs of life and cultivation; the perfect silence which reigned unbroken, except by the rumbling of the coach and the barking of the wolves; and the obscurity and indefiniteness of every object on which the eye fell; acted together as powerfully on the mind as any thing I have known, and frequently left it difficult to decide between the actual and the imaginary.

While I was indulging my imagination, and had certainly no sense of danger, I found that my companions in travel were under real alarm for the safety of the mail. It appeared from the driver's statement, that, twice in the past week, when he was driving the mail alone, he was threatened with attack. On one occasion, his wheel was locked by

some unknown hand; and the second time he saw two men, who had concealed themselves behind a plane-tree, which projected on the passage of the coach. This, of course, gave additional zest to our midnight adventure; and I began to fear that my luggage, which was lashed behind, might disappear before morning. As we drew near to the spot where the coachman had seen the men, he was evidently much excited; he put his horses at better speed, and made us, by exclamations, understand where and how they had appeared. We gazed earnestly on the immense tree, and tried to penetrate into the dark copse-wood beyond it; but no robbers were to be seen. However, we had still the benefit of thinking that they might appear, and this gave the last touch of interest to this wild and romantic region, and kept us effectually from slumber and ennui.

The following morning, at eleven, we arrived at a shabby house, which was used as an inn. Here I broke my fast, after travelling twelve hours and fasting sixteen. There was a small settlement here, connected with some iron-works. I found the cholera had made its way into these fastnesses of nature. Two persons had died, and one was dying. I saw a man who was reported to have it, and who was avoided by every one from terror. But, in his case, the rumor was the mere effect of ignorant fear; he had the sciatica, and no sign of the cholera. He was very grateful that I had confidence to enter his room and speak with him. He was one of those many persons who, living or dying, must chew and spit; sick as he was, he had a mound of sand raised on the floor, on which he might indulge his propensity.

The remainder of the ride to Guiandot was highly interesting; but mostly such as I have described. The last stage was on a line with the Ohio, on a fine piece of road; and it presented us with a change of scenery highly beautiful. The wild vine became here a prominent feature. In the thicker forests, it frequently shows a dozen or a score of large naked stems, running up into the tallest trees, and quite detached from the trunk, and strangling it in its growth, leaving you to wonder how it could ever get there, and presenting rather a curious than a beautiful object of sight. But here it grew on the margin of the forest, and luxuriated in light and air; and the effect was often most pleasing. It ran up the shorter trees: used them as a mere skeleton; covered their heads with its luxuriant foliage; and threw out its dishevelled arms and tendrils to the ground, so as to form the most inviting canopies and alcoves.

Guiandot is a small but advancing town, placed at the confluence of two rivers, and forming a point of communication between three States—Kentucky, Ohio, and Virginia. It is itself in Virginia; and before we enter on a new State, it may be desirable to offer a few general remarks on that which we are quitting. From what has already been delineated, you will deem this to be an interesting and beautiful State, with many attractions to settlement. But it suffers as a slave State; many leave it for Ohio on this account; and that State, though more remote, and of much more recent settlement, exceeds this in population by 300,000 persons. The population of Kentucky is 700,000. There are about 100 Presbyterian congregations; about 300 Methodist clergymen, including local preachers; about fifty Catholic priests; about twelve Episcopalian; a few Shakers; and some other sects which, in numbers, however, are very insignificant. Besides these, the Baptists are very numerous. They are spoken of as having the largest number of any in this State; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain their strength; and it is yet more so to determine on the number of their pastors; for the offices of minister, elder, and deacon, are made to run into each other, so as to confound distinction. Their educated teachers are very few; their uneducated and self-constituted teachers are surprisingly numerous. In this disorganized state, Mr. Campbell came among them with his new lights; and now nothing is heard of but Camelism, as it is called. The people of this denomination, and especially the teachers, had made too much of their peculiarities as Baptists. Campbell came among them and made every thing of them, and has succeeded to an alarming extent. He denounces every body; he unsettles every thing, and settles nothing; and there is great present distraction and scandal. But his ministrations, I believe, will be overruled for good. They are of the nature of fire: they will try and consume the hay, wood, and stubble, and there was much to be consumed. The pious of the people will see their error, and rectify it; and those of the denomination elsewhere, will perceive the importance of securing to them a well-trained ministry.

The colleges of public instruction in this State, bear a good proportion to those of other States.—Besides these, so far as the ministry is concerned, something considerable is done. It is not uncommon, I found, for the pastors to receive and train young men for pastoral labor; one minister I met with had prepared twelve; and it was generally admitted that those who were thus prepared were among the most pious and successful. The University, too, which had languished in infidel hands, was renewing its strength, and promising to become a valuable focus of light, truth, and moral energy. The Medical School is now spoken of in the highest terms.

LETTER XIV.

My dear friend—On reaching Guiandot, I determined to rest a day or two, that I might get some refreshment after my fatigue, and have time to look around me, and preserve the images of the things I had seen. But what we determine, and what others determine for us, are often different things. The coach proprietors here had determined that their stage should leave at three o'clock the following morning; that none other should start for three days to come; and that then those who came on in the line would have the preference. There was literally no other mode of conveyance, so that I had no choice; and when I found that, from the arrival of company, it was doubtful whether I could secure a place, I hastened with desire to obtain what I had deemed very objectionable.

Of course, my rest, though I sought it early, was short and imperfect; and by candle-light I found myself, half asleep, packed most tightly in the heavy vehicle, making one of ten persons. One of these persons was indeed an infant; it had a female slave for its wet-nurse. It was the first time I had seen a woman of color act in this capacity, and I confess it shook a little my philosophy. Our company was made up of the better class; fashionables from the south who were on their way to the springs. One was an Englishman and a merchant; he had come out to Orleans twenty years ago, with fifteen others, and he was the only survivor. Then there were a captain; a major; a consumptive in chase of life, which was fleeting from him; and a reclaimed rake with his young wife, child, and servant. They supplied a good study; but I must not detain you.

On stopping to breakfast, we found our repast prepared out of doors, but in the shade, and beneath a veranda. It had a light and rural effect. Our ablutions, too, were to be performed under the same

circumstances, and with utensils in common;—though you might generally have, if you claimed it, your own towel. It was considered quite enough if exceptions were made to this course in favor of ladies.

Our dining station was Charleston; a thriving and pleasant town on the banks of the Kenhawa. It depends chiefly on the salt-works which abound in this neighborhood. The handsome Catalpa appears here, and affords the shade of its broad and thick foliage to the cottages. The scenery was evidently improving; after dinner I took my seat outside for the sake of commanding it; and not less to relieve myself from the heat and pressure within. We now passed the salt-works. There are not less than one hundred; and sixty of them are in work. They bore for the water, and usually get a large supply, rising above the surface from a depth of 200 feet. It is said that as much as a million and a half of barrels are manufactured here annually. The works stretch about two miles along this beautiful valley, and greatly disfigure it.

But you soon get clear of them, and the slip of land in a line with them, and along the river, is verdant with grass and corn. Every thing continues to improve. The little plain below you disappears; the banks of the river become sharp and bold, and are ornamented by pendent woods; the hills get up into mountainous forms, and run out before you into the finest picture; and as you pass them in succession, they reveal to your separate admiration the sweetest dells imaginable. Still, as evening came on, every thing was changed and improving. The river was becoming more animated; its sides more abrupt. The hills opposite you still rose, hill after hill, in soft and lovely forms; while those on this side of the river split away in the centre; stood on your path; almost refused you passage; rose in massive, broken forms above you; and hung beetling over your head, presenting to the eye some of the finest rock-work, for shape and color, that was ever beheld. All this was taken, for it continued long, in the last lights of day, and under the more fascinating lights of the rising moon. I must leave you to judge of the effect. I had not expected it, and I was quite refreshed and elevated by it. It doeth good like a medicine.

We reached the hotel at which we were to pause about midnight. It is near to the Kenhawa Falls; and from the beauty of the neighborhood, has many visiters. I took a hasty cup of coffee, and weary, as I was, went with another gentleman to see the Falls. We could hear them in the distance; but we had to go round in order to reach them. The chief of our way was over shattered rock, offering a good access by day, but requiring care at night, from the sharp pitches of some parts, and from the numerous circular holes bored in them by the eddies of the water. They are not to be spoken of with Niagara, or even with Shauffausen, but the whole scene was striking and interesting, the more so, undoubtedly, in the still hour of night. I seated myself on a shelf of rock, whence the waters made their principal leap. Darkness had spread its curtain on the sleeping objects in the distance. The pale moon had run her race, and was just falling behind the hills; her last lights fell faintly on my face and the head of waters, but left the precipices and pools below me in heavy shadows. At my feet the river was dashing down, and lifting up its voice from the deeps beneath to Him who holds the waters in the hollow of his hand. It had done so for ages past; it would do so for ages to come. Here the poor Indian had stood, but will never stand again, thinking he heard in those waters the voice of Deity, and gazing on the face of that orb with wonder, till the spirit of worship was stirred within him. Here also I stood, and shall never stand again, wistfully looking through the visible and audible, to the unseen but present object of adoration and praise.

We returned to the inn. I had an hour and a half of rest; and was found with my companions on the way, soon after three o'clock. Most of the company showed that they had only been awakened, like a child, to be put in a new position, and their heads were nodding about in all directions. About seven o'clock, however, we approached a spot which is of great reputed beauty, and we pledged the coachman to stop that we might have a fair sight of it. You leave the road by a little by-path, and after pursuing it for a short distance, the whole scene suddenly breaks upon you. But how shall I describe it? The great charm of the whole is greatly connected with the point of sight, which is the finest imaginable. You come suddenly to a spot which is called the Hawk's Nest. It projects on the scene, and is so small as to give standing *to only some half dozen persons.* It has on its head an old picturesque pine, and it breaks away at your feet abruptly and in perpendicular lines, to a depth of more than 200 feet. On this standing, which, by its elevated and detached character, affects you like the Monument, the forest rises above and around you. Beneath and before you is spread a lovely valley. A peaceful river glides down it, reflecting, like a mirror, all the lights of heaven; washes the foot of the rocks on which you are standing; and then winds away into another valley at your right. The trees of the wood, in all their variety, stand out on the verdant bottoms, with their heads in the sun, and casting their shadows at their feet; but so dimished, as to look more like the picture of the things than the things themselves. The green hills rise on either hand and all around, and give completeness and beauty to the scene; and beyond these appears the gray outline of the more distant mountains, bestowing grandeur to what was supremely beautiful. It is exquisite. It conveys to you the idea of perfect solitude. The hand of man, the foot of man, seem never to have touched that valley. To you, though placed in the midst of it, it seems altogether inaccessible. You long to stroll along the margin of those sweet waters, and repose under the shadows of those beautiful trees; but it looks impossible. It is solitude, but of a most soothing—not of an appalling character; where sorrow might learn to forget her griefs, and folly begin to be wise and happy.

Most of my companions, I am sorry to say, though eager to see this sight, had no taste for it when seen. Happily for me, they did not choose to remain at so dizzy a point of sight as I had chosen, and so they employed themselves at a distance. Their employ was to throw stones across the river, and their astonishment was to find that no stone they could cast would reach it! All excepting our merchant: he remained with me; and we grasped the stunted pine, and in deep silence enjoyed the scene.

The early sight of the Hawk's Nest was only a good introduction to the ride of this day. It was spent in crossing the Allegany mountains, and others in alliance with them. Aware of what was to come, I took my station on the roof of the coach, that I might enjoy the exhibition without disturbance; and seldom have I had a day of such perfect and healthful exhilaration. To attempt a description of scene after scene, would only be to speak, as I have done, of rocks, and hills, and rivers, and trees, and dells, and valleys; the elements were the same; the combination was different—was endless.

The mountains here do not offer you that one commanding view which may be obtained elsewhere; but they present you with continued pic-

tures, which charm the eye and regale the spirits. It is not, indeed, as if you saw one human face divine, which appears, and is gone, but will never be forgotten; but it is as if you had interviews in succession with a multitude of faces, intelligent, noble, and smiling, which, by their kind and friendly aspect, made the day among the most pleasant of your life. In descending into the gorges of the hills, you find all that is wild, and dark, and solitary; and at the fall of day you may hear the baying of the wolf, and see the rude huntsman go forth to encounter the bear; still, this is not the character of these regions. It is that of elevated cheerfulness. I attribute this principally to two causes. First, that the forest is nowhere on a level; it runs along the sides of the mountains in galleries bathed in the light of heaven, and while it towers over you on the one side, it leaves the more distant prospect on the other side always open to the eye. The second is, that at the feet of these majestic trees, the oak, the pine, the cedar, the beech, and the tulip, you find such an astonishing supply of the finest shrubs and flowers. The laurel, the sumach, the dog-wood, the rhododendron, the cranberry, the whortleberry, and the strawberry; the rose, the marigold, and the campanula, with a thousand wild plants and flowers, were all here, and gave a wonderful freshness and sweetness to the scene. It has all the grandeur of the forest, with all the beauty of the garden.

This delightful day's ride had not the most pleasant close. We arrived at Lewisburg late in the evening, and as all were more or less weary, we were eager in our inquiries after beds. It soon appeared that the court was in session here; and this gave us some alarm. On going into the bar-room of our inn, I saw two men fast asleep in a large box, and undisturbed by all the noise of our arrival; this was still more ominous. I hastened to require, as I always did, a single-bedded room, hardly hoping to obtain it. The landlord assured me he could not accommodate me. I begged to see what accommodation he could offer. He took me to a room with five or six beds in it; there was one bed unoccupied, which he assured me I should have to myself; the others had already an occupant each, and they were liable, if necessary, to have another person introduced to them. This kind of room is deemed common; and the guest who cannot find a bed to himself, seeks to participate with some other party; so that it is not very uncommon for the man who went quietly to sleep in sole possession of his couch, to find, on waking, that he has acquired a companion. I turned away from the spectacle, and expressed my resolution to sit up till the coach started. My landlord, seeing me firm, disappeared to make some arrangements, and then returned to say that he was able to let me have a double-bedded room, if I would not object that one of my companions by the stage should occupy the second bed; I might rely on it we should have it quite to ourselves. I consented to this; but as the good landlord was evidently much pressed, I chose to place my reliance on having the key on the right side of the door. To such an arrangement I had been obliged to yield twice before: but generally, even in these unfrequented regions, you may procure the luxury of a private chamber.

If inconveniences arose at these houses, they were, as we travelled, of very brief duration. We started again at daylight on our way to Lexington, in Virginia. Most of our company, however, were to part from the conveyance at the White Sulphur Springs, and it was still the early morning when we reached them. These springs are finely situated, and are among the most popular in the States. The accommodations here are all provided by one person, and are chiefly composed of one erection. The rooms and refectories, which are in common, are large and imposing, but every thing else is on a most confined scale. Rumor had said, as we came along, that the place was over full; and our party, after coming so many hundred miles, were anxious lest they should be rejected. One of them, on inquiry, found that, as a favor, he might be one of five to share a small sleeping chamber.

While many were so eager to enter this temple of health and happiness, those who had established themselves did not impress you with the value of their acquisition. There were about sixty men under the verandas, picking their teeth, crossing their legs, scratching their heads, yawning, spitting; deep in the blues, if appearances did not wholly deceive me. There is a good deal of gambling and dissipation here; and dissipation, whatever may be its buoyancy and brilliancy at night, is a meagre, and cadaverous, and chapfallen thing in the light of morning. This, too, was aggravated, for the morning was wet; and a place devoted to gayety has, of all places, an air of sadness in bad weather. I was not sorry that I was going forward. I tasted the waters; saw Mr. Clay; and then joined the coach.

We took up three passengers here, and did not improve by the exchange; they were young men, and all of them, I fear, deeply versed in sin. One, a disappointed lover, and seeking his cure in dissipation; the others, of good connections and better taught, but flippant in infidelity, disrespectful of others, and shameless for themselves. All were pursuing pleasure in the gratification of their passions, and were mortified to find themselves still displeased and miserable. Two of them, I could learn, were a living sorrow to their parents. I made the best of my situation; and received, at parting, an apology from one of them, who, in the midst of his freedoms, still wished to have the reputation of a gentleman.

My attention, however, was still engaged with the delightful scenery; and had the weather allowed, I should have suffered no deduction on the part of my company. We were still among the mountains, and quickly, on leaving the springs, began to ascend them. These are, I believe, strictly of the Allegany family; but they are not so considerable as the Sewell mountains which we had passed. The scenery was very similar to that of yesterday; if any thing, it is even more picturesque, and is greatly assisted in its effect by the Jackson river. The lover of nature might spend weeks here, and still lament that he had not weeks and months to spend.

Early in the evening we came to a cottage, which, because it receives the few persons who travel this road, is called an inn. It has the appearance of a private dwelling, which is so little used, that no pathway is worn to it across the verdant sod; and you are received into the bosom of the family with a pleasant confidence. The dwelling was respectable and clean; its fore-court made cheerful by the beautiful althea and other flowers. I secured a parlour, which had a very comfortable bed in it; and was gratified with the prospect of something like a night's rest.

Tea or supper, as you choose to call it, was prepared for us. The husband and wife took the ends of the table, and the daughter waited as occasion required. All was plain; but all was good, and there was an abundance of it; fowl, bacon, corn-bread, hot wheaten bread, bilberry-tart, honey, milk, and coffee. But the young men had a quarrel with it. It was a temperance house, and there was no mint-julap, nor spirits, nor wine of any kind, to be had; nor, in fact, any chance of sport or mis-

chief. I judged from the manners of these people that they were religious, and was not deceived. I had some pleasant conversation with the father; and, on retiring to my room, found several good books in the case which adorned it; and among them Scott's Family Bible.

With a good bed, a weary body, a room to myself, and the key turned on it, I had the prospect of a refreshing sleep; but I was to be again disappointed. Just as I was sinking into unconsciousness, I was assailed by all sorts of scratching, tumbling, squeaking noises; which were renewed from time to time, till my summons came to join the coach. I soon found that the disturbance was in the chimney; and afterward discovered, that the whole of it, from the floor upwards, was sacred to the house-swallow, and that many hundreds had made a lodgment in it. Some of these lodgings must have been insecure, and have given way, to have created all this annoyance. I did not wish the innocent things to be dispossessed; but perhaps I had a passing wish that their dwellings had been more lasting—were it only by a single day.

We had not more than about twenty miles to reach Lexington; but still, as the custom is, we started very early. This distance was to be filled in mostly by the ascent and descent of the North mountain, which stands at the head of the western valley of Virginia. I was led to expect that the scenery was first rate; and I took my seat with a civil driver, in order to command it. Every thing in the approach to this mountain is beautiful; as you ascend it, it becomes grand; and when you come to the highest parts of the passage, you have indeed a most commanding station. The morning would have been deemed unfavorable; yet it assisted you with such a picture as you can seldom see, and as you most desire to see. The atmosphere was heavy and humid, and threatened rain; but the eye could reach over the whole mountain scenery. The thick mists of the night found no sun to exhale them; and they lay on all the valleys like a sea of sleeping waters. The breasts of the mountains rose above these mists, and appeared like so many rocky islands; while the lighter mists, attenuated by the mountain breeze, floated gracefully about their heads. It was very peculiar and fascinating; and reminded me very pleasantly of my last visit to Snowden, which at break of day was in a similar condition. I had wished that before we began our descent, the sun might rise on this world of vapors, and present to one all those bewitching forms of unearthly, aerial, and ever changing beauty, which entranced us in Wales; but instead of this, the mists thickened into rain, and hid much of what we had seen from our sight.

Let me observe, however, that I had afterward an opportunity of seeing this noble picture in an opposite condition; illus rated by the presence of a powerful and glorious sun. Now every thing was to be seen, and was worth seeing. The great point of sight is called the Grand Turn. It is an angular projection from the side of the mountain, and is supplied with a low parapet of loose stones, to protect you from the precipice below. The old jagged pine of the forest, which has braved the tempest age after age, stands up in its clustered grandeur behind you. The lone and ravenous vulture is wheeling over your head in search of prey. The broken rock-work falls away abruptly, some eighty feet immediately beneath your standing, and then runs down in softer lines to the glens below. You look to the left, and there stand, in all their majesty, the everlasting mountains, which you have traversed one by one, and sketching on the blue sky one of the finest outlines you ever beheld. You look to the right, and there lies expanded before you one of the richest and most lovely valleys which this vast country boasts. You look opposite to you, and the great and prominent mountains just break away so as to form the foreground to a yet more distant prospect, which is bathed in sunlight and in mist, promising to be equal to any thing you see. Everywhere, above, around, beneath, was the great, the beautiful, the interminable forest. Nothing impressed me so much as this. The forest had often surrounded and overwhelmed me; I had never before such command of it. In a State so long settled, I had expected to see comparatively little of it: but there it was, spreading itself all around like a dark green ocean, and on which the spots that were cleared and cultivated, only stood out like sunny islets which adorned its bosom.

On the whole, I had, as you will see, been travelling for three days over most delightful country. For 160 miles you pass through a gallery of pictures most exquisite, most varied, most beautiful. The ride will not suffer in comparison with a run along the finest portions of the Rhine, or our own drive from Shrewsbury to Bangor. It is often indeed compared with Switzerland; but that is foolish; the best scenery in that land is of another and a higher class. I was not at all aware that I should be thus gratified; and therefore perhaps had the more gratification. I am thankful that I have seen it; and for the same reasons that I am thankful to have seen something of the west; because they contribute greatly to form just conceptions of America.

Before I dismiss this portion of my excursion, let me observe, that there is an excellent road recently cut over this mountain, and into Lexington. It embraces altogether an extent of forty miles, and is no small achievement; and the praise of it is due to the spirited inhabitants of the town. Perhaps I should not say this without referring to the share the Government takes in it. If, generally, a plan for local improvement is acceptable to the government, it agrees to take two-fifths of the responsibility, while the residents take the remaining three-fifths. The government also receives its proportion of the profits; and these profits replenish a fund for general improvement. I have frequently referred to the roads, and with complaint; but let me not be misunderstood. It is true that many of them are very bad, and bring much suffering to the traveller; but the real wonder is, that, under all circumstances, they are so good and so numerous. Never, in any other country, was there so much done in so short a period. Rail-roads and steamboats are now come to their help, and perhaps to their salvation; for certainly it has not been sufficiently considered, that it is a source of national weakness, and not of strength, to have a spare population scattered over an immense territory.

About eleven o'clock in the day we drove into Lexington. Mr. Carruthers, whom I had known at the General Assembly, saw me as we passed, and kindly followed the stage to the inn, to request that I would consider his house my home. I had travelled a week without a fair night's rest. This is the great source of exhaustion here, and it is wholly the fault of the stage proprietors. With the same roads, and with the same cattle, you might go the same distance in the same time, and save all your nights; and, of course, most of your fatigue.

LETTER XV.

My dear friend—I had no sooner arrived at Mr. Carruthers's than my esteemed friend, the Rev. J. Douglas, called on me. He was pastor of the Presbyterian church here, and we had formed a friend-

ship when he visited England as an invalid, and spent some time in my family. I now expected pleasure and information in his society for a short period. As the ensuing day was the Sabbath, he very considerately excused my preaching, on condition that I would, on the following day, allow myself to be announced for an extra service. I was the more obliged for this, as it would supply me with an opportunity of hearing, which I always coveted.

On the morning of the Sabbath, I attended an interesting service at my friend's church. It was placed at the head of the town, on elevated ground, commanding a pretty view of it, and of the fine blue mountains in the distance. It had a paddock attached to it for the use of the horses during the time of worship, and there were from forty to fifty now occupying it. All the persons who came in from the vicinity came on horseback; and the horses are nearly as numerous as the people of these parts. The church has five doors, and these and all the windows were open in consequence of the heat of the weather. This created some distraction to the congregation. Besides, there were fans in motion everywhere, and small kegs full of water, with ladles, were placed in the window-seats and beneath the pulpit, which were used by the children, not only before, but during the service, and this caught the attention of a stranger, but did not seem much to discompose the people. The galleries were mostly occupied by blacks. The general attendance was good; the congregation wore a serious complexion; but there were not wanting some instances of negligent and irreverent manners.

A recent attempt to produce a revival here had been made by an itinerant revivalist; but it had failed. I took pains to acquaint myself with it. My conclusion was, that it was a harsh and indiscreet affair; not producing even the effects it sought, and working to the disadvantage of religion, both with its friends and enemies. This was certainly Mr. Douglas's opinion.

I learned that in the afternoon there would be worship at the African Church, and I resolved to go. My obliging friend, Mr. Carruthers, attended me. The building, called a church, is without the town, and placed in a hollow, so as to be out of sight; it is, in the fullest sense, "without the gate." It is a poor log-house, built by the hands of the negroes, and so placed as to show that they must worship by stealth. It is, perhaps, 20 by 25; with boarding and rails breast-high, run round three sides, so as to form galleries. To this is added a lean-to, to take the overplus, when the fine weather should admit of larger numbers. There were three small openings, besides the door and the chinks in the building, to admit light and air. The place was quite full, the women and men were arranged on opposite sides; and although on a cold or rainy day there might have been much discomfort, the impression now was very pleasing. In the presence of a powerful sun, the whole body were in strong shadow; and the light streaming through the warped and broken shingle on the glistening black faces of the people, filled the spectacle with animation. I had taken my place by the door, and was waiting the commencement.

By the law of the State, no colored persons are permitted to assemble for worship, unless a white person be present and preside. On this account, the elders of Mr. Douglas's church attend in turn, that the poor people may not lose the privileges they prize. At this time, two whites and two blacks were in the pulpit. One of the blacks, addressing me as their "Strange master," begged that I would take charge of the service. I declined doing so. He gave out Dr. Watts's beautiful Psalm, "Show pity, Lord; O Lord, forgive," &c. They all rose immediately. They had no books, for they could not read; but it was printed on their memory, and they sang it off with freedom and feeling. There is much melody in their voice; and when they enjoy a hymn, there is a raised expression of the face, and an undulating motion of the body, keeping time with the music, which is very touching.

One of the elders then prayed; and the other followed him, by reading and exposition of Scripture. The passage was on relative and social duties; and I could not avoid observing how it reflected on the conduct of the white, and pleaded for the poor slave. They sang again, "Come, ye that love the Lord," and with equal freedom and pleasure. The senior black, who was a preacher among them, then offered prayer, and preached. His prayer was humble and devotional. In one portion of it, he made an affecting allusion to their wrongs. "Thou knowest," said the good man, with a broken voice, "our state—that it is the meanest—that we are as mean and low as men can be. But we have sinned—we have forfeited all our rights to *Thee*—and we would submit before *Thee* to these marks of thy displeasure."

He took for the text of his sermon those words, "The Spirit saith, come," &c. He spoke with connection of our original distance; of the means provided for our approach and redemption—of the invitation as founded on these—and closed by an earnest and well-sustained appeal to them to act on the gracious Invitation. "Ah, sirs!" he exclaimed, "do you ask, what it is to come? Oh, it is to know your own weakness; it is to know your own unworthiness; it is to know that you are sinners, and ready to fall into hell for your sins; it is to fly to Jesus Christ as your help and your Saviour; and to cry, 'Lord, save, or I perish!'—To come! Oh, it is to fall down at his feet—to receive him as your new Master—to become new creatures—and to live a new life of faith and obedience," &c.—"O, sirs!" he continued, "that you would come! How can I persuade you to come! I have seen the good and the evil. I have seen the Christian dying, and I have seen the sinner dying." He spoke of both; and then referred to his own experience—the change religion had made in him—the happiness he had had since he knew it—the desire he had that they should be happy likewise. It was indeed a very earnest and efficient appeal.

Mr. Carruthers kindly reminded me, as he paused, that it was time to leave, if I fulfilled my intention of going to the Presbyterian Church. But I felt I could not leave before the close. I could have done so in ordinary circumstances; but I could not bring myself to do any thing that might seem disrespectful to this band of despised and oppressed Christians.

The other man of color followed with a spontaneous address, meant to sustain the impression. He had some conceit and forwardness in his manner, but much point in what he said. He concluded by noticing what had been doing among them lately; and by calling on those who were really concerned to come to the Saviour, to show it by occupying the anxious seat. They sang again; and, while singing, some forms before the pulpit were cleared, and about twelve persons knelt down at them with great seriousness of manner. There was no confusion, and the act of coming out does perhaps less violence to their feelings, as they are a small body, and are on an equality. One of the elders now took the matter into his hands, and offered prayer. Had he sought to cool down the state of feeling, it could not have been better done. But there was no need for

this; for there was no extravagance. They then rose, and sang, and separated. This was the first time I had worshipped with an assembly of slaves; and I shall never forget it. I was certainly by sympathy bound with those who were bound; while I rejoiced, on their account, afresh in that divine truth, which makes us free indeed, which lifts the soul on high, unconscious of a chain.

Much has been said, and is still said, about the essential inequality of the races. That is a question which must be settled by experiment. Here the experiment was undoubtedly in favor of the blacks. In sense and in feeling, both in prayer and address, they were equal to the whites; and in free and pointed expression much superior. Indeed, I know not that while I was in America, I listened to a peroration of an address that was superior to the one I have briefly noted to you.

On leaving, we found we were too late for our first purpose; but as the Methodists were just assembling for service, I expressed a wish to unite with them. There were few persons present: not more than 150. A gentleman, one of their local preachers, took the duties of the pulpit. The services in his hands were very uninteresting. He had much conceit, poor wit, and many words; and all he said was gabbled and uttered seemingly by rote. His address abounded with such plumed and wise expressions as—"I put it to your rationality—white-robed angels of light—your spirit shall flutter before God in never-ending bliss"—and "when you hear the clods of the valley tumbling on your coffin." It was a sorry affair, and in contrast with what I had just witnessed. This, however, is no specimen of the average means possessed by this people.

On the Tuesday afternoon, I preached, as had been arranged, to a considerable and attentive congregation. I baptized also two children, by Mr. Douglas's permission, and at the request of the parents. One was the infant son of the Rev. James Payne, who was named after Henry Martyn. Mr. Payne has labored with much success in this vicinity.

I had much pleasing and profitable intercourse with the Christian friends here; and it must be considered that the state of religion among the people is good. The population of the town is not above 1,000, yet there are three places of worship. The Presbyterian reckons about 500 attendants and 300 members; the Methodist about 300, and 200 members; and the African, about 150, and 60 members. In the Sunday schools, there are about 250 children. A lady told me, I think, that there was no mother of a family who was not a member of some church. The Temperance cause has worked beneficially here. There were nine spirit stores, now there is only one; indeed, it was the custom to have water and spirits on the counter of every store, to be used at pleasure; this custom has now disappeared.

The town, as a settlement, has many attractions. It is surrounded by beauty, and stands at the head of a valley, flowing with milk and honey. House rent is low; provisions are cheap, abundant, and of the best quality. Flowers and gardens are more prized here than in most places; and by consequence the humming-bird is found in larger numbers. That beautiful little creature has much the habits and appearance of the bee; and the trumpet honey-suckle seems to be a favorite plant, on account of its cell being enriched with honey.

At the request of Mr. Douglas, I made an excursion to visit his friends, and to inspect Weyer's Cave. This cave is esteemed one of the greatest natural curiosities; occasionally, it is lighted up by some 2,000 or 3,000 candles, for the accommodation of visiters; and this was to happen just at this time. We were a party of five, and started early in the morning, with a four-wheeled chaise and two saddle-horses. We halted at Colonel M'Dowell's, hoping to bait both ourselves and cattle there. The colonel is a man of large property and high connections; he has a son in the House of Representatives, and a son-in-law in the Senate. We were most kindly received.

The day was hot, about 90 deg.; and we were in the hall. It had, as is frequently the case, the dimensions of a room, and was supplied with sofa, chairs, and table. It is preferred at this season, because of its greater coolness; and it is not uncommon to see the whole family occupied in it and the porch, or portico, on a fine evening. This, with the naked foot, the fan, and the lighter dress, illustrate some of the eastern manners and historical descriptions of sacred Scripture. We partook of an excellent repast; and, refreshed in body and spirit, proceeded on our way, after having given a promise that we would use their house in our return. The colonel's lady, addressing me as the stranger, "could not consent to an Englishman passing their door."

In the evening, we sought to shorten our way, and lost ourselves in the woods. This gave us some perplexity and some amusement. It made us, however, late, and our cattle weary; and, as we had still to ford a river, it gave us some concern. At nightfall, we reached it; but at the wrong place. We attempted it; it was almost unfordable. The waters were high, and they ran over the horse's back, and into the carriage, so that our feet and luggage were standing in water. We urged the horse to the utmost, and we succeeded; but, with a tired animal and a heavy carriage, the experiment was full of hazard.

In our wet condition, and in the dark night, we came to Captain Hall's to solicit hospitality. It was not asked in vain. The captain is a farmer; and, as he was expecting no one, his principal room was converted into a carpenter's shop; but we were offered the best that circumstances allowed. I retired early to rest. My attendant was a little slave. The child was distant at first; but was quickly encouraged by a kind word or look. He was very anxious to explore my dressing-case, and to get the names of things. The watch was familiar to him; but he could not understand what the compass was, and seemed afraid of it. He was inquisitive to know, but very careful in touching things. I found him at my bedside in the early morning, still seeking to obtain information, and to show some attentions. My rest would, I doubt not, have been fair, but for one source of interruption. I had left my window open for the sake of air, expecting no evil; but the cats must have used it for their gambols, for they were coursing about my chamber all night most disagreeably. If in no other way haunted, it was certainly a strange, and, I suppose, accustomed haunt of the cats.

Once out of the path, how difficult it is to return! We started again very early, but we still lost our way, and expected to arrive at the cave, after all our pains, too late for the spectacle. We reached the spot about one o'clock. The party of visiters had been, and were just sitting down to dinner. But the lights were burning, and the guides were willing; and this was, to my taste, the very time to see it, free from the noise and confusion of two hundred visiters. So, turning our back on the dinner, away we went.

The cave is found in a ridge of limestone hills, running parallel with the Blue Ridge. In going to it, you pass by Madison's cave, which was once an object of much interest, but is now neglected, from the greater attractions of the one we are about to

explore. You ascend the side of the hill by a zig-zag path of about 150 yards long, and then find yourself opposite a wooden door, which is the entrance, and having a bench, on which you rest, to get cool, or to prepare otherwise for ingress. Having passed the door, you find yourself in a small cave, which may be regarded as a lobby to the whole apartments. With raised expectations, you look about you, by the aid of the daylight, which is struggling to enter, for some openings more considerable. All that you see, however, is the mouth of what appears a dark recess about four feet square; and you are told this is your passage onward. You have no alternative, but to double yourself up into the smallest possible dimensions, and move along, after the lights of your guides, as well as you may, by the assistance of your hands.

Having scrambled along for about twenty-five feet, you come into some larger openings, which allow you the free use of your person. You look upward and around you, and find yourself surrounded by the most grotesque figures, formed, through ages, by the percolation of the waters, through the heavy arches of rock-work over your head; while the eye, glancing onward, catches the dim and distant glimmer of the lights—some in the deeps below, and some in the galleries above. On quitting these smaller rooms and galleries, you enter an ascending passage, of easy access; and on coming to its extremity, you see the opening of a large cavern spread before you, and the commencement of some steps by which you are to descend. Your care is engaged in getting safely down; but when you have obtained your standing on the floor, you are delighted to find yourself in a large cavern, of irregular formation, and full of wild beauty. It is about thirty by fifty feet, and is called Solomon's Temple. The incrustations become finer here. At your right hand, they hang just like a sheet of water that had been frozen as it fell. There they rise before you in a beautiful stalactitic pillar; and yonder they compose an elevated seat, surrounded by sparry pinnacles, which sparkle beautifully in the light. The one is called Solomon's Throne, and the other his Pillar.

On leaving the Temple, you enter another room more irregular, but more beautiful. Besides having ornaments in common, it spreads over you a roof of most admirable and singular formation. It is entirely covered with stalactites, which are suspended from it like inverted pinnacles. They are of the finest material, and are most beautifully shaped and embossed.

You now make an ascent of several feet, and move along a passage, and through two or three lobbies, and come to what is called the Twin-room, and find your way is just on the verge of a dark cavern, which is yawning at your feet, and is named the Devil's Oven. A descent is now made of some difficulty, and from an elevation of about forty feet; and you enter a large room, which is called the Tanyard. This, like some of the rest, is an absurd name; but it has been adopted from the force of association. There are in the rocky floor of this room large cavities, which may be thought to resemble the tanpits; and from the ceiling are suspended large sheets of beautiful stalactites, which resemble the tanner's hides. You advance to an upper floor in this room, which has chiefly one ornament, and that is sufficient. There is, extending along the room, and from roof to floor, an immense sheet of the finest stalactite. When it is struck with the hand, it emits deep and mellow sounds, like those of a muffled drum, and is called the Drum-room.

You now rise by some natural steps to a platform, which you have again to descend, and then find yourself in what is named the Ball-room. It is a handsome and large apartment, about 100 feet long, 36 wide, and 26 high. Its floor is so level as to admit of dancing, and it has been used for this purpose. There is in the centre of it a large calcareous deposite, which has received the name of Paganini's Statue; the whole room is relieved by grotesque concretions; and the effect of the lights burning at every elevation, and leaving hidden more than they revealed, is exceedingly fine.

From the Ball-room you make an ascent of 40 feet. This is named Frenchman's Hill; from the circumstance that a visiter from France, with his guide, had their lights extinguished at this spot.—Happily, the guide had such an accurate knowledge of the locality, that after much difficulty, they got safely back, a distance of more than 500 feet. You wind your way through passages, and make a descent of nearly 30 feet, by what is known as Jacob's Ladder, with pits and caverns opening about you, and come into the Senate Chamber, and afterward to Congress Hall. The last is a fine room, very like the Ball-room, but with an uneven floor. As you leave it, an immense cavern spreads itself before you, with the dim lights gleaming over its mouth, so as to make its unfathomed darkness horrible. You gaze on it with amazement, and instinctively long to pass on, lest it should drink you up. It has received the name of "Infernal Regions." By another lobby, and another descent, you enter Washington Hall. This is the most wonderful opening of the whole. It is 250 feet long, and 33 feet high. There is a fine sheet of rock-work running up the centre of this room, and giving it the aspect of two separate and noble galleries, till you look above, where you observe the partition rises only 20 feet towards the roof, and leaves the fine arch expanding over your head untouched. There is a beautiful concretion here standing out in the room, which certainly has the form and drapery of a gigantic statue; it bears the name of the Nation's Hero, and the whole place is filled with those projections, appearances which excite the imagination by suggesting resemblances, and leaving them unfinished. The general effect, too, was perhaps indescribable. The fine perspective of this room, four times the length of an ordinary church; the numerous tapers, when near you, so encumbered by deep shadows as to give only a dim religious light; and when at a distance, appearing in their various attitudes like twinkling stars on a deep dark heaven; the amazing vaulted roof spread over you, with its carved and knotted surface, to which the streaming lights below in vain endeavored to convey their radiance; together with the impression that you had made so deep an entrance, and were so entirely cut off from the living world and ordinary things; produces an effect which, perhaps, the mind can receive but once, and will retain for ever.

On leaving these striking apartments, you pass through a passage in which is standing some grand formations, named Cleopatra's Needle, and the Pyramids; and then enter a room called the Church. The appearances in this instance suggest the name. It has about the dimensions of a church, and has an elevation of about 50 feet. There is at one end an elevated recess, which has the air of a gallery. At the back of this gallery there are a number of pendent stalactites, of an unusual size and beauty. They are as large as the pipes of a full-sized organ, and are ranged similarly. They emit, when struck, mellow sounds of various keys; and if a stick is run over them, as we run the finger over musical glasses, they make pleasant music. There is nothing forced in giving this instrument the appellation of organ; it is one of the best that nature ever made; and the most remarkable that I ever beheld.

At the other extremity there rises from the ground (not stuck on a roof, as we frequently see) a beautiful spire of considerable height; and this is the steeple.

You pass by the steeple, and come into an apartment which has the name of the Dining-room. It has similar dimensions to the Church; and on its left side there is a continued elevation, resembling a table. You now enter an immense gallery, about 10 feet wide, and some 121 feet long, and from 80 to 100 feet high. You turn aside to visit a small apartment, but of exquisite beauty. Here the most singular sparry concretions hang pendent from the roof, while an equal number are growing up from the ground in several degrees of progress, many of them meeting in the centre, and becoming one.—Winding passages are left among them, which make a sort of labyrinth; and as they are semi-pelluced, the passing of the lights through the several alleys has a very singular effect. This has the name of the Garden of Eden.

You return to the Dining-room, and pass by a dark opening at your feet, which is the mouth of a cavern, into which the foot of man has never been. It can only be explored by rope ladders; and it is supposed, though I think without sufficient reason, to be charged with mephitic gases, fatal to life.—You may now make an ascent of some 50 feet, if your nerves allow, and your reward will be adequate to your pains. You must climb over the face of the rock, which has nearly a perpendicular pitch, and you will then find yourself on an elevated platform, and surrounded by loopholes and striking figures. You may now look down from your eminence, which is the Giant's Causeway, into the large illuminated rooms you have left, and perhaps see a small party moving over the floors in misty shadow. Here stands out in relief before you, and on the very verge of the platform, a fine group of stalagmites, white as alabaster, and suggesting to the fancy the figures of a small party of horse moving over high and dangerous precipices. They are Bonaparte and his Guards. There is a fine arch expanding before you over the scene below; you may with caution, ascend on its head, and by this means gain a more commanding view of the objects so far beneath you.

But we must hasten on. When you have made your descent to the ordinary level, and move on your returning course, you pass by an enormous and most beautiful concretion. It is a tower, about 30 feet each way at the base, and rising in diminished squares to the height of 30 feet. It is a stalagmite; nearly as white and clear as alabaster, and dazzles you by its capacity to reflect lights.

You pass, also, some fine springs, at which you may refresh yourself on the way. There is one I must distinguish before we leave. You ascend, in getting to it, a steep of 12 feet, by a ladder, and then, by a little hard climbing, attain to the end of the recess, and stand before what is named the Source of the Nile. It is a fine transparent spring, and is very remarkable for being covered with a thin pellicle of stalagmite. It is strong enough to bear you; and has a hole cut in the centre, which gives you access to the water.

I hope you will not think you have been detained too long on this spectacle. My regret is, that I have only described one half of what it unfolds, and that with haste and imperfection. It is, in my judgment, one of the great natural wonders of this new world; and for its eminence in its own class, deserves to be ranked with the Natural Bridge and Niagara, while it is far less known than either. Its dimensions, by the most direct course, are more than 1,600 feet; and by the more winding paths, twice that length; and its objects are remarkable for their variety, formation, and beauty. In both respects, it will, I think, compare, without injury to itself, with the celebrated Grotto of Antiparos.

For myself, I acknowledge the spectacle to have been most interesting; but, to be so, it must be illuminated, as on this occasion. I had thought that this circumstance might give to the whole a toyish effect; but the influence of 2,000 or 3,000 lights on these immense caverns is only such as to reveal the objects, without disturbing the solemn and sublime obscurity which sleeps on every thing. Scarcely any scenes can awaken so many passions at once, and so deeply. Curiosity, apprehension, terror, surprise, admiration, and delight, by turns and together, arrest and possess you. I have had before, from other objects, one simple impression made with greater power; but I never had so many impressions made, and with so much power, before. If the interesting and the awful are the elements of the sublime, here sublimity reigns, as in her own domain, in darkness, silence, and deeps profound.

On emerging from this subterrene world, our first concern was to perform our ablutions and rectify our dresses. This done, we hastened to the inn in search of refreshments. Here we were presented with a singular contrast to the scenes just contemplated. The inn-keeper had advertised his show over all the welkin; and his invitation had been fairly responded to; but he had not provided adequate accommodation. His inn was a little frame building, only fit for a small family; and had the day been wet, the company had been in a wretched condition. The two upper rooms were crowded with females, who were waiting in succession to enjoy the use of a single looking-glass, that they might arrange their dresses, and put themselves above ridicule. Below, the two rooms were equally thronged with men, who were making way to the bar for their potion of mint-julap, and other favorite mixtures. Many preferred rather to rely on the pure spirit, than on mixtures of any kind. All, perhaps, thought that the occasion, which is one of much fatigue and of exposure to great difference of temperature (not less than 30°) would justify the use of some potion; but many were not contented with a little; I never saw, at any other time, so many persons the worse for the use of spirituous liquors.

In front of the house, on the greensward, a table was prepared, with a wooden awning, which would receive about one third of the company. It was completely surrounded, and mostly by ladies, who were certainly discussing the matters before them with great earnestness; while their friends, lovers, and servants—young farmers, smart collegians, and blacks—were in bustling attendance behind, supplying their plates, fanning their persons, and passing the merry joke and joyous laugh around. Apart from these were a multitude who had already partaken of the feast, reposing on chairs, or expanding themselves on the turf, talking, smoking, or listening to the squeaking fiddle of an old merry slave, who was doing his best to gather up the loose halfpence of the company. It offered to one an interesting specimen of the people for thirty miles round. It was composed chiefly of the young; and most of them seemed to have come rather to enjoy a frolic than to gratify an intelligent curiosity. One of their greatest faults was that of doing so much wanton mischief to the more delicate ornaments of the cave.

All who went to the cave paid for the refreshments; but as they were not easy to get at, and not very tempting when obtained, we partook of our sandwiches, and, admonished by approaching evening, prepared to leave. The black, who had attended our horses, and who had been recompensed

by Mr. Douglas, thinking that I was not aware of this, came up to me, and taking hold of my stirrup, said, in a plaintive voice and look, "Massa, it 's been bad day to me! It 'most breaks my heart, to do so much and get so little. Massa!" I have no doubt that Massa made a very good day of it; but these men are very insinuating; and bondage and cunning go together.

We endeavored to return by a nearer and better course. From the advancing state of the day, and the wearied state of ourselves and horses, it was necessary that we should accept the first accommodations on the road. At a distance of five miles from the cave, we arrived at a village named New Hope, and at a tavern with the sign of "Plain Dealing Hotel." Now, as I have no relish for terms of cant, either in civil or religious life, I thought this sign somewhat ominous. On a nearer survey, some of us maintained that it could not contain us; but Mr. D. thought its capacities greater than its appearance; and so we alighted. The sleeping-rooms, as they were called, were in the angles of the roof, and were more like dove-cotes than bed-chambers; moreover, others were to have access to them. We determined, therefore, to have the beds down stairs, and to sleep on the floor of the sitting and eating-room.

When the time for this arrangement came, I was consulted by my hostess on my preference for a straw-mattress or feather-bed. Now, unused as I was to sleep on the boards, and harboring, as I did, from my weary and bruised state, a special dislike to all hard sounds, I hastily resolved on the feather-bed. For me, this was a fatal choice. My friends had the mattresses, and, therefore, preserved between themselves and the floor a substance of some elasticity; but as for me and my feather-bed, whenever I thought to place myself upon it, and however softly, away went the feathers on either side, and left me just to the blank and knotted boards. It was a weary night, relieved only by two circumstances. The first was, that my friends were sleeping fairly; and the second was, that at midnight, some one opened the window, entered the room, and passed away to his place of slumber without ceremony. We had secured our door to prevent such intrusion; but this was done in simplicity. Doors are the only mode of entrance to some; they are only one of many to others. However, the people of this house, though of the plainest, gave us all the accommodation in their power; and plain dealing with them seems to have prospered, for they are carrying up a much better house for their own and the public use.

We rose with the sun, and hastened on our way before the heat of the day. We paused at the "Tinkling Springs," where we found a church, a school-house, and a burial-ground, in the heart of the woods; at Granville, where we left Mr. Douglas, at the dwelling of his mother; and at Colonel M'Dowell's, as we promised, where we had the same kindnesses repeated; and at length reached Lexington, after an excursion which was very gratifying at the time, and which will, I doubt not, be pleasant to recollection always.

I had only half a day remaining to see the Natural Bridge; and to have left Lexington without seeing it, would have been a piece of Vandalism which the good people would not have forgiven. Colonel Reid, and two other gentlemen, accompanied me; Mr. Carruthers had become unwell by the heat of the weather in our previous trip. On this occasion it was worse; the glass was at 95° and we had to ride on horseback in the presence of an intolerable sun. I perspired almost equally to what I had done at Louisville. But the sight leaves you neither weariness nor regret.

This famous bridge is on the head of a fine limestone hill, which has the appearance of having been rent asunder by some terrible convulsion in nature. The fissure thus made is about ninety feet; and over it the bridge runs, so needful to the spot, and so unlikely to have survived the great fracture, as to seem the work of man; so simple, so grand, so great as to assure you that it is only the work of God. The span of the arch runs from 45 to 60 feet wide; and its height, to the under line, is about 200 feet, and to the head about 240! The form of the arch approaches to the elliptical; and it is carried over on a diagonal line, the very line of all others so difficult to the architect to realize; and yet so calculated to enhance the picturesque beauty of the object!

There are chiefly three points of sight. You naturally make your way to the head of the bridge first; and as it is a continuation of the common road, with its sides covered with fine shrubs and trees, you may be on it before you are aware. But the moment you approach through the foliage to the side, you are filled with apprehension. It has, indeed, a natural parapet; but few persons can stand forward and look over. You instinctively seek to reduce your height, that you may gaze on what you admire with security. Even then it agitates you with dizzy sensations.

You then make your way some fifty feet down the bosom of the hill, and are supplied with some admirable standings on the projecting rock-work, to see the bridge and all its rich accompaniments. There is, 200 feet below you, the Cedar river, apparently motionless, except where it flashes with light, as it cuts its way through the broken rocks. Mark the trees, of every variety, but especially the fir, how they diminish as they stand on the margin of its bed; and how they ascend, step by step, on the noble rock-work, till they overshadow you; still preserving such delicacy of form and growth, as if they would not do an injury, while they lend a grace. Observe those hills, gathering all around you in their fairest forms and richest verdure, as if to do honor to a scene of surpassing excellence. Now look at the bridge itself, springing from this bed of verdant loveliness, distinct, one, complete! It is before you in its most picturesque form. You just see through the arch, and the internal face of the farther pier is perfectly revealed. Did you ever see such a pier—such an arch? Is it not most illusive! Look at that masonry. Is it not most like the perfection of art; and yet what art could never reach? Look at that coloring. Does it not appear like the painter's highest skill, and yet unspeakably transcend it?

This is exquisite. Still you have no just conception of this masterpiece until you get below. You go some little distance for this purpose, as in the vicinity of the bridge the rocks are far too precipitous. A hot and brilliant day is, of all others, the time to enjoy this object. To escape from a sun which scorches you, into these verdant and cool bottoms, is a luxury of itself, which disposes you to relish every thing else. When down, I was very careful of the first impression, and did not venture to look steadily on the objects about me till I had selected my station. At length I placed myself about 100 feet from the bridge, on some masses of rock, which were washed by the running waters, and ornamented by the slender trees which were springing from its fissures. At my feet was the soothing melody of the rippling, gushing waters. Behind me, and in the distance, the river and the hills were expanding themselves to the light and splendor of day. Before me, and all around, every thing was reposing in the most delightful shade, set off by the streaming rays of the sun, which shot

across the head of the picture far above you, and sweetened the solitude below. On the right and left, the majestic rocks arose, with the decision of a wall, but without its uniformity, massive, broken, beautiful, and supplying a most admirable foreground; and, every where, the most delicate stems were planted in their crevices, and waving their heads in the soft breeze, which occasionally came over them. The eye now ran through the bridge, and was gratified with a lovely vista. The blue mountains stood out in the back ground; beneath them, the hills and woods gathered together, so as to enclose the dell below; while the river, which was coursing away from them, seemed to have its well-head hidden in their recesses. Then there is the arch, distinct from every thing, and above every thing! Massive as it is, it is light and beautiful by its height, and the fine trees on its summit seem now only like a garland of evergreens; and, elevated as it is, its apparent elevation is wonderfully increased by the narrowness of its piers, and by its outline being drawn on the blue sky, which appears beneath and above it! Oh, it is sublime—so strong, and yet so elegant—springing from earth, and bathing its head in heaven! But it is the sublime not allied to the terrific, as at Niagara; it is the sublime associated with the pleasing. I sat, and gazed in wonder and astonishment. That afternoon was the shortest I ever remembered. I had quickly, too quickly, to leave the spot for ever; but the music of those waters, the luxury of those shades, the form and colors of those rocks, and that arch—that arch—rising over all, and seeming to offer a passage to the skies—O, they will never leave me!

LETTER XVI.

My dear friend—At four the next morning I left Lexington in the carriage of a friend, having made it one of my few resting places. My intention was to join Mr. Douglas at a four-day sacramental meeting, at which he was attending. The congregation in which it occurred was in a state of revival, and it was among the most prosperous of this country. I had a strong desire to commune with the assembled Christians on the solemn occasion, and to make myself acquainted with the appearances of religion among them.

We had about fifteen miles to go, and partly from the heaviness of the roads, and partly from the heat of the day, we did not arrive till after the morning service had begun. The first indication of our approach to the church was in the appearance of an immense number of saddle horses, from 300 to 400, lashed to the trees; and, as we continued to wind our way along, we presently saw portions of the building through the clustering trunks and foliage. On reaching the place, we found it crowded to excess, and enlivened without by a great number standing in the open doorways, sitting on the steps, or reposing on the grass, where they might have the chance of hearing; and, in many instances, charged with the care of young and happy children, too gay to be quiet in a state of confinement. The associations were interesting; here was a large congregation, proper to a city, convened in the depths of the forest. The circumstances were striking; the day was exceedingly hot, but here people, cattle, church, and all, were thrown into most delightful shade by the overtopping trees, except where the sun shot down through an opening before the sanctuary, like a pillar of light and glory.

We managed to gain admittance. It was the sacramental service. Messrs. Morrison, Douglas, and Armstrong, were officiating. The pastor admitted twelve persons to the church, and three of them were baptized previously. The other services were in the usual order of the Presbyterian Church. The members came successively to the tables; the persons of color coming last. There must have been 500 persons communicating. There was the appearance of true seriousness on the whole assembly; and every thing was as quiet and solemn as it could be with a house so crowded, and the exchange of places which this method makes necessary. I gratefully united with them; we ate of one bread and drank of one cup, and were, I trust, of one spirit. In such circumstances, there was great power and sweetness in that promise, "I will be to them as a little sanctuary in the wilderness."

At noon a pause was made for half an hour, as a period of refreshment. Then you might have seen the family and friendly groups, in all directions, seated at the feet of the gigantic trees, partaking of their simple repast, and welcoming all to partake who were provided with less than themselves.

The afternoon service was renewed and sustained in like spirit. The birds, which had found a nest for themselves within and without this sacred habitation, flew in and out by the open windows, seeming to excite no observation except to myself, so rural were the habits of this people!

At the close of the engagements, I went with Mr. Morrison. His dwelling is about two miles distant. It was really a beautiful sight to see this people—men, women, and children—all mounted on their fine horses, and starting away, as from a centre, into every part of the forest, where you would think there was no way to be found. In our own line, we had quite a cavalcade, such as old Chaucer might have celebrated. As we advanced over glade, and brook, and dingle, our path forked, and we broke off to the right and left; and again it forked, and again we were scattered. My eye long rested on them. Now you might see a single horseman take his solitary path through the woods: now a family cluster, parent, child, and grandchild; and now an aged pair, who told you that they were closing life as they began it, alone. Now they thrid their way through the thickening forest; now they disappear in the dingle: now you see them again, but indistinctly, and far away; and now they vanish altogether. My eye searched for them in vain. Why should it have searched at all? I did not know these people—I had not spoken to them. Why, then, did a sentiment of regret steal over me, as they vanished, one by one, perhaps to be seen no more for ever? You can understand this.

The following day was the last of the four, and nothing would satisfy my brethren but that I should preach in the morning. There was an excellent attendance, and the people evidently heard with attention and seriousness. One circumstance gave me some surprise at the moment. Towards the close of the sermon, some twenty or thirty men rose, after each other, and went out, and in the course of three or four minutes returned to their places. It was evidently not the effect of inattention, for they were attentive themselves, and showed concern to disturb the hearing of others as little as possible. I could not imagine the cause; but it was afterward explained, that some rain had fallen, and they had gone out to cover the saddles, that they might not get wet. Apart from the unpleasantness and hazard of a wet saddle, the young people here are very chary of their horses and their accoutrements, as, more than any thing, these mark the respectability of the party.

I took my leave of the people, while yet assem-

bled, and waiting other services, as I had to hasten on to Staunton that day. My esteemed friend also excused himself to his people, and kindly insisted that he would convey me so far on my journey. I was greatly obliged by this mark of friendship, especially as it allowed me an opportunity of free intercourse with him on subjects touching his charge.

I learned that this neighborhood had been long settled, though the population was so concealed; and that the present church is the third that has been built on the spot. The first was a mere log erection. The inhabitants were till a late period much annoyed by the Indians. There was a fort on the plantation where my friend resides; and most of the houses were fortified, and the people obliged to bring their rifles to church, to protect themselves from attack.

My friend had been settled here since the year 1819, and it was his maiden charge. When he came, he thought there was a good impression on the minds of the people, from the sudden death of a beloved minister. The church was comparatively small, but there was a large body of hopeful young persons who had not yet professed the Saviour. His labors for the first five years were very successful. After this, there was a pause in his usefulness, which gave him much distress. He could not avoid connecting this very much with the abundant production and use of distilled liquors throughout his parish. They had all, as farmers, fallen into the practice of converting their surplus corn and fruit into spirit. This, of course, was a great temptation. He made it the subject of consideration and prayer. He determined to press the claims of the Temperance cause on their consciences. He did it with firmness, but with equal prudence and temper. It had nearly unsettled him with his charge for a time; for some of the leading farmers resisted, and became adverse to him. However, some yielded, and others followed; and this was succeeded by a revived state of religion such as they have not known; and it has continued for the last four years. Before this effort, no less than 150,000 barrels of spirits were produced, and each family had a still; now not 5,000 are made, and but one person holds a still. The farmers, too, have found a better market for their surplus produce, and are every way more prosperous.

To assist your judgment on this interesting case, I will supply you with the additions to this church through a course of years, as taken from the register. In the year 1819, the year of his settlement, fourteen persons were added; in 1820, thirty; in 1821, eighteen; in 1822, sixty-eight; in 1823, forty-four; in 1824, five; in 1825, six; in 1826, nine; in 1827, six; in 1828, nine; in 1829, three; in 1830, six; in 1831, one hundred and four; in 1832, forty; in 1833, two hundred and seventy-four; and in the year 1834, up to August, twenty-five were added. In the first revival no means were used except preaching, and meetings for prayer. In the second, which includes the last four years, similar means were used with more frequency; and in a few instances, the serious were separated from the rest of the congregation. The persons impressed and converted on these occasions were, with very few exceptions, from fifteen to thirty years of age, inclining to the younger period. Those in respectable life were at least equally affected with others; and in the second revival, the work began in the more wealthy families, and passed downward to the poor and the servants. There was in neither case, nor at any time, the least noise or disorder; and the most useful seasons have always been characterized by deep stillness and solemnity. The first and chief sign for good, in every case, Mr. Morrison remarked with emphasis, has been an increased spirit of prayer.

The effects were very exhilarating. There are now about 600 members of the church, and nearly 200 of them are under twenty-five years of age, though scarcely any under fifteen. The family composing this church, cover a district of land about ten miles square. There is scarcely one that has not domestic worship. They have no poor to receive charity from the sacrament, and only one person needing help, who receives it through private channels; and they contributed 1,000 dollars last year to foreign religious objects. The pastor's salary, I think, is 800 dollars; and this my friend considers equal to 1,800 in New-York.

Interesting conversations whiled the time away. We halted to refresh, and to take leave of our friends, the Douglases; and then drove on to Staunton. We alighted at the principal hotel. It was kept by a religious family, and Mr. Morrison was known and esteemed by them. We were entertained in their private rooms. They had read of the Deputation in the papers, and soon learned that I must be a member of it; and were eager to show, as to a Christian and an Englishman, the utmost attentions. We had a room full to social worship, and had the sensation of being members of a private household, rather than of guests at a tavern.

In the morning I was up with the day, for I had to leave by the stage at four o'clock. My beloved friend (such I must now call him) had also risen to continue his kindness to the last moment. We spoke; we were silent; we separated.

I had, in this ride, to cross the Blue Ridge; and was quickly roused from my musings on the past, by hearing that we were about to make the ascent. It was full four miles, and consumes much time; but this was no matter of complaint under such circumstances. I must not, however, hold your attention with renewed descriptions of mountain scenery. Let me merely remark, that while, in the ascent, the nearer objects greatly resembled some things that have been described, there is considerable difference on attaining the full elevation. No single object stands out with prominence; but all that you have seen, and greatly more, is spread before you at once in grand, expanded, and mellowed harmony. There is before you a field of mountain heads, like to what may be seen in Wales or Scotland, beautifully colored, and bloomed by a blue mist which rests on them. And behind you is the valley you have left, now blended with other valleys, which together form only the raised foreground to the prodigious valley of the Mississippi, which stretches away and away, till it is lost in the horizon, and which might receive all the inhabitants of Europe, and ask for more. I knew not in which direction to look with most eagerness and continuity. Sometimes I preferred the mountain, and then the valley picture; and the enjoyment of either, I knew, must be very short. I gazed and admired again and again, so long as our driver would allow; and when we began to descend, I felt that I was about to separate from another friend, and to separate for ever.

My intention in crossing the Blue Ridge, was to make Charlottesville in my way to Richmond. The University of that place is considered foremost in the literary institutions of this people, and it was desirable that it should not be overlooked. The site for the town and University could not have been better chosen. It is composed of fine swells of land; is surrounded by beautiful open country; and the blue hills lie in the distance delightfully. If one may be governed by ordinary indications, it must be highly salubrious.

The town is small, and has an unfinished appear-

ance. The inhabitants, however, are respectable, and have a measure of refinement not frequently met with in towns of this class; but literature has a tendency to humanize and refine all things where it comes. The only deduction on this impression is, that the stocks and the pillory stand in the court-yard, as a means of correction for the poor blacks.

The religious character of this place is too remarkable to be unnoticed. It will be understood that the University was promoted chiefly by Jefferson, and on avowedly skeptical and infidel principles. This gave the character to the town. It had no religious means; and the evil was increased from time to time, by the settlement of such persons only as were at least indifferent to means which it did not supply. This was the state of things till twenty-five years since, when a lady was brought, by her husband's engagements at the University, to reside in the town. She was a person of piety, and of course lamented greatly the moral and spiritual condition of the people. What she lamented, she sought to remove. She determined to commence, in her own house, a Sabbath school, for the religious instruction of the young. She persevered through many difficulties, and found reward in her work. The influence of her benevolent exertions, as well as of her excellent character, touched her husband: and he learned to honor the religion he had thoughtlessly despised. Strengthened by his concurrence, she proposed that their dwelling should be opened once on the Sabbath for divine worship, that the people might have some opportunity of separating that day from their common time. The work of faith and love was crowned with success. Various ministers gave their services; and the people attended, listened, were impressed, and converted from worldliness and ungodliness. There are now, in this town, of about 1,000 in population, four places of worship—Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist. Upwards of 600 persons habitually attend them, and there are about 150 children in the Sabbath schools. The excellent lady who made the first movement in this change, still lives—a mother in Israel; and the contrast of the former with the present times, in the history of this community, must often supply her with pleasant and grateful recollections.

From the town let us make a transition to the University. It was the favorite object of Jefferson. He gave it great pains, and was disposed to rest his reputation with posterity upon it. So far as morality and religion were concerned, his intention was to found it, not merely on liberal, but on infidel principles. His opinions had been mostly formed in the French school of that day; and into his views of education, there entered something of the acuteness and malignity of Voltaire, with a portion of the speciousness and extravagance of Rousseau. This was styled philosophy; and this philosophy was to govern the establishment, or rather, it was to give the youths license to govern themselves. They were to bow to no authority; they were to be controlled by no law, but were to be left to their own honor as a sufficient principle of action. The fact was, however, that when the young men were fairly left to their honor, their honor left them. Disorder, dissipation, and folly, became predominant. The better class of pupils was withdrawn. The professors took disgust, and looked around them for stations where order and conscience were still regarded; and the whole frame of this University was threatened with dissolution. So far, then, as this was an experiment in favor of infidelity, like every other experiment, it has failed—completely failed.

What, then, you are ready to ask, is its condition now? For the sake of the cause of letters, I am happy to state, that it is one of renovation and great promise. All the professors saw and felt the evil which had come over this noble institution, and threatened its destruction; and generally they agreed in the remedy. They adopted a decided and vigorous system of discipline; they honored the name and institutions of religion; they subscribed at their own expense to support ministers, who should, in turn, conduct public worship within the University, and are now raising a subscription to build a church for this very purpose. The consequence is, that order is restored, and with it public confidence; and youth of respectable and pious connections are flocking to it from the surrounding States. The professorships are again sought by men of the first attainment; and it is likely to do honor to the expectations of an aspiring people. It is now an experiment in favor of education, still conducted on liberal principles, but with religious sanctions; and if it is steadily sustained, with a fixed regard to this issue, it will succeed!

The Rev. Mr. Bowman, Presbyterian minister of this place, though unwell, kindly attended me to the University, and introduced me to Professor Patteson. It was the vacation, and the professor regretted that most of the officers and pupils were away. He conducted me over the principal buildings, and took great and obliging pains to satisfy my inquiries. There is here an observatory, an excellent library, a good philosophical apparatus, and a rising collection of minerals.

Externally, the mass of erections have an imposing and grand effect, and they are much assisted to this by the ground which they occupy. With some slight variations since, the plan is wholly Jefferson's. He gave it very deep and close attention; and obtained, by his extraordinary influence, large grants from the State in its favor. But these grants were not well applied, nor these pains skilfully directed. The erection, as a whole, will not endure the touch of rigid criticism. He saw that diversity of line, figure, and position, often contribute to striking effect, but he saw no more. The principal figure is the Rotunda; answering to its name, while every thing else is as square as square can be. It is a very high circular wall, built of red bricks, with a dome on its summit, and with windows perforated round it. It stands naked and alone at the head of the picture. Running down from this, on either hand, are the dwellings for the professors, and the lecture-rooms, forming two sides of a handsome area. They are detached erections, with large columns rising their whole height; and they are united by a colonnade running over the ground story, so that a line of columns, that is meant to be one to the eye, supplies you, at intervals, with pillars fifteen and thirty feet high! The accommodations for the pupils are in the background, and are not meant to appear in the principal scene. Jefferson was proud of his success as an architect; so proud that, notwithstanding the glare of his red bricks, and of a scorching sun, he would not allow any trees to be planted, lest they should hide the work of his hands! Now that he is gone, the young trees are appearing; and, ungrateful as he was, are beginning to screen his defects, and to give a grace and a keeping to the scene which gratifies the eye, and harmonizes with the quiet pursuits of the place.

In quitting the University, let me, while I have spoken freely of Jefferson, do him justice in this particular. He was not an architect, and, unhappily, he was not a Christian; but he was a great man, and he sought with much pains to confer honor and benefit on his country, by the establishment of a great literary institution. When the evils of his system shall have been removed, his name will

still be identified with it, and will command the respect of his countrymen.

On the same day I had to leave, by the stage, for Richmond. We had a fair night's rest at a comfortable inn on our way. The following morning we broke down, and were detained some hours without breakfast. Delay was also promoted by the heat of the season; this line of coaches had six horses fall and expire on the road during the week. It was late in the day, therefore, before we arrived at the capital.

Richmond is a fine city, with a population of about 15,000 persons. It has a commanding situation on the margin of the James river, from which it rises on the slopes of two fine hills. The main street is wide, handsome, and indicative of business; and the retired streets are occupied by genteel and commodious residences, agreeably shaded and ornamented by the althea, the honeysuckle, the locust, the catalpa, the pride of China, and the Taheitan mulberry. The ride into the town, from Charlottesville over the downs, is striking; and the distant view across the river is not less so. The buildings and streets are seen running up the sides of the hills, relieved and softened by the abundant and spreading foliage. The more important erections cluster round its summit; and on its head stands, above every thing, the State House, spreading its noble portico to the sun. Few spots can do more honor to a city.

I had designed to remain here over the Sabbath; but, on learning that a camp-meeting was about to be held on the Northern Neck, I resolved at once to move forward, as I might not find another opportunity. This left me only one clear day at Richmond; and I am indebted to many kind friends, especially to Mr. Burr, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, for assisting me to make the best use of my time here.

This place, like Charlottesville, has undergone a great change in the last thirty years. At that time there were only one or two neglected Episcopal places of worship. The people were all given up to worldliness or infidelity. The influence of Jefferson was felt also here, and it was felt as a blight on all religious sentiment. Slavery had, however, done a greater mischief. Now there are thirteen places of worship, and 1,000 children in the Sabbath schools. The blacks are not allowed their own places of worship; and the Baptist and Methodist congregations are mostly composed of them. A number of Jews reside here. They are not persecuted, nor any way disqualified on account of their religious persuasion; and the consequence is, that they forget their faith, intermarry, and are losing their personal distinctions.

I attended a prayer-meeting at the church, where my late esteemed friend and correspondent, Dr. Rice, labored successfully for many years. It was now without a pastor. The last minister, excellent as I know him to be, had pressed, in his great anxiety for usefulness, the subject of revivals too far; and it produced a re-action unfavorable to his comfort and continuance.

I visited also, with interest, the mother church of the town. It is Episcopal, and supposed to be the oldest in Virginia. It is a copy of one of our village churches, and is built of materials, and surrounded by a brick wall, which have been sent across from the father-land. Here is also what is called the Monumental Church; its portico is the sepulchre for nearly sixty persons, who perished in the conflagration of the theatre years since. By-the-by, the theatre has never flourished here from that time; I saw the existing one in circumstances promising to pass out of existence shortly. Here also was a striking evidence of the readiness with which the dogmas of the Unitarian and the Universalist will symbolize. They had a church here erected by them jointly, for a common act of worship; and the peculiarity of each party was attempted to be shown by the following inscription, that the public might not doubt the equality of the partnership:—

ERECTED IN 1831,
AND
DEDICATED
TO THE ONE GOD, AND TO JESUS CHRIST,
THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

Richmond, however, is still the great mart of slavery; and the interests of morality and religion suffer from this cause. Several persons of the greatest wealth, and therefore of the greatest consideration in the town, are known slave-dealers; and their influence, in addition to the actual traffic, is of course unfavorable. The sale of slaves is as common, and produces as little sensation, as that of cattle. It occurs in the main street, and before the door of the party who is commissioned to make the sale. The following is an advertisement of sale which appeared while I was there:—

"By J. & S. Cosby & Co.

"Trust Sale.

"By virtue of a deed of trust, executed to the subscriber by Hiram Chiles, I shall proceed to sell for cash, at the Auction Store of J. & S. Cosby & Co., on Monday, the 4th of August next, the following property, to wit:—Eliza, Henry, Nancy, Monarchy, Tom, and Edward, and six feather-beds and bedsteads, with furniture.

"Joseph Mayo, *Trustee.*

"J. & S. Cosby & Co., *Auctioneers.*"

I had a desire to stay and witness this sale; but as I must have sacrificed the greater to the less in doing so, I kept by my determination to go forward.

I left, therefore, at two o'clock on the Friday for Fredericksburg. The road was flat and uninteresting; the weather very hot, and we had to travel all night. Moreover the coach was quite full, and not supplied with the most agreeable company. One of them was proud of telling us that he was an unlucky dog, and had lost 20,000 dollars by bad debts. Another was exclaiming against the brutes who would not be accommodating in a coach, that he might engross the accommodation to himself. There was a young woman with us, of decent but independent habits, and they had pleasure in bantering her. She, however, was a match for them. They thought, in one instance, they had got the laugh against her; and she exclaimed, without confusion, and with much shrewdness, "I should like to know what you are laughing at, for then I could laugh too." They were very desirous of knowing what I was; and at length they proposed that they should guess what each one was, and whence, with the hope of getting round to me. The guessing went round till all were disposed of except me. I was prepared for the attack, but it was not made. They looked at each other, and at me, but no one ventured on the question.

In the morning a most heavy thunder-storm came on, and attended us into the town. We had had several of these, and of wind-storms, lately. One of them, near a spot I passed, must have been a tremendous hurricane. It tore down numerous buildings, prostrated the trees in its course, and killed sixteen or twenty persons.

So soon as the storm permitted, I made my way to the house of Mr. Wilson, the esteemed Presbyterian minister of this place. He occupies the house that the mother of Washington lived in, and her remains lie in the garden attached. Here a bed, and every other domestic accommodation, were im-

mediately placed at my use. My friend was very desirous that I should stay over the Sabbath, but when he found that my mind was otherwise, he was equally ready to help me on my way, except that he thought the direction in which I was going, was at the time very unhealthy; and he would only part with me on a promise that I would, by writing, assure him of my welfare. We spent a very pleasant, and to me profitable, evening together, and I have seldom parted with a friend in such haste, and with such regret.

LETTER XVII.

My dear friend—I had thought that I should be able to pass to the camp-ground at pleasure; but I found that if I went at all, I must leave by a boat that started the next morning. I had also concluded that I should arrive by it in time for the afternoon services, but in the event I was in this also disappointed.

Early in the morning I went on board the steamer to pass down the Rappahannoc. It is what is called a religious boat. There are Bibles strewed in the men's cabin, and a subscription-box for the Episcopal Tract Society; and in the ladies' cabin there are fancy articles on sale for missions. But this religious boat had not ceased to run on the Sunday, nor had the captain wholly broken himself of swearing. "He had wished," he said, "to avoid the Sunday; he had tried all days, and none would suit so well; and it saved a day to men of business;" a sort of reasoning familiar in more countries than one.

The day was fine and tranquil, and the atmosphere was lighter and cooler in consequence of the storm. There were but few persons on board, and they employed themselves in reading, singing, and conversation, while I sat mostly apart, enjoying the quiet of nature, and of my own thoughts. The sail down the river was beautiful. The stream was narrower than is usual, and winds in its course; the land swells and falls prettily, while the illimitable forest runs over its whole surface. We were, however, frequently stopping at different points of this forest to take in passengers, which assured us that there was habitation, though there were no appearances of it. Those, on this occasion, who were taken in, were religious persons; and at noon most of them left us. I afterward found that they had left for the camp-ground, and by a nearer course. As I was quite a stranger, and as wherever I landed I should still require to be conveyed to the interior, I judged it safest to adhere to my directions, even if they should not have been the best.

As we went onward, the Rappahannoc expanded beautifully before us, offering to our admiration a variety of creeks and bays, reposing in the glowing lights of the sun and the cool shades of the forest; while, on reaching deeper waters, an immense shoal of porpoises joined us, and for miles amused themselves by darting and plunging before the head of our vessel, with amazing velocity. At length we came to Merry Point, the place to which I had been directed, and which was occupied by Mr. Jesse, of whom I was assured I should readily receive any aid I might require. The dwelling, and two or three merry negroes, were all that appeared.

The captain, in my behalf, addressed the principal of them. "Is your master at home?"—"No."—"Is your mistress at home?"—"O, no—all gone to the camp."—"Well," said the captain, "here's a gentleman that wants him—can you take him in?" "O, yes," said the merry and assured fellow, "all as well as if master was here this minute, and give him all he wants." Notwithstanding this assurance, I was much perplexed. On the one hand, I must leave the boat here; there was no other house to which I could apply; and I could not get over to the camp-ground that evening. On the other hand, I shrunk from making free with a residence on the mere concurrence of the servants, and in the absence of the head of the family. However, I thought of Virginian hospitality, and reconciled myself to going on shore. I was quickly met by a young man, a relative of the family, who gave me welcome, and contributed to assure me in accepting the accommodations of the house.

When I had leisure to look around me, I felt interested in my place of sojourn. The dwelling was a neat cottage, having about six rooms, and kept nicely painted, with a few ornaments in the best room, such as sideboard and timepiece, imported from Baltimore, which indicated property, and a taste for improvement on the part of the possessor. Behind it was a small clearance, redeemed from the forest, and under good cultivation; before it, a grass-plot, enclosed with a hedge of the althea. On the one side was a cabin for the use of the slaves; and on the other a handsome walnut, overshadowing the warmer aspect of the cottage. The land fell away in slopes to the river, and was adorned by the oak, the acacia, the catalpa, and the woodbine; and the river here wound round the point, and formed a lovely creek, which ran into land and was lost in the woods. On the opposite banks of the creek was another cottage, surmounted by poplars, and surrounded by fruit-trees and corn-fields, which ran down the verdant banks, and dipped their feet in the placid waters. These were all the signs of human habitation; and all around you stood, in awful silence and majesty, the eternal forest. The declining sun gleamed athwart the scene, giving depth to the shadows of the woods, and illuminating the bosom of the waters. But all was still—perfectly still; except where the light canoe was gliding like magic over the creek, and leaving not a ripple behind.

I was called from this lovely picture by the announcement of supper or tea. A small clean napkin was placed on the table, and there were spread over it coffee, hot bread, butter, bacon, molasses, and a bowl of curds and whey. A female slave attended, to fan you, and to supply your wants.

On retiring to bed, I was introduced to a small room in the roof of the cottage, but very nicely provided with all I could want. My attendant was a little black girl. She glanced a quick eye on every thing, to ascertain that all was right, and then stood in silence, looking to me for commands. She seemed surprised, and did not at first understand me when I dismissed her; from the circumstance, I suppose, that they are accustomed to render small attentions which we do not expect. My little slave was also the first thing that met my eye in the early morning. I had thought I had secured my door; but she had managed to enter, and when I awoke she was creeping, with shoeless foot, over the floor. Her duty then was to supply you with fresh water; as, by standing through the night, it becomes disagreeably hot.

My young friend had met my wishes, in providing for a movement towards the camp in the morning; and by six o'clock we had breakfasted, and had vaulted into our saddles. We were, however, scarcely on our way before we fell in with Mr. Jesse himself. He had heard of my arrival; had feared I should not be able to get over; and had left, at break of day, to fetch me. This was, indeed, very kind; it put me at my ease, and made the way plain and pleasant to me. But how it could have happened that they should hear of my coming, greatly surprised me. Mr. Jesse explained,

that some person at the camp had been in Richmond when I was there, and had overheard me express an intention to go. This was enough to awaken attention; and I found that they had been expecting me daily; that the ministers had held an exercise of prayer, that my arrival might be an occasion of profit, and my judgment of their meeting without prejudice.

So soon as my kind friend had refreshed himself and his horse, we started again. We were now on the Northern Neck, an isthmus of various width, and some 150 miles long, which is separated from the mainland of Virginia by the Rappahannoc.—We had twelve miles to travel, and chiefly through pine barrens; reaches of land that are so denominated, because they will only bear pine. The morning was bright and elastic; I had an interesting companion, and my expectations were raised with the prospects before me. As we advanced, the land undulated pleasantly, the soil improved, and other timber of loftier growth appeared. When evidently approaching the spot, my eye pierced through the forest in search of some indications. We got at last into less frequented paths; wound again and again round the clustering trees and opposing stumps, and then came to what I regarded as the signs of the object sought. There were, under some trees, pens for the safety of horses; then there were carriages of all descriptions, appearing with horses and oxen, secured and at rest, and occasionally a negro in attendance on them. Then you passed by a large log-house, which was erected for the time, to supply lodging and food to such as needed them. Now you saw, in several directions, the parts of cabins, made of the pine-tree, and of the same color, and only distinguished from it by the horizontal lines in which it ran; and presently you found yourself at the entrance of all you wished to see.

There were in lines, intersected by the trees, a number of tents composed of log-wood, forming a quadrangle of about 180 feet. In the centre of the further line, in this square, there was a stand for the accommodation of the preachers, which would contain twelve or fourteen persons. Behind this were stems of trees laid down as seats for the negroes, running off in radiating lines, and closed by some tents for their use, and forming the segment of a circle. Before the stand, or pulpit, a rail was carried round the first five or six seats, which we called the altar; and seats, composed of tree-stems, filled up the centre of the square. Within, without, everywhere, the oak, the chestnut, and the fir appeared, and of finest growth; only those within the quadrangle were cleared of underwood, and trimmed up to aid the sight, so that they resembled the beautiful pillars of a cathedral; while their lofty heads, unpruned by the hand of man, united, and made a foliated ceiling, such as no cathedral could approach, and through which the blue sky and bright sun were glancing.

It was now the hour of morning worship. The pulpit was full; the seats were covered with waiting worshippers. I approached the stand; and was welcomed by the brethren. We rose, and united in a hymn of praise. I had never, in such circumstances, joined in offering such worship. I could scarcely tell what sensations possessed me. I hope I was not void of those which are devotional, but I was chiefly filled for the moment with those of wonder. When I looked round on the scene which had broken so suddenly upon me, every thing was so novel, so striking, and so interesting, as to appear like the work of enchantment, and to require time fully to realize.

But I must endeavor to give you some of the services in detail, as you will desire exact information. The singing to which I have referred, was followed by prayer and a sermon. The text was, "If God spared not his own Son," &c.—The preacher was a plain man, and without education; and he had small regard either to logic or grammar. He had, however, as is common to such persons, an aspiration after high-sounding terms and sentiments, which stood in strange opposition to the general poverty and incorrectness of his expressions. The proposition, for instance, raised on his text was this:—That the gift of Christ to sinners is the thing set forth with most life, animation, and eloquence, of any thing in the world. Such a proposition, though badly propounded, was of course above such a man; but though what he said did but little for his proposition, it was said with earnestness and pious feeling, and it told on the plain and serious portions of his audience. He was followed by a brother of higher qualifications, who took up the close of his subject, and addressed it to the conscience with skill and effect. The exhortation was terminated by an invitation to come and take a seat within the altar. These seats were, when wanted, in other words, the anxious seats; two of them were cleared, and a suitable hymn was sung, that persons might have time to comply. Very few came; chiefly a mother with her boy, who had previously seemed to court notice. The lad had indulged in noisy crying and exclamation; he was in the hand of an indiscreet parent, and had not been sufficiently discouraged by the ministers. The exhortations, and then the singing, were renewed; but still with small effect, as to the use of the prepared seats; and so this service closed. Whatever may be the claims of the anxious seat, it was a hazardous experiment, where it was evident the previous services had produced no deep and controlling impression.

The afternoon service was very similar in arrangement and in effect. The text was, "Let the wicked man forsake his way," &c.; but the preacher certainly made a feeble use of a powerful passage. It was interrupted, too, by a noisy and intemperate man, who had found his way hither; yet it was followed by exhortation superior to itself, and an urgent appeal to the people to come forward and separate themselves. The results were not better than before. The only apology for thus pressing under unfavorable circumstances was, that the meetings had been held now for three days; that the solemn services of the Sabbath had just passed over the people; and the worthy ministers were anxious for visible fruit, not only as arising from the present appeal, but from past impressions.

These were the more public and regular services; but other engagements were always fulfilling. The ministers were invited by their friends to the several tents, to exhort, and sing, and pray, so that when they ceased in one place, they were renewed in another. And at all times those who liked to gather within the altar, and sing, were allowed to do so; and as, when they were weary, others came up and supplied their places, the singing was without ceasing.

What you cannot escape wearies you. The services had been long, and not very interesting; and still the singing was continued. After getting some refreshments with kind friends, I was glad to stroll away into the forest and ruminate on what I had seen and heard. Now that I had leisure to admire, it was a lovely evening. Through many a green alley I wandered; and often did I stop and gaze on those exquisite combinations of light, shade, and picture, which forest scenery supplies on a fair summer evening. In all my wanderings, the singing followed me, and was a clew to my return; but it now formed a pleasing accompaniment to my so-

litary walk, for it did not force itself on the ear, but rose and fell softly, sweetly, on the evening breeze.

Soon, however, the hoarse notes of the horn vibrated through the air, and summoned me to return. It was the notice for worship at sundown; and as there is little twilight here, the nightfall comes on suddenly. I hastened to obey the call, and took my place with the brethren on the preachers' stand. The day had now expired, and with it the scene was entirely changed, as if by magic, and it was certainly very impressive. On the stand were about a dozen ministers, and over their heads were suspended several three-pronged lamps, pouring down their radiance on their heads, and surrounding them with such lights and shadows as Rembrandt would love to copy. Behind the stand were clustered about 300 negroes, who, with their black faces and white dresses thrown into partial lights, were a striking object. Before us was a full-sized congregation collected, more or less revealed, as they happened to be near or distant from the points of illumination. Over the people were suspended from the trees a number of small lamps, which, in the distance seemed like stars sparkling between their branches. Around the congregation, and within the line of the tents, were placed some elevated tripods, on which large fires of pine wood were burning, cracking, blazing; and shooting upward like sacrificial flames to heaven. They gave amazing power to the picture, by casting a flood of waving light on the objects near to them, and leaving every thing else in comparative obscurity. Still at greater distance might be seen, in several directions, the dull flickering flame of the now neglected domestic fire; and the sparks emitted from it, together with the firefly, rose and shot across the scene like meteors, and then dropped into darkness. Never was darkness made more visible, more present. All the lights that were enkindled appeared only to have this effect; as everywhere more was hidden than seen. If the eye sought for the tents, it was only here and there that the dark face of one could be dimly seen; the rest was wrapped in darkness; and if it rose with the trees around you, the fine verdant and vaulted roof which they spread over you was mostly concealed by the mysterious and thickening shadows which dwelt there. Then, if you would pierce beyond these limits, there lay around you and over you, and over the unbounded forest that enclosed you, a world of darkness, to which your little illuminated spot was as nothing. I know of no circumstances having more power to strike the imagination and the heart.

But to the exercises. The singing, which had been sustained in all the interval by some younger persons, now showed its results. Two or three young women were fainting under the exhaustion and excitement; and one was in hysterical ecstacy, raising her hands, rolling her eyes, and smiling and muttering. It appeared that she courted this sort of excitement as many do a dram, and was frequent at meetings of this character, for the sake of enjoying it.

However, after disposing of this slight interruption, the regular service began. It was to be composed of exhortation and prayer; and it was excellently conducted. The leading ministers, who had been wearied by the claims of the Sabbath, had evidently reserved themselves for this period. The first address referred to the past; the effort which had been made; the results which ought to follow, but which had not followed, and which the speaker feared would not follow. It was closed by an affectionate expression of concern that they would now show that it had not been in vain. The next exhortation was on conversion. Some skilful and orthodox distinctions were established on the subject, as it involves the agency of the Spirit and the agency of man. It was discriminative, but it was plain and pungent; and threw all the responsibility of perversity and refusal on the sinner. It made a strong impression.

The third exhortation was on indifference and despondency. The subject was well timed and well treated. The speaker combated these evils as likely to be a preventive in most persons in coming to a decision; and he made a wise use of evangelical truth for this purpose. He supported the other addresses by an earnest appeal to separate themselves, and show that they were resolved to rank on the Lord's side. The people were evidently much more interested than they had been; and the preachers were desirous of bringing them to an issue. Exhortation and singing were renewed; and it was proposed that they should go down and pass among the people, for the purpose of conversing with them, and inducing them to come forward. By these personal applications and persuasions, a considerable number were induced to come forward; and fervent prayer of a suitable character was offered in their behalf.

It was already late, and here, at least, the service should have stopped. This was the opinion of the wiser and elder brethren, but they did not press it; and those of weaker mind and stronger nerve thought that the work had only just begun. It was wished that I should retire, but I was desirous of witnessing the scene. Other exhortations and prayers, of a lower but more noisy character, were made, with endless singing; favorite couplets would be taken up and repeated without end. The effect was various, but it was not good; some, with their feelings worn out, had passed the crisis, and it was in vain to seek to impress them; while others were unduly and unprofitably excited.

None discovered this more than the blacks. They separated themselves from the general service, and sought their own preacher and anxious seat. A stand was presently fixed between two trees; a preacher was seen appearing and disappearing between them, as his violent gesticulation caused him to lean backwards or forwards. The blacks had now things to their mind, and they pressed round the speaker, on their feet or their knees, with extended hands, open lips, and glistening eyes: while the strong lights of a tripod, close to which they had assembled, fell across the scene, and gave it great interest and power.

As the scenes on either side the stand were not dumb show, the evil was, that the voices of the parties speaking met each other, and made confusion; and as either party raised his voice, to remedy the evil, it became worse. To myself, placed at the centre of observation, this had a neutralizing, and sometimes a humorous effect; but to the two congregations, which were now reduced in numbers, it produced no distraction; they were severally engrossed, if not with their particular minister, with their particular feelings. It was now considerably past eleven o'clock; I thought I had seen all the forms which the subject was likely to take; and I determined to answer the request of my friends, and retire.

I had been assured that a bed was reserved for me at the preachers' tent, and I now went in search of it. The tent is constructed like the rest, and is about eighteen feet by fourteen. As the ministers are expected to take their meals at the other tents, this is prepared as a lodging room. An inclined shelf, about six feet wide and four high, runs along the entire side of it, and it is supplied with six beds. I chose the one in the farther corner, in the hope of escaping interruption; as the bed next to me was

already occupied by a person asleep. I relieved myself of my upper garments, and laid myself down in my weariness to rest. The other beds soon got filled. But still the brethren were coming to seek accommodation. One of them crept up by the side of the person next to me; and as the bed would only suit one, he really lay on the margin of his and mine. Thus discomposed, my resolution was immediately taken not to sleep at all. There was, however, no need of this proud resolution, for that night there was to be no sleep for me. There were still other parties to come, and beds to be provided. After this there was the singing renewed, and still renewed, till youth and enthusiasm were faint and weary, and then it died away. Still there remained the barking of the watch-dogs, the sawing of the kat-e-dids and locusts, and the snoring of my more favored companions, and these were incessant. Sometimes I found diversion in listening to them, as they mingled in the ear, and in deciding which was most musical, most melancholy; and frequently I turned away in weariness, and fixed my eye on the open crevices of the hut, looking for the first approach of day; and, in my impatience, as often mistaking for it the gleaming lights of the pine fires.

When the sun actually rose, the horn blew for prayers. To me, all restless as I had been, it was a joyful sound. I waited till others had dressed, that I might do so with greater quiet. I stole away into the forest, and was much refreshed by the morning breeze and fresh air. It was a very pleasing and unexpected sight to observe, as you wandered in supposed solitariness, here and there an individual half concealed, with raised countenance and hands, worshipping the God of heaven, and occasionally two or three assembled for the same purpose, and agreeing to ask the same blessings from the same Father. This was, indeed, to people the forest with sacred things and associations.

On my return, the ministers renewed their kind application to me to preach on the morning of this day. I begged to be excused, as I had had no rest, and had taken cold, and was not prepared to commit myself to the peculiarities of their service, and which they might deem essential. They met again: and unanimously agreed to press it on me; "it should be the ordinary service, and nothing more; and as an expectation had been created by my presence, many would come, under its influence, and it would place any other minister at great disadvantage." My heart was with this people and the leading pastors, and I consented to preach.

The usual prayer-meeting was held at eight o'clock. It was conducted by Mr. Jeter. Prayers were offered for several classes, and with good effect. To me it was a happy introduction to the more public service to come. I wandered away again into my beloved forest, to preserve my impressions, and to collect my thoughts. At eleven o'clock the service began. I took my place on the stand: it was quite full. The seats, and all the avenues to them, were also quite full. Numbers were standing, and for the sake of being within hearing, were contented to stand. It was evident that rumor had gone abroad, and that an expectation had been created, that a stranger would preach this morning, for there was a great influx of people, and of the most respectable class which this country furnishes. There were not less than 1,500 persons assembled. Mr. Taylor offered fervent and suitable prayer. It remained for me to preach. I can only say that I did so with earnestness and freedom. I soon felt that I had the attention and confidence of the congregation, and this gave me confidence. I took care, in passing, as my subject allowed, to withdraw my sanction from any thing noisy and exclamatory; and there was, through the discourse, nothing of the kind; but there was a growing attention and stillness over the people. The closing statements and appeals were evidently falling on the conscience and heart, with still advancing power. The people generally leaned forward, to catch what was said. Many rose from their seats; and many, stirred with grief, sunk down, as if to hide themselves from observation; but all was perfectly still. Silently the tear fell; and silently the sinner shuddered. I ceased. Nobody moved. I looked round to the ministers for some one to give out a hymn. No one looked at me—no one moved. Every moment, the silence, the stillness, became more solemn and overpowering. Now, here and there, might be heard suppressed sobbing arising on the silence. But it could be suppressed no longer—the fountains of feeling were burst open, and one universal wail sprung from the people and ministers, while the whole mass sunk down on their knees, as if imploring some one to pray. I stood resting on the desk, overwhelmed like the people. The presiding pastor arose, and, throwing his arms round my neck, exclaimed, "Pray, brother, pray! I fear many of *my* charge will be found at the left hand of the Judge! Oh, pray, brother, pray for us!" and then he cast himself on the floor with his brethren, to join in the prayer. But I could not pray! I must have been more or less than man to have uttered prayer at that moment! Nor was it necessary. All, in that hour, were intercessors with God, with tears, and cries, and groans unutterable.

So soon as I could command my state of feeling, I tried to offer prayer. My broken voice rose gradually on the troubled cries of the people, and gradually they subsided, so that they could hear and concur in the common supplications. It ceased, and the people rose. We seemed a changed people to each other. No one appeared disposed to move from the spot, and yet no one seemed disposed for ordinary exercises. Elder Taylor moved forward and remarked—"That it was evident nothing but prayer suited them at this time. And as so many had been impressed by the truth, who had not before, he wished, if they were willing, to bring it to the test of prayer." He therefore proposed that if such persons wished to acknowledge the impression received, and to join in prayer for their personal salvation, they should show it by kneeling down, and he would pray with them. In an instant, as if instinct with one spirit, the whole congregation sunk down to the ground. It is much, but not too much, to say, that the prayer met the occasion. When the people again rose, one of the brethren was about to address them; but I thought nothing could be so salutary to them as their own reflections and prayers, and I ventured to request that he would dismiss the meeting.

Thus closed the most remarkable service I have ever witnessed. It has been my privilege to see more of the solemn and powerful effect of divine truth on large bodies of people than many; but I never saw any thing equal to this; so deep, so overpowering, so universal. And this extraordinary effect was produced by the divine blessing on the ordinary means; for none other were used, and one third of the people had been present at none other. I shall never forget that time—that place; and as often as I recur to it, the tear is still ready to start from its retirement.

The immediate effect was as good as it was conspicuous. At first there was such tenderness on the people that they looked silently on each other, and could hardly do it without weeping; and afterward, when they had obtained more self-possession, there was such meekness, such gentleness, such hu-

mility, such kindness, such a desire to serve one another by love, and such calm and holy joy sitting on their countenances, as I had never seen in one place, and by so many persons. It realized, more than any thing I had known, the historical description of the primitive saints; and there was much in the present circumstances which assisted the impression. It was indeed beautifully true—"that fear came on every soul; and all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they continued with one accord, breaking bread from house to house; and did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God!"

Besides this happy effect on those who had already believed, there were many in an awakened and inquiring state which demanded attention. Among them was a representative of the State Government, who acknowledged that he had always resisted the truth till then, but hoped it had overcome him at last. Some of these cases, of course, came under my own knowledge; and all the ministers showed them, as, indeed, they had uniformly done, great attention and solicitude.

Among other expressions of kind and gentle feeling to myself, it was deemed impossible to let me remain another night in the tents, since I had not been able to procure rest. Many were eager that I should be received at their dwelling; but in the end I engaged to go with Deacon Norris, as it was at no great distance from the camp, and as the simple piety and warm heart of this aged and venerable man had previously won my confidence.

I had agreed to go after the evening service; but my considerate friend endeavored to persuade me to go before, by representing that I must need rest, and that it would not be so safe to track their way through the dark woods after sundown. I felt that it would be less suitable to his age to be exposed so late and in the dark, and so consented to do as he should suggest.

So, after taking repast, and joining in prayer with a cluster of our friends beneath a leafy alcove at the back of one of the tents, we started for Deacon Norris's residence. His lad drove me in a chaise, while he rode behind with a parent's care, to see that all was done well. He exchanged pleasant words with me as occasion allowed, and ever and anon was giving his cautions to the driver:—"Now, boy, mind those stumps—take care of those roots—keep a tight rein here"—and the whole was done in evident and unaffected reference to me. When we alighted, he received me to his house with that simplicity and kindness which are the essence of all true politeness. He took my hand, and with a beaming face and tearful eye, he said, "Now, sir, this is your home while you stay, and the longer you stay the more I shall be honored. A plain place, but all of it, servants, house, garden, is yours. Only make me happy by letting me know what you want." I had small reply to offer. All this was said in the deep and wild forest, and the manner and expression would not have dishonored St. James's; it affected me with tenderness and surprise.

While this occurred, we were standing on the verdant sod which surrounded the cottage, and was not worn off even by the passage to the door. The day had been hot, and we had been heated, and the temptation was to enjoy the evening breeze. My friend's cottage was a frame-building, whitened, well suited to the occupant, and to the spot where it stood. It had neither bolt nor lock to any one of its doors that I could find. About 100 yards on the descent stood a hut, in which his slaves were accommodated, and the interval was covered with short grass, kept cool and verdant by the fine separated trees which overshadowed most of it. On the other side of the cottage was a garden abounding in fruits for the little family. The ground fell off very pleasantly from the spot where you stood, so as to give you the command of the scene, and to compose a beautiful prospect. Most of the land in one direction was the domain of my friend; the portion near you being adorned with Indian corn, and the distant parts clothed with the dark and solemn pine.

When I had explored the garden and fields, my friend arranged a little table and stools at the door of the cottage, and before the best part of the prospect, for our accommodation. Here we were supplied with plates, and a fine melon from the garden for our repast; and it was not till the last lingering lights of a glowing day had faded away behind the pine barrens that we ceased to commune with Nature and with each other.

In this communion my friend was the chief contributor. He spoke in the fulness of his heart; and the impression will, I trust, long remain with me. He told me of his early days, of his conversion, and of the many years he had been as a pilgrim and a stranger on the earth. He had been married twice; he lost his last wife seven years since; and his children were settled far from him. "Many expected," he said, "as I was living alone, that I should marry again. But no, sir; at my time of life I think it not good. The husband careth for the things of the wife; but I wish now to care for the things of the Lord. My great concern is that I may do the will of the Lord, and look to my latter end with peace and pleasure. I would desire to die and to be with Christ as far better; but if he should say, Here, I have a little more for you to do on earth, then I would willingly stay and do it.

"Then," he continued, after musing, "I am old, but I suffer nothing, and I have many comforts, and I thank God I can enjoy them. But," with a serene smile, "I am looking for something better;—earth will not do—this is not heaven! I am far from God here; and I have sin always with me here to distress and expose me; but when He shall appear, I shall be like him, for I shall see him as he is!" So he continued, and so was I privileged and refreshed.

We retired within the cottage; the slaves, which he treated just as his children, were called in, and we had family worship. I pressed him to engage as usual; and was richly repaid. It was prayer winged with love and thankfulness, and rising to heaven. It brought us closer to each other. After our devotions, rest was thought of; for these children of Nature retire and rise with the day. He had provided for my accommodation in his own room; and when every thing had been done as he directed, he went to see with his own eyes that all was right. He attended me to it, and again inquired, and looked about to know if more could be done for my comfort.

He had not been long out, when he craved permission to come in again. He had an affectionate manner, and said, "Well, now there is still one thing which I was charged to say to you, and which I must say to you before I can sleep."—"What is that?" I inquired "Why," he said, "I have been now in the way forty-seven years—I have seen many powerful meetings in my time—but never any thing like this morning—all, ministers and all—weeping like children—and—now don't say no—and we all want you to preach again to-morrow."—"O, my good friend," I replied, "You really must not make that a request. I have taken my leave, and I have lost my voice by cold, and there are other preachers expecting—." He drew nearer to me, and checking me as he would his son, he said, "Well, now, my child, don't say you will not—and

we'll trust to have you well and willing by to-morrow morning. Is there any thing more I can do for you?" and then he retired and drew to the door.

This was not the last visit that evening from my devoted friend. When he thought me composed in bed, the door gently opened, he drew together a window which was slightly open, and which he thought better shut, he crept to my side, and thought me asleep; and with the affectionate attentions of a woman, tucked me in, and whispered the words, "Bless him!" as he left me. At least, he was blessed that night in the generous and holy sentiments which possessed him.

I slept peacefully and soundly that night, till I was wakened by the foot-tread of the slave who waited on me. We took breakfast early, and worshipped together, and then went to the camp-ground. Here the subject of preaching was renewed, as it had been by my kind host on our way. But as Dr. Rice had just arrived, and was expected to preach, I was strengthened in my resolution to remain silent. I attended the service, but did not again occupy the stand. I felt as if I could not look on that people for the last time, and command my emotions. When it was closed, I had some confidential conversation with Mr. Jeter. As the hour of my departure pressed, I took hasty refreshments; and begged to meet with the brethren in a final act of prayer. We all knelt—joined in one prayer—in one spirit—a prayer often too big for utterance, but always apprehended by sympathy. It is not for description.

The carriage waited for us. I entered it. Still we knew not how to go on; and the friends clustered round it as though they would prevent it. There were many spectators whom I did not know, but who were all interested. There were the brethren with whom I had had sweet fellowship. And there, nearest of all, was my friend, Deacon Norris, true to the last. His first office was to deposite two fine melons in the carriage; and his next, to discharge the painful one of saying "Farewell." He took my hand in both his; looked up into my face with sorrow—spoke not a word—while the big tear started in his eye, and coursed down his furrowed cheeks. And so we left him—and so we left them—still gazing on us to the end. For myself, I left the place as a place where God had been; and the people, as a people which God had blessed!

LETTER XVIII.

My dear friend—The interest which, I doubt not, you have felt in the previous account of the meeting, will dispose you to inquire how it terminated. I am happy to be able, by a subsequent communication, to satisfy your wishes. My esteemed friend, Mr. Jeter, assures me that the seriousness and tenderness of the people remained to the last; and disclosed themselves in very affecting forms on parting. He thus writes:—"On Thursday morning our meeting closed. Eternity alone can disclose the results. We have ascertained that between sixty and seventy professed conversion. With many of these I am personally acquainted; and I have every reason that can be furnished to regard them as sincere lovers of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The influence of the meeting on the community is regarded as of the most delightful and elevated kind. Infidelity has been compelled to shut her mouth; and vile blasphemers to acknowledge the hand of God!"

Thus, then, I was supplied, at once, with a specimen of the three great religious peculiarities of this country; a camp-meeting, a protracted meeting, and a revival; for they were all included in this meeting. Of what it has in common with other special meetings I shall speak elsewhere; but of what was peculiar to it, it may be desirable to offer a few remarks.

From all I have learned of camp-meetings, I may pronounce this to have been very well conducted. The existing arrangements were such as to contribute to this. The land on which it was held was purchased as a permanent station; and the lands around were held by persons friendly to the object, so that they could control riotous and intrusive conduct, if it should appear. The tents remained from season to season, and cost the owners about ten dollars each; and if it happened that the possessor could not attend, he lent his tent to a friend. The poorer or less interested persons came in carriages, or tilted light wagons, which they used as beds. Separate committees were appointed to preserve order; to superintend the lights and fires; to regulate the use of the water-springs; and to arrange for the religious services. For the last purpose, the ministers present were the standing committee. By these means, and means such as these, strict order was kept on the premises; and the temptation for the disorderly was cut off. I saw nothing the whole time of indecent behavior, though many persons came evidently more from curiosity than from higher motives. With the single exception I have named, I saw not an intemperate person; nor did I see either wine or spirits on the ground. There was a man about half a mile distant, who had made a venture with a couple of barrels of distilled liquor; but it must have been a bad speculation, for I never observed a single person near him.

Spiritual intemperance, too, which is often a far greater evil on these occasions, was kept down by the good sense and right feeling of the leading ministers. On the merits of the particular methods I do not now speak; but, if they were to be adopted, I know not that they could have been used with more moderation or better effect. That the anxious seat was too often tried; that there was a disposition sometimes to press it as a test; that the act of passing among the people for the purpose of personal persuasion had better have been avoided; and that the ministers had done well if they had limited the services, and especially the continued singing, by which many young persons were doing themselves a double mischief;—are opinions which I shall appear to have adopted in the preceding statement, and opinions which ought to be expressed to make it impartial and discriminative. But as a whole, I never expect to meet with three men who in such circumstances are more wisely disposed to pursue the good, and to avoid the incidental evil, than were those on whom rested the chief responsibility of the meeting. None of their appeals were to blind or selfish passion. They assailed the heart, indeed; but it was always through the understanding. They relied not on manœuvre nor on sympathy for success; they trusted in the light of Truth, clothed by the power of the Spirit, to set the people free, that they might be free indeed!

It is a question often propounded in America, as well as here—Of what use are camp-meetings? This is one of those questions which must be answered in submission to circumstances. There may be a state of things in which I should consider them as not only among the things useful, but the things necessary. In the newly settled parts, where the inhabitants are so few, and are scattered over so large a surface, the ordinary means of worship and instruction can for a time hardly be enjoyed; and, in this interval, the camp-meeting seems an excellent device for the gathering of the people. Under such circumstances, the very fact of their being

brought together, though it were not for religious purposes, would be a decided benefit; and if it should be connected with some expressions of extravagance which we could not approve, it is nevertheless not to be hastily condemned. We cannot conceive the effect of being immured in the deep and solemn forest, month after month, with little or no intercourse with our brethren, nor of the powerful movement of those social sympathies which have been long pent up in the breast, and denied exercise. But we can understand, that it is better that they should be called into exercise occasionally, though violently, than that they should be allowed to pine away and die out; since, in the one case, man would become a barbarous, gloomy, and selfish misanthrope; while, in the other, he would still be kept among social beings, and would be in readiness for better things.

Much more than this is done where the sympathies are wedded to religious objects; and the good effects bear even more on the future than the present. Where the camp-meeting is really wanted and really useful, it interests a careless people in their own moral and religious wants; and is the natural and general forerunner, as the population thickens, of the school-house, the church, and all the appliances of civil life.

You will now, perhaps, be prepared to quit the forest, and attend me on my journey. A missionary student, who was about to go to the Burmese empire, and my original friend, Mr. Jesse, whose kind offices had been unremitted, attended me to the boat: the former with the design of going on to Baltimore. We were just in time, and parted in haste. I was to remain in this conveyance through the night, and most of the next day; but, as there was little company, and good accommodations, we were exposed to no inconvenience. The river now expanded into grandeur, and the lovely scenes formed by the fine creeks opening into land are still present with me, though I must not detain you on their account. Waking or sleeping, however, the scenes which chiefly possessed me were those which I had lately witnessed.

The next day we entered the Bay; and still new beauties were before us. It is among the finest waters of this country. The weather was very favorable; but the temperature continued high. It ranged, as it had done for the last week, from 86° to 90°. As we passed onward, we took in several passengers who were making their way to the city; and they supplied some varieties of character and manner. As I sat writing at a small table, part of a melon stood before me, of which I had been partaking. When I laid the knife down, a young man, of genteel but assuming appearance, came up, and took it to assist himself. Had he made any movement towards me, he had been welcome; as it was, I remarked, that the melon was not for public use; and he laid the knife down and walked away.

Another person, of rougher aspect, had some suspicions that I had been at the camp-ground; and he puzzled himself to know how he could best ascertain this. He came nearer and nearer to me by degrees, till his confidence brought him to the table. There were two or three small books lying on it. He took up one. It was a hymn book given me at the meeting, and the minister who gave it had written in it both his name and mine. This he thought a famous clew; and he began his insnaring guesses. "This is yours?" he said. "Yes," was the answer. "A present, I guess?" "It has that appearance," I said. "Then you know Mr. ———, and have been to the ground?" Thus awkwardly, and, as some would say, rudely, did he contrive to get a little chat about the camp-meeting, which, in this region, constituted the principal news of the day. He was, notwithstanding, a well-meaning and religious man.

On reaching my inn at Baltimore, I sat down at the *table d'hote*, which was just ready, and partook of an excellent dinner. The middle of the day was very hot, and the large fans which I have before noticed were playing over your head; and the company were supplied with a profusion of iced milk, and iced water, and watermelon. It was a curious spectacle to see a gentleman, after dining heartily—most heartily—welcome half a melon on a dish, and about eighteen inches long, and dispose of all its good parts before your surprise was over.

Baltimore is a favorite city of mine, and has great advantages. Its noble bay I have noticed; it has, besides these waters, the rivers Patapsco, Potomac, and Susquehannah, tributary to it. It has also a run of rail-road of 300 miles, connecting it with the Ohio; and it is the most central of all the first-rate towns to the States generally. These advantages have contributed greatly to its advancement. It has now a population of 80,000 persons; and is, therefore, the second city in the Union.

Like Boston, too, it stands on fine inclinations of land, which set off its various objects. The handsome curve and acclivity in the main street, give a good first impression; and the more private dwellings have an air of wealth and comfort on them. The churches cluster and crown the higher grounds with great propriety; and there is, just finished, on the highest portion of them, a monument to Washington, which might grace any spot, and become the best of all that is good in this city picture. This city is styled the Monumental City, but somewhat proudly and ridiculously. It has, I think, but two monuments at present. Of one, though much has been said of it, it is kind to observe silence; the other will bear any praise that is reasonable, and deserves it. It is a column running 160 feet from the ground; having a base fifty feet square, and a pedestal carrying a statue of the hero, fifteen feet high. It is built of white marble; the statue is by Causici; it cost 10,000 dollars, and the whole affair not less than 200,000 dollars. It is mostly a copy of Trajan's Pillar; and, as a handsome column, is greatly superior to the Duke of York's in Regent street, and will compare with Melville's in Edinburgh. Few things can be executed in better taste.

There is much bustle in this place, directed both to business and amusement. Here were balloons about to ascend, and "Master B. was to accompany Mister D., by the express consent of his parents." Here was great rivalry with steamboats; and one, in advertising his advantages to his passengers, promised to take them "free of DUST and DIRT." Here were busy auctions; at which sharp Yankees were practising on the softer natures of the South. Here was trumpeted about, as the lion of the time, a splendid museum, and a splendid moral picture of Adam and Eve. When it was lighted up for the night, I went to see it. The museum was rather a show for children than any thing more; and as for the moral picture, for the sake of the morality as well as the taste of Baltimore, I can only hope it was quickly starved out.

But there is another view of this subject, and it saddens the heart. This place is, like Richmond, a considerable mart for slaves. It is border ground, and therefore desecrated by the worst circumstances in slavery: the apprehension, punishment, and sale. I met in the papers at my hotel with the following, among other notices of the kind:—

"ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

"Run away from the subscriber, a negro man named Abraham. Black complexion; 5 feet, 10 inches high, straight, well made, likely faced, about

34 years. Whoever will lodge the said fellow in Baltimore jail, shall receive 60 dollars, and all reasonable expenses.

"THOMAS HILLAN."

"FOR SALE.

"A black woman; 38 years. She is a first-rate cook, and excellent house servant. Strictly honest, sober, and healthy. Apply to

"JOHN BUSK."

"CASH!

"And very liberal prices, will at all times be given for *Slaves*.

"All communications will be promptly attended to, if left at Sinner's Hotel, or at the subscriber's residence, Gallow's Hill.

"The house is white.

"J. F. PURVIS & Co."

What an apposition between deeds and names in this instance. "The house is *white;*" alas, that it should be the only white thing in the business!

When returning from an excursion in the town and some needful calls, I found a church open and lighted. I desired to close the day in a quiet act of worship, and went in. My wishes were but poorly gratified; but the service was somewhat remarkable, and even more amusing than I desired. It was a Methodist Church, of full size and commodious. There were not 100 persons present; and the preacher, in both exercises, was feeble, and noisy, with good intentions. I was surprised to find more of the peculiarities of this people here, in the Monumental City, than are sometimes to be found in a sequestered village. There were not only interruptions and exclamations in prayer, but in singing and in the sermon also. With many, it was a sort of chorus taken together; but there was one reverend old man, certainly a leader among them, who spurned association, and literally kept up a sort of recitative with the preacher. The following is an instance, which I could not help preserving that night.

Having passed through the explanatory portion of his discourse, the preacher paused, and then said:—

Preacher. "The duty here inferred is, to deny ourselves."

Elder. "God enable us to do it!"

Preacher. "It supposes that the carnal mind is enmity against God."

Elder. "Ah, indeed, Lord, it is!"

Preacher. "The very reverse of what God would have us be!"

Elder. "God Almighty knows it's true!"

Preacher. "How necessary, then, that God should call on us to renounce every thing!"

Elder. "God help us!"

Preacher. "Is it necessary for me to say more?"

Elder. "No, oh no!"

Preacher. "Have I not said enough?"

Elder. "Oh yes—quite enough!"

Preacher. "I rejoice that God calls me to give up every thing!"

Elder. (clasping his hands.) "Yes, Lord, I would let it all go!"

Preacher. "You *must* give up all."

Elder. "Yes—all!"

Preacher. "Your pride!"

Elder. "My pride!"

Preacher. "Your envy!"

Elder. "My envy!"

Preacher. "Your covetousness!"

Elder. "My covetousness!"

Preacher. "Your anger!"

Elder. "Yes, my anger!"

Preacher. "Sinner, how awful, then, is your condition!"

Elder. "How awful!"

Preacher. "What reason for all to examine themselves!"

Elder. "Lord, help us to search our hearts!"

Preacher. "Could you have more motives?—I have done!"

Elder. "Thank God! Thank God for his holy Word. Amen!"

LETTER XIX.

MY DEAR FRIEND—On the next morning early I left for Philadelphia. I found a gentleman on board who had crossed the Atlantic with us; and had pleasant conversation with him. I noticed to him the heavy fog which hung over the town and the waters. He remarked that it was somewhat common at this period of the year; and that the banks of the river, though very beautiful and inviting for a residence, were unhealthy and dangerous.

There was strong opposition on these waters between the steamboats; and we made a rapid and pleasant run to Philadelphia. Here I naturally sought for Dr. Ely; his family were residing in the country, but I happened to find him in town.—Through him, too, I met with Mr. Matheson, who had returned from Pennsylvania, and was seeking me. He had been on to New-York, and brought me packets of letters, which had been long due; and which were like water to the thirsty ground. I had not received a foreign letter since the day I left Buffalo; and this was really to be placed among my greatest privations.

On the following morning we went on to Princeton, that we might spend the Sabbath there. We were to have been received at Judge Byard's; but found sickness in his family. Dr. Rice, who also expected us, gave us a cordial welcome. We felt the more at home, as we had known each other through his brother, who was my friend and correspondent. It was no sooner known that we had arrived, than Professors Alexander, Miller, and Dodd, with other friends, very obligingly called on us; and throughout our short stay, showed us the kindest attentions.

On the morning of the Sabbath I worshipped at the Theological Institution, and Mr. Matheson preached for Dr. Rice. I understood that Dr. Alexander was to preach to the students; he is much esteemed as a preacher, and I was desirous of hearing him. The service was in the lecture-room; there were from eighty to one hundred young men present. It was an interesting occasion. I was glad to worship with a body of pious youth, who were devoted to the ministration of the word of life; and to have that worship led by so good and competent a man as their revered tutor.

I had declined preaching in the morning, on condition of occupying the pulpit in Dr. Rice's church at night. In the evening, therefore, I walked abroad in the fields to meditate. In my way I passed by a number of cottages, tenanted by colored people. The doors and windows were all open. In one of them, the father, with his wife and children sitting around him, was reading with broken utterance, as if learning to read, by reading. I was desirous of ascertaining what he was reading; and, as I passed slowly along, I heard him utter the words—"Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." I scarcely know how it was, but the words from those lips were very touching. The old man seemed like the representative of his oppressed race, craving, in the midst of their wrongs, only one thing, and that the noblest. My thoughts glanced spontaneously to Him who is the common Father of us all; and I could

not suppress the desire, that whatever else was denied he might have the blessedness of that relationship.

Jersey is a free State, and of course the colored people who dwell here are free, or in course of freedom. Much is said everywhere about the superior state of the slaves in habit, character, and comfort, over these emancipated people. Certainly, so far as the instance before me is concerned, the position must be reversed; for these people appear better, dress better, have better dwellings, and bring about themselves more of the comforts of life.

I closed my walk as the evening shut in, and hastened to the church. It was very full; and the galleries were occupied entirely by collegians and youth. It was a serious, and I would hope a profitable service. The heat was to me very oppressive here; but chiefly I was annoyed by a large fieldbug, somewhat like our hearth beetle. Its tameness made it very troublesome and most unpleasant. It got into your hair, your cravat, and your bosom, and there it might be crushed, for it was insensible to resistance.

Princeton is situated in a pleasant part of New Jersey; and is both rural and collegiate in its appearance. It is rural, from the cottage style of the houses, and the abundance of trees in the streets and elsewhere; and it is collegiate, from the predominance of the colleges over the other erections. The means of religion are here abundant, as compared with the population. Dr. Rice's church has about 250 in communion, and about 600 in usual attendance. There is worship at both the colleges, and a place for the colored population; and besides these accommodations, there are now erecting an Episcopal church, and a chapel attached to the Theological Institution; both of them handsome structures.

As the Monday was the only clear day at this interesting point of observation, it was a very busy one. Dr. Rice and Professor Dodd introduced us early to the college. The examinations, previous to the commencement, were coming on. We attended one at nine o'clock. It was of the first class, and by the President. The subject was, the evidence of revealed religion. The names of the students were written in folded slips; and the President drew from these promiscuously, and called on the party inscribed to rise and answer. The questions were certainly commonplace, and should have created little difficulty; but most of the replies were feeble and irresolute, and some of them far astray. Those who were least prepared were chiefly youths who dreamed of independence, and who were rather constrained by their connections to seek an education suited to their place in society, while they were themselves indifferent. The students were mostly, however, the sons of successful tradesmen, who, missing education themselves, desired it for their children; and their children generally were animated by similar desire, for they look on education as the door to advancement. I was struck with the ages of the young men in this class; they were generally above twenty-five years of age.

We afterward attended a recitation in Professor Dodd's class. The subject was Mechanics, and this exercise was limited to the Pulley. The professor had a list of the class before him, and the persons called out were in this instance selected. They were very well prepared, and made their replies and wrought their diagrams with ease and skill. It closed by an announcement of the next subject, which was the Lever. There was an interesting young Scotchman in this class pointed out to us, as possessing extraordinary powers as a linguist.

We inspected the establishment. There is nothing special to remark, except that Professor Henry promises to do much honor to the department of chymistry. He has constructed a magnet of great capacity, which has raised a weight of 3,500 lbs. The library is considerable and good. We saw here a set of the works which had been recently sent by our government to this and most of the colleges in this country. They are rare and expensive books, and a worthy expression of national regard. It is surprising and delightful to observe, how much this wise and benevolent movement on the part of our country, has conciliated and interested the men of letters here. Surely England is never fulfilling her high destination so faithfully and so fully, as when she is seeking to advance among the young or savage nations of the earth the interests of science, which are, in fact, the interests of humanity and of the world. It is thus, rather than by success in arms or extent of domination, that she may win for herself a more hallowed name than Greece or Rome ever knew, among those new worlds of life and civilization, which are springing up in the West, the South, and the East.

Our attention was next engaged by the Theological Institution. It is entirely distinct from the college. It requires but little observation, except what may fall under a more generic name afterward. It accommodates about 110 students; it is full; and the students are considered to be the subjects of true piety. Its provisions for their comfort are respectable. The library is small; but as a theological school, it is in good repute.

The burial-ground is an object of attraction here. It would be so, if for no other reason than that it contained the remains of President Edwards, Davies, &c.

We dined this day at Judge Byard's. This worthy gentleman has passed some time in England as a Commissioner from the American Government; and he had strong partiality for the English. I met here again with Drs. Miller and Alexander, and continued some profitable conversations on the state of religion.

The evening was spent at Professor Dodd's, and in the society, I believe, of all the professors of the two institutions, and some of their ladies. It was a delightful party; such as one does not meet in the common walks of life. It was refined, without being ceremonious; affectionate, without obtrusiveness; and well-informed, without pedantry. Good taste prevailed in our accommodations and repast; and the conversations, while they were free as air, were rational, intelligent, and elevated. Before we separated, we all united in an exercise of social worship, which was such as most of us will, I dare say, long remember.

The next day we parted from our friends, and from Princeton, with great regrets that we could not stay longer. Nowhere had we met with more unaffected kindness; and it was increased by the eminence of the persons who expressed it.

The heat continued very great; and on our way to New-Brunswick one of the horses in our stage sunk down, and died in the road. This delayed us so long, that we were too late for the boat which was to take us forward; and after making some efforts in vain, we were compelled to remain. It is a thriving, smart, clean, Dutch-looking town, with a good location on the water-side. There is near to it the college belonging to the Dutch Church; and to improve the evening, which was closing fast upon us, I proposed to go and inspect it. It was, however, dark before we arrived, the professors we sought were away, and we could not intrude at such an hour on strangers, to whom we had no introduction. The information we obtained, was derived from a gentleman who had also come to the college, but for a different purpose. He was about to attend

a lecture on chymistry. It was one of a short popular course given by a professor to the public; and it was manifestly under the patronage of this gentleman, himself a scientific man. He invited our attendance, and we gave a cheerful compliance. The lecture was well prepared and illustrated, but the apparatus was poor, and indicated that this was a young experiment. There were from twenty to thirty young persons present, and there might have been more, had not the evening put on a threatening aspect. Our stranger-friend still continued his attentions on our return; we became revealed to each other; he pressed us to pass the night under his hospitable roof, and with such evident cordiality, as to make us as greatly his debtors as though we had done so.

On the following morning we made a short and pleasant sail to New-York; and had the President of the college, Mr. Milledoler, for a companion. New-York, though so well known, struck me with surprise. The Broadway, which was accustomed to be so full of movement, looked comparatively like a desert. The cholera had been in it, and all who could fly from the pestilence did. The disease was still here, and from twenty to twenty-four cases a day were reported. Elsewhere it had been raging violently. At Cincinnati, from 80 to 100 a week died; at Montreal, 241 perished in the week; and at Detroit, the population, by flight and disease, had been reduced from 5,000 to 2,000.

I was making New-York only a place of passage, and its present state did not incline one needlessly to linger on the way. We found that our friend, Mr. Phelps, was going with part of his family to Saratoga the next day, and we determined to attend him thither. We made needful calls, to ascertain the safety of friends, or to dispose of impending business, that we might be ready to fulfil our purpose.

Early the next morning we were on our way to Albany, and many things contributed to give exhilaration to the journey. We were in good company; we were leaving an infected and deserted town; we were about to run up one of the finest American rivers in one of the finest boats; and, forgive the collocation, we were to do this at a cost of fifty cents—that is, a distance of one hundred and forty-five miles for half a crown!

I have more than once noticed the Hudson to you; but I have not described it; nor is it my purpose now. You must be already familiar with its principal features, by the repeated descriptions of all the travellers. Not that I am quite satisfied that the thing should rest on your imagination just as they have reported it; for some are extravagant, and use marvellous expressions here, as they would anywhere when it is the fashion to praise; others are incorrect, and report to you the things as they are not; while others seek safety in generalities, and say only what would be true of any river that had amplitude in itself, and hills around it. But after having received these impressions, it would require, in attempting to convey one's own, that you should be presented with various sketches, from different points of sight, and of great individuality. The river is worth all this, and more; but opportunity does not serve me.

The palisades are beautiful, but they have been overdone. The fine expanding waters above them are chiefly beautiful by the abundance of small craft which are perpetually moving over them; and with their white sails, give life, and picture, and perspective to the scene. The excelling beauty of the river, however, is found in the narrows, and is limited to a confined space. Here the Hudson, denied surface, demands depth, and flows on a stronger and darker stream, winding its way resolutely through the rocks and hills, and reminding you of the day when it first cut its passage through them. The cleft hills rise on either side and all around you, in forms so decided, so beautiful, and so varied, as to leave you nothing to desire. The sky was more propitious to the picture than I had before seen it. Some dewy and dark clouds were passing about, so as to give a magnitude and mysteriousness to the hills, which they mostly want here; while the sun was gleaming through them and over them with a radiance exquisite and divine.

After this, there was nothing very remarkable till we came within sight of Albany; and it was made so by the state of the elements above it. The clouds, which for some time had been unsettled, now collected themselves behind it. They were as black and threatening as thunder-clouds can be, even in this country. On this ebony back-ground arose the whole town; and its towers, spires, turrets, and domes, looked like the fairest marble, and made you regard it, by the prominence it gave them, as a city of obelisks and temples. In the distant foreground, the spreading foliage of trees screened the skirts of the town; and immediately before you lay the dark waters, reflecting the darker forms of the lowering clouds.

The storm which threatened us came on before we could get to land; and we were glad by any means to hasten to any accommodation that might be available. The town was full, and we had difficulty in procuring even the plainest kind. It mattered little, however, as in the morning we proceeded to the springs. A rail-road has recently been laid down; and though it is inferior to many, it enables you to get over the distance in a short time.

Saratoga is the most fashionable watering-place in the States. Like most of their watering-places it is inland. The people here all run from the sea in the summer; while with us they are all ready to run into it. The seacoast, and the river sides, at this season, are deemed unwholesome. The town is composed rather of several enormous inns than of streets and houses. The principal are the Congress, the Pavilion, the Union, and the United States. From their size, and from the large porticoes which run in their front, ornamented by flowering shrubs, they have a good and imposing appearance. They will accommodate from 200 to 300 persons; and at this time there were upwards of 2,000 visiters. The refectories and the withdrawing-rooms, as they gather all the occupants together at certain times, have an animated and striking effect. Our waiter observed to me, with great complacency, of the dining-room, that it was the largest room in the States. I admired his modesty, that he did not say—in the world.

Altogether, though the place is the centre of transatlantic fashion, it has the air of having been just redeemed from the forest. The main avenue, or street, is just a clearance from the woods, with its centre cut up by the carriages, and filled with the native dust and sand, and the margins are overrun with grass; and the Pavilion, which was completing, is at present enveloped in the original and verdant spruce pine. The attractions of the place must depend chiefly on the repute of its waters, and the fashion of its society; for I have seen no resort in this country so poor in natural beauties. The town stands on a flat, and has nothing to relieve it, except in one direction, the mountains of Vermont appearing in the distance. I do not forget Lake George; but Lake George is away a day's journey.

Of course we took the waters; and in doing so saw the company, and met with many friends. There are several springs, which vary a little in quality, but have the same bases. The waters are

taken in large quantities; and, on this account, I should think, must do harm to many persons. They are, however, not disagreeable, and have undoubtedly excellent properties.

The chief amusements of the place are, a visit to Lake George; fishing at Ballston; a drive out and in again; and an occasional ball, got up at one hotel, by a subscription made at all. The only sight was a Panorama of Geneva, which I had seen in London, and was glad to see again, that I might be transported to Europe and Leicester-square. There is certainly gambling going on here; but, if seen, it must be sought for. On the contrary, there is one hotel, and that first-rate, which has the denomination of the Religious Hotel. Its name preserves its character; the religious are attracted by it; and as clergymen are usually staying here, domestic worship is observed, and not only most of the occupants, but many from the other inns attend. It is also worthy of remark, that in this place, so lately risen from the forest, and raised for purposes of fashion, and having so very small a resident population, there is an adequate supply of churches, even when the company is largest.

Our affectionate friends had urged me to pass some days here as favorable to my health, and I came on with the intention of doing so. But on an exact comparison of what I felt it desirable to do, and of the time within which it must be done, I was obliged to abandon the idea. The next day, therefore, we left, to fulfil some engagements in Albany on the Sabbath; and with small or no expectation of seeing Saratoga again.

We found our worthy friend, Dr. Sprague, ready to receive us. Dr. Ferris, of the Dutch Church, was ill; and as his charge would have been without a minister, we undertook to preach for him. It is a fine old church, in English style; like many of our churches, erected in bad taste, but preserving a respectable and venerable aspect. The order of worship in this body deviates a little from what is usual. There is first an intercessory prayer; then a blessing is pronounced in scriptural terms on the people; then the ten commandments are read, and some portions of Scripture. Afterward there is singing; prayer; the sermon; prayer; singing; and then the benediction. There was a good attendance, and, I should think, by persons of worthy character and respectable habits.

In the afternoon I was engaged to preach at Dr. Sprague's and to baptize his infant son. The administration follows the first singing. The persons waiting for the ordinance are requested to present themselves. They come out before the pulpit. The minister addresses them; and descends, to baptize the child. He then ascends to the pulpit, renews his address, or offers prayer; which, after specially noticing the subject before the congregation, becomes the general prayer. Then follow singing, and the sermon as usual. This church is of full dimensions, and although the afternoon was wet, it was quite filled. There was great attention on the part of the auditory, and many were much affected.

I desired to improve the evening by uniting with some congregation in worship. We found one church shut, and another without its pastor; and at last entered somewhat later than we wished the Episcopal Church, which we found open, but which was also deprived of its regular teacher. It is small; and there were not above 150 persons present. The preacher was a mathematical professor; and if in his place in the chair, he is certainly out of it in the pulpit. His subject was man's mortality; and as it had been preceded by the affecting prayer for deliverance from cholera, and as that disease was in the town, it should have told in some degree. Yet it interested no one. The only remarkable thing was, in fact, the contrariety between the preacher's manner and his composition. The one was coldness itself; while the other was inflated to an extreme. It abounded in exclamations, and ended in an apostrophe, which issued as from marble lips, and froze as they fell. I enjoyed the psalms, which were sung to some of our old and good psalmody, though few united, and though the poor organ did us little service.

There is in this plain church a pew which attracts attention, and is meant to do so. It is composed of two, and is as large and splendid as a mayor's; and has a showy lamp chandelier suspended over it. When the owner of this dress box attends it is lighted, to notify his presence to the gazing congregation. He was present on this occasion, and exhibited a gold chain, like our sheriffs. This gentleman is from England, they say; he makes large gifts and large charges; and has succeeded by *dash*. How many have done so both in the old and new world! But is it not a profanity, as well as a folly, when these vanities are carried into our temples, and are made to give to the house of God the aspect of the theatre?

The following day we made an excursion to Troy. It is a handsome town, of very rapid growth. The people are energetic, and of public spirit; and are following fast after Albany in ornamental buildings and general improvement. We made calls here on Drs. Beman and Tucker; and visited a school, which was said to have claims on attention. Dr. Tucker accompanied us on our return; and we made a call on General Van Rensselaer. He is the Patroon, or Lord of the Manor here; and is considered the greatest landholder in the United States. What is better, he is a most amiable man; and promotes the comfort of his tenants, and the spirit of wise improvement around him; and, what is still better, the amiable and respectable portions of his character are based and sustained on religious principles and exercises. He had presided at several of the public meetings at New York; and we were welcomed as friends. The house stands on rather low ground; but it commands a pleasant view of the Mohawk river and of Troy in the distance. The gardens are much better than are usual here, and remind one of England; though they incline rather to the Dutch than the English style. There is little, if any, that we should call pleasure-ground; and there is no attempt at landscape gardening. We walked round the grounds, and conversed pleasantly, and then took our leave. I was afterward invited to dine, but could not avail myself of the kindness intended.

LETTER XX.

My dear friend—On the 19th, I left for Utica. Mr. Matheson had left the previous evening to attend the commencement at New Haven. As I had come in this direction chiefly for the sake of making myself acquainted with the revivals, for which the western part of this State was famous; and as I had not yet accomplished this object, I was constrained to tarry, with the understanding that we should meet again at Amherst.

I went as far as Schenectady by the rail-road. I was assured that when there I should find a coach waiting to convey me on to Utica, a distance of about eighty miles. The coach was indeed there; but the proprietor was there likewise, and his business was to ascertain whether enough would offer to go by it "to make it worth his while." His decision in this instance, was against its running; not perceiving that by this short-sighted policy he gave uncertainty to a public conveyance, and thus discouraged the public from using it. My only alter-

native was to go by the packet-boat, which was preparing to start immediately.

I was thus committed to a mode of travelling which at this unhealthy season I most wished to avoid. But I was on the Erie Canal, and it was some satisfaction that I should have a fair opportunity of inspecting what, as a work of art stands unrivalled by any other effort of this enterprising people. This canal is 360 miles long, and has a branch canal running off to Lake Champlain, which is sixty miles in length. It has eighty-three locks, and eighteen aqueducts; one of which is about 1,200 feet. It is forty feet wide on the surface, and about four feet deep. It and the branch canal were completed in less than nine years, at an expense of 9,000,000 dollars. The object is to connect the Hudson, and therefore New-York, on the one hand, with Lake Champlain, and thus with Canada; and on the other, to unite it with Lake Erie, and with the other mediterranean seas of that region, and by consequence with the Ohio and the Mississippi. The Americans owe this to the genius and patriotism of De Witt Clinton, one of the greatest men that country ever saw; and when we consider the extent of route, the countries it connects, and the influence it will have on those countries, done as it is by so young a people, and with so little disposable capital, it is above comparison, and above praise.

There was much business on this water-thoroughfare. The boats for the transit of goods were called "line-boats," and those for passengers, "packets." The packets were a sort of mail; they are drawn by three horses at a slow trot; and do not clear more than four miles an hour. With some twenty persons, our packet might have been tolerable; but it so happened that we had from sixty to seventy passengers on board, and there was much to bear. For all these persons, male and female, there was only one room, to live, and meal, and sleep in, of about twelve feet by seventy. There were curtains, indeed, provided, which might separate a portion from the rest when needful; still the dimensions were the same.

During the day, we could relieve ourselves by going on the roof of the boat; and this is a desirable place, both for air and the sight of the country. But we had difficulties here. There was no provision against a burning sun; and the bridges were so numerous and so low as to be exceedingly troublesome, and, if you were negligent, somewhat dangerous. It was part of the duty of the helmsman to observe these, and give notice of them by the cry of "Bridge?" It was some time before we got drilled to it; and when we were, it was an amusing spectacle. Some twenty men would be standing, sitting, and looking about in all directions, and variously engaged; but, at the cry of "A bridge!" they would repeat the cry as the papist would his prayers, and fix their eyes in one direction; and when the object came, they would prostrate themselves on the floor as at the ringing of the bell and the elevation of the host.

The country through which we were passing was worth observation. It is the Mohawk Valley, and watered by the river of that name; and formerly possessed by the people of that name, the finest of the Indian nations. It is of great extent; very beautiful and fertile; has been long settled, and shows, in an unusual degree, good cultivation. The upper portion was chiefly settled by Germans, and the part we were passing through by the Dutch.—Everywhere you meet with marks of their taste in the farming; the form, and party-colored houses; and along the banks of the canal, you have towns with the names of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Frankfort, to them. Settlers of later date, and in further districts of this State, have taken offence at such homespun appellatives, and have sought to be very classical in their designations. So that, in fact, within a small limit, you get the strangest jumble of English, Dutch, German, Indian, Roman, and Greek terms, imaginable. The attempts at what is classical, too, are often very ridiculous.—You have, for instance, Utica in Ulysses, and other such varieties.

Every disadvantage has its counterpart. If we had a host of people crammed into a little boat, it gave one an opportunity of observing, unobserved, the unconstrained manners of the passengers. Dinner brought us all together; and put us on a degree of intercourse. It appeared that about twenty on board were of one party; and that they were delegates to a convention of mechanics which was to be held at Utica, against what they termed the State Prison Monopoly. The ground of complaint was, that the convicts were employed at several trades, and that the articles so manufactured were sold at a price below that of the honest and independent tradesman. It was evident that this delegation was composed of the successful and superior manufacturers of New-York. They were a curious assemblage of persons: Dutch, Irish, Scotch, English, and American. Their numbers gave them confidence; and they were the great people of the day.

When the dinner was over, they professed to hold, by anticipation, a meeting of the delegates; but the design was rather to discuss some champaign than any business. I took a book, and remained at a little distance. A president was chosen; and the wine was brought forward. It was to be seasoned by toasts and songs. Mr. A——, a Scotchman, was called on to sing. He had reputation in this way, and brought applause about him. His song was a hit at Lords and Kings, and a commendation of manliness in man. The president then gave, "The independent mechanic;" which was, of course, drunk with "great enthusiasm." Then came, "The mechanics of the State, and may the cause they are in prosper," with "three times three," and a song. One of the delegates then proposed, "The health of J—— L——, Esq. *which* was chairman of the committee *which* brought up the first report."

There was one person among them who declined the wine; and he was joked as a water-drinker and a Temperance man. He had not, however, confidence to avow himself, though he had to refuse the wine. He met their gibes with good temper; and gave as a toast, "May he that has power to help us, and does not, want a cup of cold water." This uncharitable sentiment conciliated their prejudices, and they kept on good terms with him.

These men were evidently not accustomed to the use of wine, and they used it inordinately. The tumbler was, in some cases, preferred to the glass. As the wine entered, the wit, such as it was, got out; it was witless and vile enough. But I took warning, and went above.

Their potations of wine heated them, and made them restless; and they soon followed me to the roof. Here they amused themselves with all manner of boyish tricks and practical jokes. They knocked each other's hats off; jumped on shore; chased each other. One of them got possession of a horse, and mounted; another hung on its tail; while a third seized the rein and tried to dismount the rider. He, to free himself, pricked the horse; the animal knocked down the man who had the rein, and left him rolling into the canal. The enacting of this scene, like the fifth act of a comedy, brought merriment to a crisis; and was attended by roars of laughter.

Then came the deductions on a course of folly; fatigue, discomfort, ennui, and, with the better sort, shame and regret. It was, certainly, but a poor specimen of the tradesmen of a great city. They were well dressed, indeed, and had much rough energy of character; but, with one or two exceptions, nothing more of a favorable complexion can be educed. If any one of them professed religion, it was not seen here. Sorry I am to say, that the two worst were an Irishman and a Scotchman.

The ladies who were on board were prudent; two or three of them pious. Two of them came out into the prow of the vessel, and seated themselves near me, that they might enjoy the fine moonlight scenery, and rid themselves of disquiet within. The younger one observed, with a plaintive air, "that she loved to sit out in moonlight, because it mellowed all the finer sentiments of the soul." The elder one, who did not, in the least, comprehend the subject, remarked, "that she did not see it was *so melancholy* as people said." Both, however, seemed able to connect the things made with the Hand that made them.

But night came, and with it, it was needful to look to sleeping accommodation. From all appearances, it did not seem that any provision could be made for this purpose. It was soon shown how much contrivance could do, if it could not do all that the occasion required. The curtains I named were dropped over one third of the room, and thus made a division for the ladies and children. Our portion of the room was cleared. A set of frames, like larger shelves, were produced; and were suspended behind, by hinge and pivot, to the side of the vessel, and in front, by a small cord attached to the ceiling. Three tier of these were carried round the room, which was not more than six feet high; so that it had the appearance of being filled, from top to floor, with small bins. Then all the tables were collected, and placed down the middle of the room, as far as they would go. The settees were employed to fill in any possible spaces; and after all this accommodation was disposed of, it was plainly understood that there remained just the floor.

The captain, a civil man, proposed that the company should choose births as their names stood on his list, which was filled in as they came on board. As the delegates were the first, he knew that this would satisfy them; and this was not a small matter. By the same rule, I knew that I should come nearly last; an issue the captain wished to avert, but to which I was really indifferent, for I shrunk altogether from any accommodation among so many, and in so small a space. The names were called, and the births chosen, and the possessors began to "turn in." I retreated from the noise and confusion, once more, to the roof; and out-watched the setting moon. As the moon fell, the damps arose; and it was needful to walk to prevent cold. All was now hushed; except here and there the helmsman's voice broke sharply on my ear, to warn me of "A bridge." I could hear my foot fall; and as it fell over the multitude slumbering beneath it, it seemed like a living entombment of my fellow-mortals.

Still the damps and cold increased; and I was constrained to screen myself as I could below. Two or three gentlemen offered to relinquish their births in my favor; but I could not expose others to privation to escape it myself; and my resolution had been previously taken, not to lie down that night. I took a couple of chairs, and placing them as near the door as practicable, I lounged on them in such a way as to rest the body, and possibly to forget myself for a few minutes.

It was now beyond midnight; and nearly all were fast asleep, and were assuring you of it by muttering and noisy respiration. The sight was really a singular one. The room was packed all round, from top to bottom, with living beings. The tables, the settees, the floor, all covered. My chairs had scarcely a place to stand; and two persons lay at my feet, and one at my elbow. Two lines of cord had been carried down the ceiling of the room, that the spare garments might be hung on them. Here, then, was an exhibition of coats, trowsers, waistcoats, cravats, and hats, worthy of Monmouth street; the great evil of which was, that it cut off the little chances of ventilation. Two glimmering, unsnuffed candles, gave sepulchral lights to the whole.

Occasionally, however, the scene was animated. The vessel was liable to sharp jerks on entering the locks; and when these occurred, you might see some dozen heads starting from the sides, like so many turtles from their shells; with a suitable accompaniment of wild and sleepy exclamations; and then again they were drawn in, and all was still. I fell into a short slumber, and reproached myself for doing so; when I awoke I found my foot in the face of another sleeper; and as the night wore away, most of them getting into similar predicaments. But the great evil of the place arose from the confined and suffocating state of the air, shut out, as it was, from all external influence. It indisposed me, and before four o'clock I was on the roof again. Never shall I forget that night.

The fogs lay heavily all around us, and after making the best of it for an hour, I was getting very chilly, and was fearful of the consequences. I went down, and stood awhile at the doorway; desirous of escaping the smells within, and the damp wind without. They were now generally seeking to dress; but this was no easy matter. One had lost his boots, another his hat, another his cravat, another his money, and another his—every thing. Then there were outcries, and searchings, and exchanges; in seeking one article, a score would be thrown out of place; and so it went on till confusion was twice confounded.

Early in the day, I landed at Utica. It is a fine, thriving town; free from all signs of age or poverty; and resembling the many towns which are found on this line from Albany to Buffalo. Sickness was prevailing here. The Rev. Mr. Aitkin was just leaving, with an invalid wife, and he himself fell sick the following day. My friend, Mr. Bethune, had left his charge here; and I was indebted to the Rev. Mr. Hopkins for much kind attention in his absence.

As I could not stay more than a couple of days, it was necessary that I should begin instantly to improve the time. Mr. Hopkins attended me to Oneida Institution, Hamilton College, and such objects in the town as were deserving of attention. On the previous Thursday, the place had been visited by a severe storm; and the effects were everywhere apparent. One church tower was swept away; thirteen houses were unroofed; and trees without number, in the environs, were uprooted and lying in ruin. In ruin, however, the suburbs were still pleasing. I was referred to a dwelling of special pretensions; and was told that it was built in imitation of the English cottage. Greatly would they be deceived who should take it for a sample. Of this English cottage, the body is Gothic; the parapet of no style; and the portico Grecian. But what of this! It is only such a combination as we see in the neighborhood of Westminster Hall.

The Hamilton College occupies a very commanding spot; and is in a thriving state. It had languished under some pecuniary difficulties; but Professor Dwight had used his influence in its

favor, and had raised a large sum for its relief. Unhappily, the professor was not at home, nor was the College in session.

I ascertained that there were some Congregational churches in this district, and I called with Mr. Hopkins on Dr. Morton, the Secretary of the Association. We conferred for some time, and I promised to address a fraternal letter to the Association, which promise I afterward redeemed.

The Oneida Institution is about two miles from the town. It is established on the principle of uniting labor with learning, and has Dr. Green at its head. I was conducted over it. It has only been attempted within the last four years; and does not yet amount to even an experiment on the subject. The young men, at present, are employed on the garden and small farm; and the trades have not yet been tried. The accommodations are of the plainest kind; the library very low; there is a reading-room, having very few books, but supplied with eighteen or twenty newspapers. There is attached to it a smaller provision for boys. I shall have occasion to recur to this subject.

I made, while here, a hasty excursion with my friend, to the Trenton Falls. They are distant about fifteen miles. The road is bad, but the scenery good; the view taken from the hill, about five miles on the way, really magnificent.

The Falls are just as you would desire to find them. There is one inn for your accommodation, and this does not interfere in the least with the seclusion of the object. The same good taste reigns throughout. There are more facilities provided for easy access to these Falls than are common, and yet they are far less obtrusive. Alarm has been taken because some lives were lost here recently; but I know of no great natural curiosity to be seen with less personal danger or discomfort.

On leaving the hotel, you pass a wicket gate, and find yourself enclosed in a wood. You make a gradual descent, and are then assisted by some step-ladders, which carry you down some rocky steeps. On reaching the foot of these, the woods stand up all around you; and below, and before you, the dark waters of the river, with their snowy crests, are chafing and dashing away through an immense bed of solid rock, which they have cut for themselves. You pass along some ledges of this rock, and the principal Fall is before you. You still pursue your way on the rocks, which are sometimes contracted to narrow shelves, admitting only one person, and requiring care; but which generally expand into fine terrace-walks, leaving you at leisure to wander at will. During this promenade, the other Falls make their appearance in succession. This is the great charm of these Falls, and, as I think, their distinguishing characteristic. Their character is the picturesque; and it is this combination, with these successive distances, which compose that character. As you move on, the objects accumulate upon you; you add the second Fall to the first, and the third to the second, and are delighted with your acquisition. You wish continually to pause to admire the picture, with its additional beauties; and you wish to go on, expecting that every step shall make still finer additions. And when you have most in view, the eye may rest on it till it becomes as one to the imagination, having a power and an elevation which do not belong to any separate Fall.

After having taken this combined and characteristic view, you have still to study them in their separate forms, and from nearer points of sight; and they will amply reward you. The principal Fall, especially, asserts its power as you approach it. As you ascend to its head, it supplies you with points of view, which, if occupied, will make you tremulous and dizzy; and when you repose at its feet, and look up, and see only it—hear only it—while its mass of waters, like a bed of rolling, sparkling amber, dash from the rocks above to the deep below, and run foaming and struggling away into the prodigious black basins beneath, you are sensible of its greatness.

I passed upward as far as we can go, and compared the claims of the different cascades. The return still affords you fresh views of the objects you admire. When the eye has got familiar with the place, there is, perhaps, nothing you admire more than the *coup d'œil* of the whole. The rocks, the waters, the woods, the skies, wonderfully assist each other. You are in a lovely glen, open to the sun, but shut up by the rocks and the forest from all things else. Everywhere you may find the most refreshing shade, and everywhere you have the sense of perfect retirement; but always it is the shade and the retirement which have cheerfulness for their companion. You have a pleasurable satisfaction in where you are and what you see; you are not disappointed that you see no more, nor are you overwhelmed that you see so much. It is a place where the spirit may repose; it insensibly inspires you with content, placidity, and elevation. It is one of nature's finest temples, secluded from the world, but open to heaven; where ten thousand worshippers might stand, and whence ten thousand voices might ascend, supported by the deep tones of the Falls, in praise to the Omnipotent Creator.

We took hasty refreshments at the inn, and returned, as I had to preach that evening for my friend. I was not well; for I had taken cold in the boat, as I expected. The weather also, though still warm, had varied by 30°, and, therefore, to sensation was cold, and promoted fever and hoarseness; but as I was announced for the service, I hoped to be able to pass through it. To my surprise, on a few hours' notice, there was a large attendance; and the people were delightfully attentive.

On the following evening, I proposed that we should have a meeting of ministers and friends for conference and prayer. We had a full room, and it was increased very pleasantly by the arrival of Mr. Hague, from Boston, and Mr. Patton, from New-York. It was to me a delightful and profitable occasion. At this, and at other opportunities, my concern was chiefly to obtain correct information on the revivals which had occurred in this place, and throughout this line of country. They had been much talked of, and not unfrequently they had been held up, even by the friends of revivals, rather as warnings than examples. I had great reason to be satisfied that I had made this excursion, not only for the positive information obtained, but also for the assistance it gave me to mature an opinion on a subject of serious difficulty, but of cardinal importance. The notices that, from their locality, might fall in here, had better be reserved, with other materials, for separate consideration.

The friends at Utica were exceedingly desirous that I should spend the Sabbath with them; especially as Mr. Patton had come to plead the educational cause, and pressed for my assistance. It would have given me great pleasure to have met their wishes, but I must have sacrificed some important portions of my plans; and I had "to learn to say no."

LETTER XXI.

My dear friend—Early, therefore, on the morning of the 23d, I left for Albany. I had had enough of the packets, and returned by the stage. I was still unwell from the cold I had taken; and, among

other expressions of it, it gave me a stiff neck, which exposed me to much suffering on a bad road, in a journey of eighty miles. I think I never endured more in travelling, from pain and dust.

From time to time, however, my attention was called forth by the interesting objects in this ride. Especially in the neighborhood of the Little Falls, the scenery is most attractive. It is full of romance and picture, over which the artist and the poet might employ themselves for days and weeks, and still have much to do. I passed through two small villages near here, and on the banks of the Mohawk, which were just springing up into life. It was remarkable that the churches were growing up with the dwellings. There could not be a thousand persons in each; but there were three churches building in one, and two in the other.

We made a halt at one inn on our way; at which we sought eagerly to refresh ourselves, in heat and dust, by a draught of cold water. The landlord, with an old German name, picked a quarrel with us, and swore at the times, for supplanting spirits by water. "How was he to live by giving away water!" There was something natural, if not hospitable, in this exclamation; but it deserves remark, that in the endless instances in which myself and others sought, in our journey, water, and nothing more, it was always supplied without grudging, and frequently with some trouble.

We did not reach Schenectady till ten at night. I was greatly fatigued, and indisposition had increased; and I would willingly have used a hot bath, but could not obtain one. My next best remedy was medicine and rest. I tried both; yet remained unwell. It was the Sabbath, however, and I sought a place of worship. My intention had been to go to Mr. Bachus's; but, by mistake, I was directed to the Dutch Church, and had the gratification of uniting in a service, conducted by Dr. Ludlow, of Albany. I afterward found the church of Mr. Bachus; but there was no regular service, and he joined me in attending once more at the Dutch Church. He perceived that I was unwell, and insisted on my moving to his residence, that I might nurse. I accepted his kind proposal; and was somewhat better on the following day.

We visited Union College, which is situated here. It is exceedingly well placed, on an estate of about 300 acres; and considerable property is likely to come to it. Its plan is very large; but I had some disappointment in not finding it executed. At the inn there was a large painting of the whole; and some gentlemen, on referring to it, exclaimed, "There, is not that a splendid place? That is Union College!" and these circumstances gave reality to the thing. But on arriving at the spot, I found that only the wings were erected. On its present scale, however, it is thriving; and there is the prospect of its becoming as magnificent as it was proposed to be.

Most of the professors were absent, but I was introduced to the President, Dr. Nott; a person known in Britain, chiefly as the inventor of the stove which bears his name. He is known in his own country as having been one of her most able and efficient ministers, and as having contributed mainly to found the College over which he presides. He was free to converse on the subjects to which you led the way; but it was evident to me that his mind was filled with some engrossing care. One successful invention, like a prize in the lottery, often leads to ruin. His success with the stove may have led to other speculations; till he may find himself oppressed with the weight of worldly care, from which he would, but cannot, disburden himself.

At noon, I took leave of my friend and brother, Mr. Bachus, and went to Albany, where I found Dr. Sprague expecting my return. I had not yet seen much of this town, and there was much that challenged inspection. The principal buildings stand on the top of the hill, called the Capitol; from which a fine wide street runs down to the river, and the closer parts of the town. The Capitol, or State-House, occupies the very summit of this hill, and has a noble appearance, from its dimensions and elevation. The City Hall is of white marble, and worthy to be its companion. The Institute and the Academy are here also; and are respectable foundations. They make, as a cluster of public structures, a grand spectacle; although they have nothing, as works of art, demanding separate encomium. The Orphan Asylum, in the vicinity, is well conducted. Besides these, there are two new erections, which, from their pretensions, may require notice. The one is the Female Academy. It is a large and very handsome portico, of the Ionic order; and it is only to be lamented that, with the exception of the base of the columns and the steps, it is constructed of wood, and not of marble. The lights under the portico are objectionable; and a great deal is sacrificed within for the sake of external ornament. As a school for female education, it is, however, very remarkable; the first of its kind in this country; and it will require further consideration.

The other erection is a church, for the use of Dr. Welch and his congregation. It is a very ambitious affair. All the good and approved things, it is attempted to combine; there are portico, turret, and dome. They are all executed after the best models, and with expensive ornament. On entering beneath the portico, you are surprised to find yourself, not in a lofty church, but in a room with low ceiling, and every way plain appearance. The fact is, the church is still above you; and by this arrangement height is gained for the external elevation, and a good lecture and school room are provided for the uses of the congregation. I ascended to the church. It is well arranged and fitted; except that the Corinthian columns, which rise from floor to ceiling, interrupt the sight, and are made to carry, in their way, the galleries. Dr. Welch is a Baptist; and one inconvenience in having the church over the room is, that he could not sink a baptistery in the floor. To meet this difficulty, a large oval tub, like a brewer's vat, is provided; it is placed on rollers and slides, and is drawn out from beneath the pulpit when it is wanted. It stands three or four feet high; and must, therefore, expose the persons to be baptized. Apart from this inconvenience, I know of none other, except it be that it deprives the worthy and popular minister of one argument from scriptural expressions, on which his brethren have been accustomed to lay great stress. It can no longer be said that they go down into the water, and come up out of the water; for the fact is, they reverse the order, and go up into the water, and come down from the water. How far this may affect the validity, is a question which must be left with the hypercritics to determine.

The evening of the day, which had been thus devoted to the inspection of objects illustrative of the state of art, letters, and religion, was spent in interesting conversations at Dr. Sprague's. Chancellor Walworth, Professor Fowler, and other friends, took part in them, much to my advantage. The revivals of that vicinity, and the wants of the West, were mostly the subjects before us. The chancellor had, especially, good means of knowing the state of the West; and he candidly admitted the exigencies, as I was disposed to refer to them; but his deliberate opinion was, that the remedy was to be found in the voluntary principle, and not in any supposed provision made by the State.

On the morning of the 26th, I was to start with the coach at 2 o'clock. But, instead of coming at 2, it came at 1; and when this was complained of, the reply was, "That it was best to be before time." With too much kindness, Dr. Sprague arose to see me start fairly. We were not certain of meeting again, and, in fact, have not met since that night.

We cleared the town; crossed the bridge; and got out into the open country. The moon was sailing through the clouds, and by her occasional lights was revealing to us a wild and hilly prospect. We made an ascent of a stiff hill; and came up with the Hartford stage, which was halting in the road. The driver had just ascertained that the boot had been robbed; and they were waiting to challenge us to the pursuit and rescue. The young man whose property was missing, whined piteously, and entreated help—"He had lost a large trunk, with thirty dollars in it, besides other valuables."

There was little need of this, not very heroic, pleading. Our party was strong, and in high spirits; there was something chivalrous in the deed; and they were ready for the chase. They put to the test the safety of our own luggage; agreed on the persons who should take charge of the teams; and set forward on the search. Still the effort had a very hopeless appearance about it. The misty moonlight lay on the road and its green margin, and made itself felt; but beyond this, all was wild forest, on whose shadows it could make no impression, and where a hundred robbers, with all their booty, might find speedy and effectual cover. The force divided itself into two parties, and decided on the tracks to be taken. Each one armed himself with stick, or otherwise, as he best could; for they did not know the strength of the foe. A dog fell in with the party to which our driver was attached; and he was wise enough to let it lead. It led them to the spot where lay the black trunk, and the discovery was announced to the other pursuers by the cry which shot up among them, "Hurrah! the trunk is found." It appeared that the robber or robbers had not been able to run with it far, and were proceeding to rifle it of its contents, when they must have been alarmed. The straps were cut off, but they had not yet been able to force the lock, so that all was safe. It also appeared that the faithful dog, which had been the chief agent in finding the trunk, had first, by his barking, given notice of the robbery. The driver, on looking back to the dog, saw some moving shadows in the distance; and this sight may be supposed to have maimed his courage, for he certainly took but a small share in the general hue and cry. This dog would afterward follow our coach and driver, as if for our protection. We could not induce it to go back; and it really went till we changed both, a distance of twelve miles. Of course, the animal was in high favor with us all.

The place at which we stopped supplied us with breakfast. It is sixteen miles from Albany, and we reached it by six o'clock; so that the night was lost in running this short distance, and this was altogether unnecessary. The country began to improve on our way; and the refreshment of dressing and food prepared us to enjoy it. Pittsfield is a pleasant town, surrounded by scenery of much beauty. Lebanon is remarkable for its springs, and the Shaker settlement. Like all the settlements of this singular people which I have seen, it is admirably chosen, and as admirably cultivated. The springs and hotels attached to them are raised midway on the breasts of hills that are swelling into mountains; and every where around the rides and prospects must be most enchanting. In this respect it greatly excels Saratoga. There was a pretty good show of company.

In the middle of the day we got out of this class of scenery; and travelled over the face of hills, wild, bleak, and desolate. We paused at a house to dine, and were told that the place was Windsor. It is a miserable place. There are a few sad houses on the baldest and most barren rock. The inn is bad, and the dinner was bad. And every thing is made more waste and desolate, by the principal object in the scene being a naked burial-ground, which told you that the dead outnumbered the living.

On descending to lower ground, we were again surrounded with gushing streams, nodding pines, lovely glens, and hill-tops. Over a great part of this field of beauty, the storm which smote Utica had passed; and, though it had travelled so far, had rather accumulated than exhausted its awful power. It had passed down a gorge in the hills like a torrent, uprooting pine and cedar, and casting them about in every direction. It had swept over Cummington and Goshen, laying prostrate the timber of a whole farm, and unroofing the dwellings and churches. It had overtaken a father and a child as they were descending a hill-side in their carriage, swept them from the ground, and precipitated them into the river sixty feet below! The father recovered, but he lost his boy.

About seven in the evening I reached Northampton; but so unwell with the fever that still hung on me, that I was compelled, after writing a note to Dr. Penny, to retire. Contrary to my request, he came to me immediately, and became at once affectionately concerned for my welfare. He introduced me to the special care of the landlord, saw me provided with what was needful, and would not leave me till he had procured some simples at the druggist's for my use.

What with these precautions, and some sound rest, which perhaps I most wanted, I awoke in the morning much improved, and agreed to my friend's proposal to transfer my home from the inn to his residence. My amended health was the more grateful, as it allowed me to go with him to Amherst College. This was the day (the 27th) of the Commencement; and a principal object of my last journey had been lost, had I not been able to attend.

Amherst College has arisen out of the defection of Cambridge; so that the eruption of error at one extremity of the State, has been the establishment of it at the other. The Commencement is what we should, perhaps, call the Termination, for it is the end of the session; it is thus named, because the collegians take their degrees at this time, and thus commence a new period of literary life. Every where the Commencements are regarded as holydays; and as such, they particularly harmonize with the habits and tastes of the people. They have not the vanities of fairs, nor the strictness of a religious service; and they attract not merely the religious, but the people at large, and thus extend to the more worldly portions of the community a measure of religious influence.

We arrived early in the morning, but the services had made some advance, and the church was crammed to such a degree as to prevent our access. Dr. Penny, for my sake, engaged the services of some stewards or officers for the day, and by these means I made my way up the aisles, and found myself comfortably seated in a pew, and by the side of my friend Dr. Spring. I was afterward obliged to take a prepared seat, with Mr. Matheson, on the platform.

The sight was an interesting one. The President, Dr. Humphrey, was in the pulpit. A platform was formed below and around the pulpit, on which the Trustees and the English Deputation were accommodated, a considerable space being reserved for

the use of those who were to deliver the addresses. The clergy occupied the pews nearest the platform; and beyond these, in the area and the galleries, the spaces were filled in by a crowd of animated faces, the ladies occupying the sitting, and the men the standing accommodation. A choir of considerable size, and in something of a uniform, occupied the centre of the front gallery, to relieve the exercises by suitable musical performances.

Every student, as he completes his terms with honor to himself, is understood to be entitled to exhibit on these occasions; and it seldom happens that any one desires to be excused; so that where the college is large, the number yearly qualified is considerable. There is some inconvenience in making so many addresses in a single morning; but, on the whole, it is found to have less evil than would attend any principle of selection. The faculty know before, the length of the addresses, and they are mostly limited to about a quarter of an hour. At this time there were twenty-three engaged to make orations; musical interludes occurred after every sixth or seventh speech; and the whole audience were fully aware of the order of the speakers, by a handbill distributed throughout the place.

It will not be expected that I should exactly report, or rigidly criticise, these juvenile performances. It may be sufficient to say, that they were highly interesting, as the indications of good reading, good sense, and correct taste. They certainly must have passed under a skilful pruning-knife, or they would have shown many more juvenilities. A very good poem was delivered; one address had some admirable touches of true eloquence about it. On one subject, Phrenology, two students acted the part of appellant and respondent in clever style. But especially it was delightful to find in a college, which is not a theological institution, so many intimations of pious sentiment and correct religious principle.

A single circumstance deserves notice. One of the graduates, whose name was down to participate in the exercises, had sickened, and died. All the students wore crape on his account, and you wondered what notice would be taken of it. Not any was taken till, in the course of the service, they came to his name. Then there was a pause. The people had their attention awakened by this; they looked at the bill; and they felt its solemnity. Still no lips were opened to pronounce a eulogy; but presently some plaintive notes broke from the instrumental music in the choir, and a requiem of Mozart's was played with solemn and touching slowness. Not a person but felt the delicacy of this recognition; not a person but was affected by it.

The last oration is peculiar. One of the senior students is appointed to offer congratulatory or farewell addresses to the persons present. He addressed the President, then the Trustees; then (on this occasion) the Deputation from England; then his Class-fellows. These acknowledgments and greetings, when expressing the sentiments natural to the occasion, are appropriate and impressive.

Previously to this last oration, the President distributes the diplomas, repeating a short Latin form of presentation; and the parties so honored take their seat in the front of the gallery. The whole is closed by a short address from the President, and prayer. The engagements began at nine, and ceased about three o'clock.

After the service, we passed over the green to the dining-rooms. About 300 persons sat down to dinner, and most of them were clergymen. It was plain, and as cold as the weather would allow; good joints and tarts were in abundance, but neither wine nor spirits were to be seen. The claims of nature were soon answered; and, as there was no inducement to stay afterward, the company soon dispersed. Shortly after we had separated, one of the brethren who dined with us in perfect health, and with whom I had just shaken hands, was seized by death while partaking of a watermelon, and quickly expired. "In the midst of life we are in death!" Pliny Dickinson was in the prime of life, and the fulness of health, when he found himself in the arms of death!

The green which opened before us on quitting the dinner-table, offered a lively and busy sight. There were innumerable carriages of all descriptions, which had brought the present visiters to the spot; and numbers of persons, who had come rather in search of amusement than profit. Yet there was no sport, no show, no merry-making of any kind. But there was, as remarkably characteristic, in the midst of this bustle, a Yankee auctioneer, resolved to improve the occasion. He was mounted in a cart, and selling, or trying to sell, books, prints, harness, and carriages—the very carriage he came in.

I left early with Dr. Penny; and most of the company had left or were leaving. There was not the least sign of disorder nor of excess, either in eating or drinking. He proposed to diversify the ride, by passing through Hadley; and it afforded me much gratification. Hadley is situated on a loop of verdant land, formed by the beautiful windings of the Connecticut. It is one of the most rural and patriarchal of villages. Detached cottages run along the sides of this green parterre, and form a beautiful margin to the quiet river behind them. The church stands out in the centre of the picture; and everywhere the fine drooping elms, which abound in this vicinity, are concealing, revealing, and overshadowing the various objects that compose it. And here is, chiefly, a veteran oak, said to bear on its gnarled sides a registry, made by the Indians, of the rise of the waters at different periods. The church is adequate to the wants of this people; and so happy is the village, that there is no family that does not use it.

Besides these objects, which immediately meet the eye, here is shown a cellar in which the regicides, Whalley and Golfe, were concealed for many years. A remarkable anecdote is preserved of the former; and so well supported as to be placed beyond distrust. The Indians had attacked a village adjacent to Hadley while the people were at church, and massacred most of them. On a Sabbath day, while the parishioners of Hadley were in like manner, assembled for worship, a report sprung up in the congregation that the Indians were coming.—The men were from home, and without arms; and their little ones and dear ones, would be the first to feel the vengeance of the foe. The suddenness of the report, and their sense of defencelessness, unmanned them; and they remained irresolute, when to be so was sure destruction.

At this crisis, a stranger, with a worn countenance, silver beard, hermit's dress, and commanding aspect, appeared among them. He reproached them with their panic cowardice; urged them not to wait for the enemy; assured them that there was time to redeem the delay; and called them on to victory. As if an angel spoke, they obeyed; as if an angel led them, they fought. Everywhere the stranger was present, to command and to meet the fiercest onset of the barbarous foe. And everywhere, when he appeared, the enemy stood back, till the struggle ended in decided triumph. Relieved from their conflict and their fears, every one looked round for their deliverer; but he was not to be found. This deliverer was Whalley who had left his cave to do this deed, and who returned to it the instant it was done. What wonder if these vil-

lagers, at that distance of time, and with their rural and religious habits, believed that it was a supernatural appearance sent for their salvation?

LETTER XXII.

My dear friend—Mr. Matheson made his way from Amherst on to Meredith; but, as it was my first visit, I determined to stay over the Sabbath at Northampton. It seemed, beyond most other places, to afford the best field for observation; and I was encouraged to expect every assistance in my inquiries from the pastors here, in conjunction with Dr. Humphrey. My state of health, indeed, would have almost made this course necessary; though I had sensibly reached a climate more genial to me. The heat, too, was greatly abated; and the weather was very like our fine September seasons.

This beautiful town has a population of about 3,000, and in the township, a square of six miles, there are about 3,600. It has a main street, short, not too regular; ornamented by three churches and a court-house; running down a slope bounded by sylvan cottages, and each way looking into the country. The other streets, or verdant lanes, follow the ancient cow-walks, and wind in graceful lines about the foot and the breast of the hills on which the town is planted. On these lines appear, at various elevations, detached cottages, of considerable dimensions and in good taste. They are of wood, indeed, but in nice preservation; and, with their white fronts, Venetian blinds, piazzas, and porticoes, have the air of so many galleries of Italian villas. But the great beauty of these lanes and villas, is the wood scenery which is mixed with it and surmounts it; and especially the abundance of the Witch-elm, which is of prodigious size, and weeps like a willow, and is the image of what is most strong, most graceful. From the more elevated villas, you look over the clustering dwellings below you, to one of the most fertile of plains, covered with maize, broom-corn, and green pasturage. Here the Connecticut, which is sometimes seen dashing among the falls, winds its way so peacefully along, as to treble its distance by its length, as if charmed by the objects it reflected. And beyond this rise the mountains, which bound the view, standing up before you in decided forms, and clothed with the primitive forest, or running off to the horizon, and mingling their hues with the skies.

I was really charmed with this place; the more so, as Northampton, above all other places, had been most familiarized to my imagination. It was a pleasure to find the suggestions of the mind exceeded, as they undoubtedly were, in this instance. Every thing speaks of peace, of comfort, of retirement; of retirement relieved and endeared by society. The moral aspects, like those of nature, are pleasant and promising. The pleasure you receive is not, indeed, of that sudden and stimulating kind which must be temporary because it is violent; it is that pleasure which may sit with you in the house, attend you on the wayside, retire with you at night, rise with you in the morning, and live with you ever, refreshing all things where it comes. I have seen no place in this country at which I would so willingly reside!

I made a visit, while here, to Mount Holyoke, in company with my friend Mr. Stoddard. This spot has great fame, and is more frequented by visiters than any other in New England, or perhaps in the Union. It is thought to be the very best that is to be seen; but I have many exceptions to make against that opinion. Let us, however, glance at it. We ascended the hill, full two-thirds of its height, with our gig, and then, securing our horse, proceeded to complete the ascent on foot. It is somewhat precipitous; but the way is made easy by good foothold.

When you have attained the right point of sight, you will see the river, of which before you had only a glance, stretching itself away some thirty miles, still doubling itself, so as frequently to look as two; and having on its glassy bosom a number of small vessels, with their broad white sails covetous of the breeze. On either side is spread the finest and most considerable valley of New England, called after the name of the river which waters it, and running away into other valleys, which are gradually lost to sight. Those very distant hills which bound the view in the line of the river, and are almost hidden in the gray mist, are said to be the rocks of New-Haven, a distance of seventy miles. On looking to your left, you are surprised to see the hills and mountains stand out in such bold and broken forms, by their proximity, size, and dark foliage, giving great force to the picture; while behind them the ground shoots away in hill and dale, with Hadley just under you, and Amherst smiling through the sun in the distance. On your right, again, is Northampton, not robbed of its beauty, but reduced in prominence, so as to harmonize with the whole. You now look over its smaller hills into other valleys, and the more remote hills which form the boundaries of the State. You have now an extensive and varied scene before and around you. Its great charm—and for this country its great peculiarity—is, that it is raised to such a degree of cultivation. The extensive clearances and remaining woods give to it the animation of light and shadow; and the number of towns and villages (not less than thirty) which are half revealed to you on its lovely surface, assure you of human life, and quiet enjoyment, and awaken all the human sympathies. If this is not the finest thing in the States, it has enough to commend it to admiration and praise. It resembles, more than most scenes, some of our finest valley pictures.

There is a shed built here for the accommodation of visiters, opening both ways on the panoramic scenes. The good people should do more. They should erect a small tower, only sufficiently high to allow the spectator to take in the whole without obstruction from the trees. The spot is worthy of it; it would cost little; and would bring them much honor. The present rickety shed is a hinderance, not a help.

By-the-by, I had at this shed a sight the reverse of that which I have described. The person who stays here to receive visiters had taken a rattlesnake on the hillside, and he added to his gains by showing it. It was in a large rough box; he threw the lid backward against the wall, and the reptile appeared folded up, and slowly raising its head, as if from sleep. It was large, from three to four feet long, and very handsomely marked. Its head and eye were fearful. The man provoked it with a stick. It rose nearer to the head of the box; light glared in its projecting eyes; and it used its rattle fiercely and repeatedly. There was nothing between it and us. I never expected to be so near to so deadly a creature, unconfined, and chafed, and provoked, without fear.

Northampton is chiefly known and endeared to us by the name of Edwards; and I was very desirous to learn what I could of this admirable man, and of the effects of his opinions and labors. I visited the spot where he lived; but the house is demolished. If any thing could incline one to leniency for such an offence, it is that a very tasteful cottage occupies its place. There are, however, in the front of the grass-plot, two trees which are said to

have been planted by his hand. They belong to the class I have already noticed; they are of majestic growth, and droop beautifully—among the noblest of their kind. They are fine living memorials of the man, and promise to live for ages to come.

Nothing, perhaps has preplexed us more in the life of Edwards, than the circumstance of his sudden and painful separation from his church here, after his remarkable usefulness among them. It has contributed to shake our confidence in the results of the previous revivals; and mostly the people have been exposed to severe reprehension. Without intending to justify or condemn either party, the following remarks may assist to an amended judgment of the case.

1. Edwards asked too much at once. The people had been educated in different views on the subject of communion; and to have enforced his stricter terms, would have affected them as citizens, as well as Christians. The law of the State then forbade any man to use his rights in the commonwealth, unless he was in communion with a church. Those who would have been least concerned about terms of communion, had they touched only religious privileges, were most excited by the effect they had on those that were civil and social.

2. While the more worldly portion of the parishioners were thus suddenly exasperated at the prospect of degradation in society, the truly pious people were not prepared to uphold, zealously, the stricter plans of their minister. The subject was new to them; the system in which they had been educated, and which had the sanction of Stoddard, was the system on which they looked with partiality. Besides this, their pastor, while living among them, was, to their common minds, only a common man. As great unpleasantness had arisen, a change might be good for both parties; and they expected if he should leave, they should still find as suitable a minister.

3. Then, it must be admitted, that the manners of Edwards were neither social nor prudent. He was a recluse and a student, laboring for the church universal and generations to come; this his people did not appreciate. And he certainly was not prudent in the use of ministerial authority. It is remarkable, too, as an anomaly, that while his opinions were in advance of his times, his practice was often behind them. He adopted methods of public rebuke and humiliation which were getting obsolete; and inspired the people with fear, lest, if not themselves, their friends and children, should be exposed to such odious discipline.

Those who know something of human nature may easily comprehend how fewer and lighter circumstances may lead to a crisis, such as we have often deplored in the life of Edwards; and when the case is really seen, not as we now are accustomed to look at it, but as the acting parties *saw it at the time*, it will appear that it might happen without great blame to either.

The body of the professing people here have been attached, from the earliest settlement, not only to orthodox sentiment, but to true piety. A pleasing instance of this occurs in relation to the first pastor, Solomon Stoddard. He was engaged, on an emergency, for this people, when at Boston, and about to sail for Scotland. The good people, however, soon suffered disappointment, for he gave no indications of a renewed and serious mind. In this difficulty their resource was prayer. They agreed to set apart a day for special fasting and prayer, in reference to their pastor. Many of the persons, in meeting for this purpose, passed, necessarily, the door of the minister. Mr. Stoddard hailed a plain man whom he knew, and addressed him: "What is all this? What is doing to-day?" The reply was, "The people, sir, are all meeting to pray for your conversion." It sunk into his heart. He is said to have exclaimed to himself, "Then it is time I prayed for myself!" He was not seen that day. He was seeking in solitude what they were asking in company; and "while they were yet speaking," they were heard and answered. The pastor gave unquestionable evidence of the change; he labored among a beloved and devoted people for nearly half a century; and was for that period deservedly ranked with the most useful and able ministers of the New Testament.

The influence of his labors, and those of President Edwards, remains visibly and most happily over this people. The pious persons have much gravity and steadiness of character; they incline, after their great teacher, to metaphysical distinctions; require to be addressed through the understanding, and look vigilantly to their motives of action.

Those who cannot venture on the ground of nice speculation, express the same fixedness of mind, in an attachment to the simple elements of religion, and to the means of religious worship. When, as yet, no taste may be awakened towards these objects, the sense of duty and the force of habit will constrain conformity. Two or three instances are so characteristic, they must not be omitted.

Mr. W., the former pastor, had been incensed by his neighbor's geese straying into his garden. He threatened that if they should do so he would kill them; and on one occasion, in a moment of vexation, he did kill one of them. Now it happened that the geese were the property of a widow, and were under the care of her daughter Mary; and the one killed was a pet of Mary's. She was the first to descry the mischief; and, full of distress, she ran within, exclaiming, "O, mother, will you think it! Mr. W. has killed the goose;" "Killed the goose, my child!" cried the astonished mother. "Yes, mother; O, I think I shall never be able to go to church to hear him again!" This allusion to church restored the parent from present anger. "Mary!" she said, "never speak such a word as that, my child!" "Well, then, mother," she replied, checking herself, "I think I shall never be able to go without thinking of my goose!"

Among the attendants at church is a person who indulges in intemperate habits. The ministry of Dr. Penny cuts and confounds him; yet he attends. He told him that he would give him a couple of thousand dollars if he would leave the town, for he thought he should shoot him some day. Still this man never thinks of leaving church, as a remedy which he has in his own hands!

One of the parishioners, on getting married, and referring to his conduct in domestic life, remarked to his pastor, with complacency, that he had set up family prayer. "Family prayer!" said the minister, "but you swear still, don't you?" "Well, but you know," he replied, "one *must* have family prayer. Of the two, I had rather give up swearing than family prayer." Habit and example had taught him to look on it as a part of the furniture of domestic life!

The more remote influence is striking and beneficial. There are very few families in the whole township without domestic worship; there are not more than three families unconnected with a place of worship; there are not half a dozen persons given to intoxication. There is no poverty; there are no criminals; the jail is often empty for three months together; and the judge passes on his way, having no delivery to make. A lady's veil was found lately on the high road. It was hung on the

hedge by the wayside; it remained there all day, and, in fact, till the owner came and claimed it.

Their morality has yet a higher complexion. No small evidence is given of this in their treatment of the ministers of the mother church. They agree to their salary in common hall. Dr. Penny's, as the actual pastor, passes as a matter of course. But Mr. Williams has resigned his charge, and is wholly superannuated. Yet they do not say of him, He is a withered tree! No: they agree, as freely and without remark, to the salary he has always enjoyed. This I think noble, and the delicacy admirable. Yet these people are a plain people; who shall say they are not refined and elevated?

I embraced readily all opportunities of intercourse with this excellent people, and the views they gave me of their social and domestic habitudes were very grateful. The society is somewhat more mixed than it might be found in most towns of its size; as, from its reputation for comfort and beauty, many families in easy circumstances have retired hither. I attended with my friend, Dr. Penny, on one occasion, a party of considerable size. We were introduced to a pretty suit of rooms, in one of the cottages on the hillside which I have noticed. There were from fifty to sixty persons present; mostly young persons, and all in a state of Christian communion. The intercourse was unconstrained and cheerful; the manners amiable, without reserve and without assumption; the *tout ensemble* equal to any thing of its kind in our own land.

I had good opportunities of conversing with the young persons, and especially those who had recently joined the church. I found them intelligent, well-taught, affable, benevolent, and pious. Dr. Penny collected several young female friends around me, and we got into full conversation. He called them his children; and looking on them with pastoral complacency, wanted to know if I could equal them from among my English circles. This was a challenge playfully given; my looks told him, if they were true to me, that I did not shrink from it. But I have seldom been in so engaging a circle. You must not accuse me of national partiality, if I say, I felt it to be unusually English. The open heart, the winning smile, the bright intelligence, the simple white dresses, and the fresh complexion, which is less common here, all reminded me of some of our sweetest youthful circles at home.

I had an opportunity of attending a prayer-meeting with this people. It was on the evening, and held in the court-house. There were, I should suppose, about 200 present. Dr. Penny presided. It was conducted in a similar manner to our own, except that the short address was given at the commencement instead of the close, and in this instance, formed a sort of guide to the prayers. Two of the brethren were called on to offer supplications. They did so in an edifying manner; and the people participated, as those who were accustomed to value the exercise.

On the Sabbath I had engaged to preach in the evening; but had reserved the other portions of the day for the privilege of hearing. I attended at the mother church in the morning. It is larger than most, and equal to any I have seen. It will seat 1,600 persons, and might be made to accommodate many more. There were perhaps 1,400 assembled. I sat by an old standard of the place, and sang out of a book that had passed through three generations. The services were interesting. The sermon, on this occasion, was read.

In the afternoon I worshipped at the Edwards Church, an offshoot from this, and only about two years old. It will seat about 800 people, and about 300 were now present. Mr. Todd, the excellent pastor, officiated. He read his sermon; and all the services were well sustained. Both himself and Dr. Penny are recently settled here. They are different men; but they understand each other, and act in perfect accordance. In the first separation of the younger church, there was some feeling to allay. Had they meanly attempted to promote their individual importance by increasing it, it would have sown discord in both communities; but their determined co-operation has annihilated the jealousies which were contingent on the separation, and though meeting on different spots, they are truly one community.

Nothing was more striking to a stranger than the great punctuality in attending the call of worship. I was prepared to see them go, but not as they did. While the bell is ringing, the people pass along the streets like a stream; when it has ceased, the town looks like a deserted village. In the morning our watches deceived us, and Dr. Penny and myself happened to be a trifle too late. I saw nobody on the way—and nobody entering—I feared we should have a bad attendance. The fact was, the church was full. Scarcely any body came in after we had entered.

In the evening I was to preach to the joint congregations. I walked out to the burial-ground, which had become a favorite resort to me as a place of study. It is very attractive. For pious remains and memorials it is the Bunhill Fields of Northampton; and in every thing else it has the advantage. Its size is considerable, and it has received additions lately. The ground swells pleasantly; it is not neglected, nor is it exactly kept, so that it has an air of freedom and negligence not unbecoming. It is near the town, so that the dead are not forgotten; and it is out of the town, so that it is not liable to disturbance. The aspect is serious and solitary, but not depressing; the earliest and latest lights of the summer day glance sweetly over it.

The setting sun found me pacing alone its verdant and unfrequented paths. There were no recent interments to give you distress; and the white marble slabs spoke of piety, hope, and endless life. Here and there, as guardian of the spot, stood the aged elm-tree, casting silently its long shadows over the silent graves; and everywhere the grass had tufted itself around them, while Aaron's rod, that buddeth, with its profusion of yellow blossoms, waved gently over them. It was a delightful retirement. Not a creature was to be seen, not a sound to be heard, except the distant lowing of the domestic cow. Nothing moved except myself, and a few birds which were flitting about, with no song, but a plaintive note, as if lamenting a hand that fed them, but feeds them no more.

Here I walked till I was weary, and then I rested on the tomb of Brainerd, desirous in the recollection of him to find an improved state of mind for my own duties.

I passed from the ground to the church. It was quite full, being a contribution not only from four joint churches, but from the Episcopalian and Unitarian also. My services were kindly received.

Before my arrival at this place, I had learned from Mr. Todd that there had been a considerable revival during the last winter in the town, and in proportion as by knowledge I acquired confidence in the excellent pastors, I was anxious to possess myself of exact information on the subject. I had lengthened conversations with them, and with Mr. Solomon Stoddard, the descendant of the pastor of that name, for this purpose. The latter gentleman, with the sanction of the ministers, has been kind enough to supply me with the substance of these communications; and as it will doubtless be a most acceptable document to you on every account, I shall insert the whole of it as the summary of what

is most important, in leaving this interesting place and people.

"Northampton, in Massachusetts, on Connecticut river, is a township about six miles square, and in 1830 contained 3,600 inhabitants. Of these probably four fifths live near the centre, constituting the village; the remainder reside in different and distant parts of the town, in small settlements. A Congregational Church was organized here in 1661, and till 1824, it continued the only church in the town, the people all worshipping in one meeting-house. Its second and third ministers were Solomon Stoddard and Jonathan Edwards, the former for fifty-seven, the latter for twenty-three years. About ten years ago a small Unitarian society was formed, who erected for themselves a house of worship. Since, an Episcopal and a Baptist meeting-house have been erected, but very few of those denominations are resident here. Probably four fifths of the whole population remain orthodox Congregationalists.

"The church, since its organization, has been visited, in not less than twenty instances, with the special effusions of the Spirit of God. Of these, five occurred under the ministry of Stoddard, and two very remarkable ones under that of Edwards, of which he published a detailed account. Much, doubtless, of the prosperity of this church, even till now, is, under God, to be attributed to the teaching, example, and prayers of that distinguished man. He was dismissed in 1750, and from that time revivals have occurred at intervals of from three to ten years. Those in 1819, 1826, and 1831, were especially powerful, and the results were the accession of more than 500 members to the church.

"A very large meeting-house was erected in 1812, but two years since it became evident that the congregation was too numerous for convenience, and for the labor of one pastor. In consequence, a voluntary colony was formed to constitute another church, which, in memory of Edwards, was called the Edwards Church. It at first contained about 100 members, and in January, 1833, the Rev. John Todd was installed its pastor. A place of worship was built the same year, and dedicated December the 25th. In June, 1833, the Rev. Joseph Penny was installed over the First (old) Church, which had been more than a year without a minister.

"At the close of the year the state of religion was low, religious meetings were thinly attended, and great apathy prevailed. The week after the dedication of the Edwards Church, a committee was appointed by its pastor and brethren, to go, two and two, and visit all the members of that church, to excite them to activity in their Master's service, and to fervent prayer for his presence and blessing. The effects were apparently good, considerable feeling was discovered or elicited, and a desire for a revival produced. The first Monday of January, by recommendation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, was extensively observed in this country as a day of fasting and prayer, for the conversion of the world. It was thought best here, that the exercises during the day should have special reference to the condition of these churches and this community. Accordingly prayer-meetings were held in the different districts of the town in the morning, and in the afternoon a public meeting was attended, at which the pastors made a full and particular exhibition of the proofs of a cold and dead state of religion here, and urged on the churches the importance of awaking from their lethargy, and engaging in united and earnest prayers and exertions for the prosperity of our Zion. The meeting was fully attended, and solemn, as was the monthly concert in the evening.

"It soon became evident that a decided impression was made on that day. Religious meetings were fuller, prayer was more fervent, religion became a subject of more conversation, and a general desire for a revival seemed to pervade the churches. The interest increased; and the last week in January, the pastors thought it advisable to appoint special meetings, in reference to the peculiar circumstances of the people. Daily morning meetings for prayer, in private houses, in different parts of the town, were now commenced; and a public service was appointed for each evening in the week. The morning meetings were conducted by laymen: some of the evenings were occupied by the pastors, in endeavoring to arouse the churches, to make them feel their responsibility, and engage actively in stirring up each other, and in conversing freely with the impenitent—duties which had been greatly neglected. On other evenings, the churches met for united prayer; while non-professors were invited to assemble in another place, and were solemnly urged to attend to the concerns of their souls.—These meetings were well attended, and deep impressions were made on some minds. At the close of the week an inquiry-meeting was held, at which a considerable number were present.

"The next Sabbath, the two churches celebrated the Lord's Supper together; and it was a solemn and interesting occasion. During the week, similar services to those already mentioned were held.—Towards its close, it became evident that increased effort was demanded, and that a crisis was near—the standard of the Lord would go forward or backward, according to the faith and zeal of those who bore it. The church had not yet, *as a whole*, come up to the work; nor had the convictions of the unconverted, in many instances, resulted in submission of the heart to God. On Saturday, a select meeting of brethren was held, to confer with the pastors; and the result was a determination that brethren, in equal numbers from each church, should, the ensuing week, visit, two and two, every *family* belonging to the two *congregations*, to press on professors of religion their obligations, and the importance of consistent and decided action, and to pray with them in behalf of the unconverted members of their families, and also to converse fully with the impenitent, and beseech them now to be reconciled to God. The visiters were animated, the visits were thorough and solemn, and the results happy. This week, in addition to the (now) usual morning and evening meetings, there was preaching every afternoon. The meetings were thronged—a general solemnity pervaded the people, and the inquiry-meetings brought together a large number, anxiously asking what they should do to be saved. Instances of hopeful conversion began now to occur, and religion to be regarded as 'the one thing needful.'

"Yet there was no visible excitement either in the meetings or in the town. A passer-by would have noticed nothing peculiar in the aspect of things abroad; and the meetings were distinguished only by numbers, profound attention, and the head bowed down, indicating unwonted emotion. The next week the morning and evening meetings were continued, and, in the afternoon, social meetings were held by the visiters in their several districts, for conversation and prayer. It was now easy to converse freely on the subject of religion, with all classes of persons: the conscience was tender, and the impenitent, generally, seemed to expect and to desire to be addressed. The inquiry-meetings were thronged: from 130 to 200 persons were present, and it was a scene of thrilling interest. All were invited to attend, who wished for personal conversation in relation to the state of their minds. Du-

ring these meetings, the churches were always assembled in another place, to pray for a blessing. So large a number came now, as inquirers, that it became necessary for the pastors to call in several laymen to assist.

"The meetings were conducted as follows:—One of the pastors commenced with a prayer and a short address; after which, the pastors and brethren took different parts of the room, and conversed with each individual in a low voice, endeavoring to ascertain the precise state of mind, and to give such advice and directions as the case required. Lists were taken of the names and residence of each person present, that they might afterward be visited and conversed with at home. An hour was thus spent in conversation, and, in some instances, afterward, those who had come to the decision to renounce their sins, receive Jesus as their Saviour, and dedicate themselves to the service of God, were requested to rise; and it is believed that such a call was, to some, the means of conversion at the moment. Those not occupied in conversation were advised to spend the time in silent meditation and prayer, giving their whole minds to the subject, and bringing them to an issue at once. The meetings were closed with an address and prayer, and seasonably dismissed. They were eminently blessed, and were, doubtless, the birthplace of many souls.

"The morning and evening meetings were continued for some weeks, and also those for inquiry. The number who entertained the belief that they had been renewed in heart became large; and one or two evenings each week were occupied by the pastors, in giving instructions, in presence of the churches, to such, in relation to the duties and dangers of their new situation.

"The ministerial labors of this season of revival were performed, with three or four exceptions, by the pastors themselves, without aid from abroad. All the meetings, save those on the Sabbath, were united meetings of the two churches; and all that was done, was done with concert and harmony. The preaching was simple, but powerful; calculated not so much to produce excitement of feeling, as deep and strong convictions of truth and duty. It exhibited the character of God as pure and holy; the spirituality and extent of his law; the guilt and depravity of man; the ingratitude, odiousness, and misery of sin; the freeness of the gospel offers of mercy; the obligations to immediate repentance, and the unreasonableness and danger of delay. It exposed the fallacious objections and cavils of sinners, stripped them of every vain plea, and brought them to decide for or against immediate submission to God.

"Of the subjects of the work, a few were aged, several in middle life, but most were young. Some had been well instructed in the truth, and were moral and respectable; others were ignorant and unprincipled; some were Unitarians, who were induced, by curiosity, to attend the meetings; a few were affected, and hopefully converted, without being present at any of the special services. A large number of the converts were members of the Sabbath school; some entire classes were taken; one of them was a class of sixteen young men; the teacher was accustomed to visit each scholar, in the course of the week, for personal conversation and prayer. In this and other instances, the blessing seemed proportioned to the efforts and prayers of the teachers.

"There were no individual instances of so marked a nature as to require specification. Though the peculiar exercises of the subjects of the work were very various, yet they were usually silent and deep, rather than obvious and obtrusive. In general, the mind soon came to a decision, and the results, for the most part, were very similar—a calm and peaceful joy in God, and a desire of devotedness to his service. The work was very rapid in its progress. Nearly all the conversions took place within five or six weeks after the commencement of special means, and a large proportion in three weeks. An enrolment was made of the names of those who intended, at a future time, to join the church; and the number so enrolled, who were considered subjects of the work, was about 250. Besides these, were several belonging to the neighboring towns, and others, making the number of hopeful converts about 300. Of those enrolled, 150 have since been admitted to these churches, on examination, furnishing to the pastor and church committee credible evidence of piety, and publicly professing their faith in Christ. The remainder, many of whom are young, are considered as catechumens, to be watched over and instructed for future examination. None of these are known to have apostatized and renounced their hopes, and most of them are manifestly walking in newness of life.

"The interest which was manifested in the winter, gradually diminished as the season opened; or, at least, the press of business caused a decline in attendance on meetings; and these were made less numerous, till they were reduced to the customary number. In one district, however, the morning prayer-meetings have been continued to the present time. The good influences of the revival are, in many ways, still felt. There is a full attendance upon the means of grace, a tenderness of conscience in some, and a strong desire in not a few for the renewal of the blessing. The general effect on the churches has been, to unite them and their pastors in zealous co-operation with each other; to add to their strength as well as numbers; and to draw closer the ties of Christian brotherhood, and increase the labors of Christian faithfulness.

"*Remarks.*—1. This work was manifestly of God, and not of man. On no other ground can its commencement, its progress, or its results be accounted for. The philosophy which rejects the necessity and reality of the Divine agency in revivals, is utterly unable to explain their phenomena. It cannot tell nor see why Christian professors, who had long been slumbering in cold indifference to their duty, should suddenly and simultaneously awake, and arise, and call upon God; or why the careless, the profane, the errorist, and the skeptic, should now be brought to solemn reflection, diligent attendance upon the means of grace, anxious consideration, and thorough and permanent reformation of heart and life.

"2. It was, at the same time, the result of prayer and effort. The Divine blessing was, no doubt, fervently sought on the first Monday of January, from which time increased interest began to be manifest. The churches humbled themselves, they repented of their backslidings, and renewedly engaged to be wholly devoted to their Master's service. They went forth to his work. They exhibited, in some measure, the true spirit of the gospel; especially did they cry mightily to God, for his Spirit to be poured out upon them, their families, and the community. The special means which were appointed, were, indeed, rather the consequence than the cause of awakened feeling; yet they were necessary to its progress, and without them it would, without doubt, speedily have subsided.

"3. This revival illustrated the powerful influence of a church when awake, active, and faithful. Much was done by Christians to excite each other to duty; much to induce the penitent to flee

for refuge to the Saviour. Christians were then seen and felt to be in earnest—to believe and to act on what they professed—to relax their hold on earthly pursuits and pleasures, and to seek first and chiefly to do their duty to God, and to their dying fellow-men. The result was, a general solemnity—a conviction, even among the most thoughtless, that God was here, that religion is a reality, and that the only true wisdom is to give it immediate and earnest attention. The minds of all were open to personal exhortation and reproof, and conversation and personal influence were instrumental of the happiest consequences.

"4. In this work was seen the immense value of religious instruction. Those who were most interested, and who were soonest brought to repentance and submission, were, in general, those who had been thoroughly taught the truths of the Bible, who knew their duty and obligation, and who, when the Spirit touched their hearts, had no shield of error or ignorance, no cavils or objections to interpose, to blunt the edge of conviction. They saw the claims of conscience and of God, and felt them to be irresistible. Such a revival is eminently the time, when the seeds of truth sown in the youthful mind spring up and bring forth fruit. In one of the congregations, of one hundred hopeful converts, seventy were members of the Sabbath school.

"5. In this work was eminently illustrated the practical importance of pressing upon sinners their obligations to *immediate* repentance. The impenitent were called on, without a moment's delay, to cease their rebellion against the authority of God, and accept of proffered mercy; they were told that to *delay* was to *refuse;* that nothing effectual was or could be done till the heart was yielded up to God; and that this work demands no length of time, no series of means, no protracted efforts, but might be, ought to be, must be, done *now;* that there is no other accepted time but the present moment; and that God now commanded them to repent. Such appeals were not in vain; and in many instances, during the sermon or the address, it is believed, the heart surrendered itself to the Saviour. No other mode of dealing with men can reach their case, or serve but as an opiate to their consciences in regard to present duty."

ACCOUNT OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

The school in the first parish has about sixty teachers, and 500 scholars. That in the Edwards Church has thirty teachers, and 200 scholars. The teachers are in general intelligent, and nearly all pious, and professors of religion. Some of them are middle-aged; but most are men and women from twenty to thirty years of age. The scholars are from every class of families, including the most refined and respectable. About three-fifths of them are children under fifteen years of age; of the remainder, some are adults, from twenty-five to sixty; but the majority, youths of both sexes. The schools are held one hour each Sabbath, after the morning or afternoon service; they are opened with prayer. All the classes study the same lesson, which is a passage of the Bible, in course; a book of questions adapted to it is used; and the pupils are expected to commit the passage to memory, and be able to answer all the questions. The teachers meet, usually on Saturday evening, to discuss and prepare the lesson. One of their number, or the pastor, presides, and the meetings are opened and closed with prayer. These meetings are regarded as highly interesting and useful. Prayer-meetings have at times been held by the teachers on Sabbath morning, with particular reference to the duties of the day, and the results have been very happy. The teachers are expected not only to explain and enforce the lesson, but to use every proper means to promote the eternal welfare of their pupils. The great and ultimate object which they have in view is their conversion and salvation; and, in dependance on God, they labor and pray for this blessing. They endeavor, by exhortation and influence, to persuade them, without delay, to devote themselves to the service of Jesus Christ.

There are large libraries in each school, books from which are given out every Sabbath, to be retained not exceeding a fortnight. Care is taken to admit no works into the library without careful examination of their character. They are numbered and charged to each scholar when received.

All absences are noted, and the teachers or the visiters (a board appointed for the purpose in the first parish school) are expected, every fortnight, to visit the families whose members have been absent, to notify the parents of the fact, and inquire the reason.

The monthly concert for Sabbath schools is well observed, and is usually very interesting. There is, in each school, a missionary association, comprising most of the scholars, who contribute monthly for some benevolent religious charity. The funds of one of these are now applied to establishing a school in Ceylon; those of the other, in supporting a home missionary at the West. They will probably raise, during the year, 200 or 300 dollars.

Of course, all the labor connected with the Sabbath school is gratuitous. It blesses those who teach not less than those who are taught. It is the hope of the church; it is the great preventive of moral deterioration in our land; and the most powerful antidote to those evils which seem to threaten our popular government.

LETTER XXIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND—On the Monday, September the 1st, I left Northampton to proceed on my way to Meredith. I need not say that I had much regret on leaving; but it was qualified considerably by the hope that I should meet my brethren again at Hartford.

We passed through Amherst; and I may as well remark, that during my stay at Northampton I visited that place a second time, and Dr. Humphrey, with Mr. Adams, the pastor of the church, were so obliging as to come over and spend a morning with me at Dr. Penny's. This college is excellently situated on elevated ground, and in a country at once open, varied, and grand. It itself has a good and handsome appearance, but is not on so large a scale as the number of students would suggest, for they board in different families in the village. Professor Hitchcock, known advantageously to the public by his productions on geology, attended me over the premises. The accommodations for the general uses are decidedly good. There is a library of about 7,000 volumes; and there is an apparatus which cost 5,000 dollars, a recent purchase at Paris, It is a young institution; but it has grown rapidly, and it has done so without impairing its vigor.

It is, however, chiefly remarkable for several revivals which have occurred in it in succession. Certainly revivals in this connection are of the most interesting character. Dr. Humphrey was kindly at great pains to satisfy my inquiries on the subject. Since then I have seen the account drawn up by Mr. Abbott; and it is so important, and I can so fully confirm it by the information I received, that I do not hesitate to make the following extracts:—

"In 1827, the state of religion was very low in this college. Faithful religious instruction was

given on the Sabbath, at the chapel where the students were required to attend, and we were accustomed to hold also a meeting for familiar religious instruction one evening during the week. At this meeting, however, scarcely any were present; a small portion of the actual members of the church were accustomed to attend, but never any one else. If a single individual, not professedly a Christian, had come in for a single evening, it would have been noticed as a rare occurrence, and talked of by the officers as something unexpected and extraordinary. Our hearts ached, and our spirits sunk within us, to witness the coldness and hardness of heart towards God and duty which reigned among so large a number of our pupils. Every private effort which we could make with individuals entirely failed, and we could see, too, that those who professed to love the Saviour were rapidly losing their interest in his cause, and becoming engrossed in literary ambition and college rivalry, dishonoring God's cause, and gradually removing every obstacle to the universal prevalence of vice and sin.

"There was then in college a young man who had been among the foremost in his opposition to religion. His talents and his address gave him a great deal of personal influence, which was of such a character as to be a constant source of solicitude to the government. He was repeatedly involved in difficulties with the officers on account of his transgressions of the college laws, and so well known were his feelings on the subject, that when at a government meeting, during the progress of the revival, we were told with astonishment, by the President, that this young man was suffering great distress on account of his sins, it was supposed by one of the officers that it must be all a pretence, feigned to deceive the President, and make sport for his companions. The President did not reply to the suggestion, but went to visit him; and when I next saw him, he said, 'There's no *pretence* there. If the Spirit of God is not at work upon his heart, I know nothing about the agency of the Spirit.'

"That young man is now the pastor of a church, active and useful, and, when commencing this narrative, I wrote to him to send me such reminiscences of this scene as might remain upon his mind. He writes me thus:—

"'VERY DEAR SIR,

"'My obligations to you as a friend and instructer, make me anxious to fulfil my promise, of drawing up a sketch of the revival at Amherst College during the last two or three weeks of April, 1827. I have been delayed, partly by sickness and the unusual pressure of duties here, partly by the difficulty of settling in my mind a clear idea of what you wish, and partly by the impossibility of reviving the memory of facts and impressions in the exact order of their occurrence. If this communication should reach you too late to answer your purpose, it will at least prove my wish to yield you such assistance as I may.

"'For a considerable time previous, the subject of religion in college had fallen into great neglect; even the outward forms were very faintly observed. During nearly two years, in which I had been connected with the college, I had never heard the subject mentioned among the students, except as matter of reproach and ridicule. At least, this is true, so far as my intercourse with the students was concerned. Those who professed piety, either through timidity or unconcern, seemed to let the subject rest, and were chiefly devoted to indolence or literary ambition. But while religion was shamed and fugitive, irreligion was bold and free. A majority of the students were avowedly destitute of piety; and of these a large portion were open or secret infidels; and many went to every length they could reach, of levity, profaneness, and dissipation. So many animosities and irregularities prevailed, as to endanger the general reputation of the seminary.

"'Some of the students who were differently situated from myself, may perhaps have noticed preparatory movements on the common mass of mind, indicating an under-current of feeling, gradually gaining strength, and preparing the community for the results which were to follow. But I saw none; and none such could have been generally apparent. Upon myself, the change opened with as much suddenness as power.

"'The first circumstance which attracted my attention was a sermon from the President on the Sabbath. I do not know what the text and subject were, for, according to a wicked habit, I had been asleep till near its close. I seemed to be awakened by a *silence* which pervaded the room; a deep, solemn attention, which seems to spread over an assembly when all are completely engrossed in some absorbing theme. I looked around, astonished, and the feeling of profound attention seemed to settle on myself. I looked towards the President, and saw him calm and collected, but evidently most deeply interested in what he was saying—his whole soul engaged, and his countenance beaming with an expression of eager earnestness, which lighted up all his features, and gave to his language unusual energy and power.

"'What could this mean? I had never seen a speaker and his audience so engaged. He was making a most earnest appeal to prevent those who were destitute of religion *themselves*, from doing any thing to obstruct the progress of the revival which he hoped was approaching; or of doing any thing to prevent the salvation of others, even if they did not desire salvation for themselves. He besought them, by all the interests of immortality, and for the sake of themselves, and of their companions, to desist from hostilities against the work of God.

"'The discourse closed, and we dispersed. But many of us carried away the arrow in our hearts. The gayest and the hardiest trembled at the manifest approach of a sublime and unwonted influence. Among some who might have been expected to raise the front of opposition, I resolved not to do it, but to let it take its course, keeping away from its influence, without doing any thing to oppose it; but neutrality was impossible.

"'It was probably with an intention somewhat similar to that which prompted the meetings which the irreligious students held by themselves the year before, that the following plan was formed. A student, who was temporarily my room-mate, importuned me to invite one of the tutors to conduct a religious meeting in my room. I told him I would, if he would obtain the promise of certain individuals, ten in number, whom I named, that they would attend. I selected such individuals as I was confident would not consent to be present. In a short time, he surprised me with the information that he had seen them all, and that they had consented to the proposal. Of course, I was obliged, though reluctantly, to request the tutor to hold such a meeting. Most of us repaired to the place at the appointed time, with feelings of levity or of bitter hostility to religion. My room-mate had waggishly placed a Hebrew Bible on the stand. Whether this circumstance, or the character of his auditory, suggested the subject which the tutor chose, I know not; but, after opening the meeting with prayer, he entered into a defence of the Divine authority of the holy Scriptures, from external and internal evidence, which he maintained in the most convincing manner; and then, on the strength of this autho-

rity, he urged its promises and denunciations upon us as sinners. The effect was very powerful. Several retired deeply impressed, and all were made more serious, and better prepared to be influenced by the truth. So that this affair "fell out rather to the furtherance of the gospel."

"'My own interest in the subject rapidly increased, and one day, while secluded in my apartment, and overwhelmed with conflicting emotions of pride and despair, I was surprised by a visit from the President. He informed me that he had come with the hope of dissuading me from *doing any thing to hinder the progress of the revival.* After intimating that he need feel no apprehensions on that point, I confessed to him, with difficulty, the agitation of my thoughts. Apparently much affected, he only said, "Ah, I was afraid you would never have such feelings." After remaining silent a few minutes, he engaged in prayer, and retired, advising me to attend a certain meeting of my class-mates for prayer. I felt very much like the Syrian general, when offended by the supposed neglect of the prophet; for I thought he would have seized the opportunity to do some great thing for the relief of my laboring mind.

"'With feelings still more excited, I repaired to one of my class-mates, who had the reputation of being one of the most consistent Christians among us. I asked him, with tears, to tell me what I should do to be saved. He, too, betrayed his wonder, and only resorted to prayer with me, in which he could do little but say, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on *us*." Long afterward I learned that when he left me, to join a circle assembled that evening for prayer, he told them that my inquiry for the way of salvation made him feel as if he needed to learn it himself.'

"I have thus followed out this particular case, in order to give to my readers, by means of a minute examination of one specimen, a clear idea of the nature of the changes which were effected. There were, however, many other cases, as marked and striking as this; so that any person who was a member of college at that time might be in doubt, after reading the preceding description, which of half a dozen decided enemies of religion, who were at this time changed, was the one referred to. In fact, the feeling went through the college—it took the whole. Nothing like opposition to it was known, except that, perhaps, in a very few cases, individuals made efforts to shield *themselves* from its influence; and one or two did this successfully, by keeping themselves for many days under the influence of ardent spirit! With a few exceptions of this kind, the unwonted and mysterious influence was welcomed by all. It was not among Christians a feeling of terror, of sadness, and melancholy, but of delight. Their countenances were not gloomy and morose, as many persons suppose is the case at such a time, but they beamed with an expression of enjoyment, which seemed to be produced by the all-pervading sense of the immediate presence of God. I have seen, in other cases, *efforts to appear solemn*—the affected gravity of countenance, and seriousness of tone—but there was nothing of that here. Hearts were all full to overflowing, and it was with a mysterious mingling of peace and joy—an emotion of deep overwhelming gladness in the soul, though of a character so peculiar that it expressed itself in the countenance by mingled smiles and tears.

"The ordinary exercises of college were not interrupted. The President held two or three religious meetings during the week, but recitations went on unchanged, and I well recollect the appearance of my mathematical classes. The students would walk silently and slowly from their rooms, and assemble at the appointed place. It was plain that the hearts of many of them were full of such emotions as I have described. Others, who were still unrenewed, would sit with downcast eyes, and when it came to their turn to be questioned, would make an effort to control their feelings, and finding that they could not recite, would ask me to excuse them.—Others, known heretofore as enemies of God and religion, sat still, their heads reclined upon the seats before them, with their hearts overwhelmed with remorse and sorrow, and eyes filled with tears. I could not ask them a question. One morning, I recollect, so strong and so universal were these feelings, that we could not go on. The room was silent as death. Every eye was down; I called upon one after another, but in vain; and we together prayed God to come and be with us, and bless us, and to save us and our class-mates from sin and suffering, and then silently went to our rooms.

"The buildings were as still this week as if they had been depopulated. The students loved to be alone. They walked about silently. They said little when they met, as men always do when their hearts are full. Late in the evening, they would collect in little circles in one another's rooms, to spend a few moments in prayer. I was often invited to these meetings; and it was delightful to see the little assembly coming into the room at the appointed time, each bringing his own chair, and gathering around the bright burning fire, with the armed chair placed in one corner for their instructer, and the two occupants of the room together upon the other side. They who were present at these meetings will not soon forget the enjoyment with which their hearts were filled, as they here bowed in supplication before God.

"On Tuesday and Thursday evenings we assembled in the largest lecture-room, for more public worship. It was the same room where, a few weeks before, on the same occasions, we could see only here and there one, among the vacant gloomy seats. Now how changed! At the summons of the evening bell, group after group ascended the stairs, and crowded the benches. It was the rhetorical lecture-room, and was arranged with rows of seats on the three sides, and a table for the professor on a small platform on the fourth. The seats were soon full, and settees were brought in to fill the area left in the centre. The President was seated at the table; on either side of him the professors; and beyond them, and all around, the room was crowded with young men, hungering and thirsting after the Word of God.

"I recollect particularly one of these meetings. It was one of the earliest after the revival commenced, and before us, crowding the settees in the open area, were gathered all the wild, irreligious, vicious, and abandoned young men which the institution contained. There they were, the whole of them; all enmity gone, opposition silenced, and pride subdued; and they sat in silence, gazing at the President, and drinking in all his words, as he pressed upon them their sins, and urged them to throw down the weapons of their rebellion, and come and submit themselves to God. The text for the evening, if I recollect right, was this—'Notwithstanding, be ye sure of this, the kingdom of God has come nigh unto you.' Every person in the room felt that it was nigh. He spoke in a calm, quiet, but impressive manner, and every word went to a hundred and fifty hearts.

"We listened to the sermon, which was earnest and impressive, though direct, plain, and simple; it told the ungodly hearers before us that the kingdom of heaven was nigh them, and urged them to enter it. We knew—we could almost feel they were entering it; and when, at the close of the

meeting, we sang our parting hymn, I believe there was as much real, deep-flowing happiness in that small but crowded apartment, as four such walls ever contained.

"When the indications of this visit from above first appeared, it was about a fortnight before the close of the term, and in about ten days its object was accomplished. Out of the whole number of those who had been irreligious at its commencement, about one half professed to have given themselves up to God; but as to all the talent, and power of opposition, and open enmity—the vice, the profaneness, the dissipation—the revival took the whole. With one or two exceptions, it took the whole. And when, a few weeks afterward, the time arrived for those thus changed to make a public profession of religion, it was a striking spectacle to see them standing in a crowd in the broad aisle of the college chapel, purified, sanctified, and in the presence of all their fellow-students renouncing sin, and solemnly consecrating themselves to God. Seven years have since elapsed, and they are in his service now. I have their names before me, and I do not know of one who does not continue faithful to his Master still."

In the close of the day I reached Brattleborough. A gentleman had been taken into our stage, who had been overturned in his way from Boston, and greatly hurt. Mr. Matheson had kindly sent me word that I could get on by the stages so as to be in time at Meredith; but I soon found that he had been misinformed. It was still very difficult to obtain from the coach-masters any thing like certain information on the route I wished to take. Each one was for urging his coach, though it would take you thirty miles out of your road.

On the morning of the third, I started again for Oxford Bridge. The coach was to leave at three o'clock, but I was called at two; and, five minutes after, I was summoned to enter it. I had been taught to reckon on this before. The ride was very beautiful and varied. Bellows Falls made a striking picture. The height of the fall is inconsiderable; but the river dashes down through the vast masses of gray granite rock in noble style. From the sides of the cascade, the rocks, which have escaped the ruin, stand up in wild and abrupt forms. The pretty village, with its pretty church, and two or three superior cottages, crown the scene. It is both handsome and romantic. This was once a favorite resort with the Indians; they came to fish, and to while away the time, charmed by the beautiful forms and melodies of nature, they knew not why. There are still on some rocks, which have suffered least by the attrition of the waters and of time, a few efforts to represent the human countenance, which discover more skill than we usually ascribe to them.

Oxford Bridge received us before nightfall. The inn at which I rested till morning is among the best I have seen for cleanliness and comfort. The people occupying it were decidedly religious, and I like to connect the proprieties of life with true religion.

At four o'clock I was again in the stage. I had been ready some time; for it was now behind the hour named; but it was on a cross-road, and not exposed to competition. A very heavy fog lay on the ground; and being alone in the coach, I had difficulty in keeping warm. The sun afterward broke out, and the day became very hot. I found that the stage would only pass within ten miles of Meredith, so that I was obliged to leave it, and seek some other mode of transfer. I engaged a wagon and its owner to take me; and after dining, and waiting the pleasure, or leisure, of the party, we moved on our way. The dearborn in which I was conveyed was no place for enjoyment, for the seat was so small that we were obliged to sit on each other in turn, and the road was so rugged as to threaten to jerk us out together; yet I did much enjoy the ride. We wound our way through granite hills and rocks, sprinkled with cedar and fir, and disclosing to you, in succession and at intervals, the animated river, the beautiful bay, and the expanded lake, dotted with islets. As we approached nearer to the lake, there arose insensibly on its margin, and among the trees, the village to which I was bound. It looked exceedingly lovely and quiet in the summer lights of evening. It seemed a delightful retirement for an association of ministers; and reminded me forcibly and pleasantly of Him who, with his disciples, often retreated for converse and prayer to the margin of Gennesaret.

As I arrived, many persons who had to go to a distance were leaving. Still, however, the evening, or candlelight services were to come. But as some of the services had passed, and as I have not had an opportunity of reporting the order of such a meeting as the present, it may be desirable to look back to the commencement.

This was an Association of the brethren and churches of New-Hampshire. It assembles at different places; and this was the first occasion of its being convened here. It had been feared that the interest was too weak to afford the needful accommodation; but these associations, as they pass from place to place, are reputed to carry a beneficial influence with them; and there was a strong desire, on the part of the people and pastor, that it should be held at Meredith, as a means of advancing the interests of religion. They met in a noble spirit the claims made on their hospitality. Every house was open, and every house was full. Two or three families had twelve, eighteen, and twenty guests. The inns also were full. I found a room at the inn at which I alighted just vacated; and thinking it my first and last chance for a separate accommodation, I engaged it; but I was not allowed to answer any charge on its account.

Let me also remark, in passing, that the general circumstances of this place are interesting. The church here was built by common subscription, and was to be a free church; that is, open equally to the use of all, whatever their religious persuasion. As the persons who had settled here were mainly Universalists, it was practically theirs. Some efforts were made by the Home Missionary Society in its favor, and an interest was excited on the side of orthodox opinion and true religion. The Congregationalists have, by their greater numbers and influence, secured it to themselves, and have an excellent pastor in Mr. Young. The church under his charge is only ten years old; it was at first organized with nine members; and it has now 100, with an adult attendance of 400; and the people are full of youthful zeal and activity. There are, besides, 100 children in the Sabbath-school. The Universalists reckon still about 300, and meet in slack numbers at the court-house. The total population is not above 1,000.

The ministers and members of the Association began to arrive on the Monday evening, and held a concert of prayer. The regular sittings were to commence the following morning, and to last for three days. Early prayer-meetings were to be held on each morning at half past five.

On Tuesday, at eight o'clock, the business began. A moderator was chosen; and sundry committees were appointed to dispose of business that might arise. At eleven, a sermon was preached. Two other public meetings were held, and these, with the duties of the committees, occupied the rest of the day.

On the Wednesday morning they met again at eight o'clock for business; at eleven, the claims of the Education Society, and at three, those of the Bible Society, were pleaded by suitable statements and speeches. In the evening, an address was made in favor of the Sunday School Union and the Peace Society, by their agents respectively. I was present at these latter services; and though on interesting subjects, they were not very engaging.

On Thursday, we met at eight o'clock for business again. Some minor questions were disposed of. A report was brought up on the state of religion, which wore an encouraging aspect, while it implored more decided help. Resolutions were passed in favor of the Peace Society, and condemnatory of slavery. At ten, the meeting in favor of the Home Missionary Society was held. Dr. Peters made a short statement, and called on me, as having arrived from the West, to support him. I was constrained to obey the call, and to lead the meeting in prayer. A subscription, in a liberal spirit, was then begun in favor of the Society. Many who subscribed in their own name, now did so in the name of their children; and Mr. Matheson was requested to offer prayer for them. The meeting was longer than usual, but none were weary of it. It was of a highly exhilarating and pious character; and certainly served the interests of an admirable Society.

At two o'clock, Dr. Cogswell delivered an address in behalf of the Missionary Society; and at three, Mr. Barnham preached, by previous appointment before the Auxiliary of the Home Mission Society. At the close of these exercises, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. I was called upon, supported by Dr. Tucker and Mr. Matheson, to preside, and there was no refusal admitted. The area and aisles were full of devout communicants; and nearly one hundred and fifty pastors were present. It was a delightfully solemn exercise; and would have been more so to me had my engagements been less responsible.

The whole was to close by a sermon in the evening, and I was urged to preach. But I was already much exhausted, and entreated that the service might rest with Dr. Tucker. Many persons regarded the sacramental engagement as the last best thing, and departed; and a thunder-storm came on with rain, so that the evening attendance was not large. The sermon was excellent and impressive; truly orthodox and strictly practical. It was an excellent close. The Governor of the State and Judge Darling attended most of the services.

From this summary of particulars, it may be inferred that this meeting of the Association was highly interesting and profitable, especially as it approached the termination. Those who were speaking of it, in comparison with similar meetings of the same body, expressed themselves with emphatic pleasure. And this evidence was by no means limited to the effect of one or two felicitous meetings; it was to be found in the temper of the people. They were certainly much under the influence of pious sentiment. It was delightful to observe that the early prayer-meetings were attended with uniform avidity; from 300 to 500 persons being present on those exercises. It was equally delightful to find that, for the time, the very inn in which I tarried was converted into a sanctuary; and all its chambers were made in succession to echo with the voice of solitary or social prayer and praise. At night I sunk to rest, and in the morning I awoke, with the strains of supplication on my ear. The pastors discovered a large measure of piety and charity; and they were, without doubt, strengthened in its expression by the example of the father of the Association, Dr. Church.

Indeed, when I look back, and consider what was the spirit of the people, and what the occasions for its exercise, I rather wonder that the results were not greater than they were. And I deliberately think, that they would have been of a most remarkable character had there been less to do, and had one definite object been before the people. But, instead of this, the objects claiming attention in the short space of time were truly perplexing for number. Recently, all the great societies have had a natural desire to obtain notice at these convocations of the churches. They, therefore, one after another, have been grafted on to these meetings; while they have to dispose of the interests and business of the Association. What is local and familiar is sacrificed to what is general and vast; but neither the home nor the foreign interests were administered so efficiently. In this instance, though the business of the Association was not above an average, it could not be justly regarded; and so many public societies sought to be heard, that they were in danger of being heard and forgotten.

The direct effect on the people, which is the point to which I would particularly allude, was certainly unfavorable. The rapidity with which their attention was called from object to object, might afford passing amusement, but it neutralized impression. I never felt myself much more in a whirl of business and of bustle than in this retired village; and you well know how very contrary even religious bustle is to religious influence. This people show, by their protracted meetings, that they can appreciate the importance of keeping one only object before the attention for a considerable time, and this principle must be applied to correct the evils which a happy excess of business has brought upon the Associations.

Because these various and bustling claims had allowed one such little opportunity of mingling in quiet with the brethren, I requested that we might meet to breakfast, and hold a conference on the Friday morning. This was very cheerfully acceded to; and about twenty of the pastors gave us the meeting. I need only remark here, that this conference was affectionate, candid, and pleasant in the highest degree; and to us, as a delegation, certainly the most important. We closed it in prayer, and parted with many, many fraternal greetings.

We were not to leave till noon by the stage, and Dr. Crosby, whose kindness to us has been cordial and unceasing, proposed an excursion to the hills. This was most agreeable to me, as I could not endure to quit so enchanting a spot without some acquaintance with it. Time was precious, and away we went. But it would require sheets to report to you what we saw. Let me hasten over it. Suppose yourself to have made, gradually, an ascent of some thousand or eleven hundred feet, and to have attained a standing on a bold eminence, commanding all the objects beneath and around you; and yet not so high as to destroy their importance. Now the finest objects in nature, and on their most magnificent scale, are before you. The hill on which you stand runs off in slopes, and is finely clothed. Behind that swell which rises at its foot, is almost hidden the little village of Meredith, chiefly detected by the gray smoke which comes curling up from the trees around it. There are the two beautiful bays which lie before it. And then, over the extensive foreground, are eight or nine lovely lakes, of various form and dimensions, separated and adorned by the pine-clad rocks and hills, which cast their dark shadows over their peaceful and lucid waters. And there, to the right, is the lake Winnipiseogee, the mother of these waters, spreading itself out in all its magnificence; and, large as it is, appearing the larger for being

partly concealed by the bold projection of the hills. It is studded by innumerable islands, some of them showing only a rocky pinnacle, and many of them having a diameter of one or two miles. The eye can hardly rise from this scene; but when it does, it finds every thing in perfect harmony. Here the lands run down in fine slopes, and shoot away into the vast distance, forming as noble a vista as can be seen. Everywhere else the land rises and falls most admirably; gathering strength with the distance, valley after valley, and hill after hill, till the hills resolve themselves into the mountains, and the gray mountains and fair blue sky perfect the wonderful picture. Conceive of all this, and much more than this, with all the improvements which sun and cloud, light and shadow, can give to it, and then say whether it is not wonderful! But words are poor things here. It is the very finest thing I have seen in New England, and I must not forget it. We were greatly urged to stay here over the Sabbath; and it was with much regret that we yielded to a sense of duty, in parting so hastily with such a spot, and with such friends.

LETTER XXIV.

My dear friend—About one, on the 6th, we left, as intended, for Concord, on our way to Lowell; the brethren, Bliss, Eastman, Baird, and Peters, being of our company. We arrived in pleasant time, and found others of our friends here. The Rev. Mr. Boutelle, the pastor of the principal church, would gladly have detained us over the Sabbath; but we were obliged to deny ourselves. Religion has thriven in this place, and it would have been gratifying to have witnessed its effects. I made myself, in some degree, master of it by conversation, and this was the most that was allowed by the pressure of other claims.

The next morning we proceeded with Dr. Peters. He was about to go to Lowell, to plead the home mission cause, and I had determined to attend him. Mr. Matheson stopped for the Sabbath at Derry. On this busy line we found some outside seats, and improved coaches; and, after a pleasant ride by the Mammoth road, through a wild and interesting country, we arrived in time to take our seats at the *table d'hote* of a good and commodious inn. We sought the brethren in the afternoon, and were urged by the Rev. Mr. Twining to make his house our temporary home. President Day and Professor Silliman, both of New-Haven, and the brethren of the town, did us the favor of a call, and we made our arrangements for the ensuing Sabbath.

Lowell is situated at the confluence of the Concord and Merrimack rivers. It is one of the largest manufacturing towns in the whole Union, and supplies one the most remarkable instances of rapidity in growth. Twenty years ago this spot was a wilderness. Then a small factory was built, which cost only 3,000 dollars. There are now more than twenty large mills, five stories high, with 3,000 looms, and 8,500 spindles, upwards of 5,000 operatives, and a capital exceeding six millions and a half of dollars. The total population is 13,000.—The water power is very fine, and skilfully applied by means of reservoirs and canals; it is capable of working fifty more mills. The advantage to the comfort and appearance of the town in the possession of this power is very great, as it allows a vast business to go forward without the nuisance of universal smoke. This class of objects is rare in this country, though common in ours, and I was interested in a new course of observation.

It might be expected in this case, as in every similar one, that many fruitful causes of evil would come into action; but it was pleasing to find a corrective and antagonist power brought universally and successfully to act against them. Especially there is one feature in the state of this community that is peculiar and hazardous. There are not less than 4,000 young women attached to the mills, who have been drawn here by the hope of reward, abstracted from all the safeguards of their families, and transferred suddenly from the utmost retirement to promiscuous society. They are mostly the daughters of farmers, and have laudable intentions in coming. The family has every thing but ready money, and this is a method of getting it. Many of them are well educated; they might teach at school; but they prefer this employ, as it gives them better remuneration. Others thirst for education; they come for six months, and then disappear; and again they come, and again they disappear. In the one instance they are procuring the costs of education, and in the other education itself. They bring with them a sense of independence and rectitude, and this disposes them to adopt means which contribute greatly to their preservation. Instances of sad defection and vice will of course occur, but they are remarkably "few and far between." The steady girls who work in a mill, band together as a sort of a club, and keep up a sense of honor through the establishment. If any one is suspected of bad conduct, she is reprimanded and suspended; and if bad conduct is proved against her, she is reported to the managing party, and a petition is presented for her removal. In an unquestionable case, they would leave the mill if the prayer of the petition was refused.

In many cases, where the evils are thus escaped, great good arises to the individual. Placed in new circumstances, where they are called to act for themselves for the first time, great energy, and sometimes great elevation of moral character, is elicited. The means of religion, too, are supplied to them with greater advantage. Many are brought under its influence, and those who are, are furnished with opportunities for benevolent and religious services, which they could not have had in their original and isolated circumstances. There are, of this number of young women, for instance, about 1,000 who are united to Christian churches, and about the same number who are in regular attendance on religious means.

It is, however, generally admitted, that whatever may be the advantages, these occupations mostly disqualify them for the quiet duties and cares of domestic life. In fact, this must, in a measure, be the effect, for there is nothing to exercise the domestic virtues; and it is likely that many may gain a taste for society, and appearance, and independent action, which they may not afterward overcome. The dress, indeed, of the whole body, when not employed in the mill, was remarkable. It was not amiss, usually, in itself; but it was above their state and occupation. One was surprised to see them appear in silks, with scarfs, veils, and parasols.

The care which is shown to their welfare and safety by the heads of the factories, is also very worthy of praise. Boarding-houses are built for them by the corporations or companies. Persons of good character are put into them, and the rate of payment is determined for them. These housekeepers are tenants-at-will; rules are laid down for their conduct, and transgression is followed by expulsion. They give and receive certificates of character with the young women.

The community at large are alive to the possible evils of their situation, and watch and labor to counteract them. Because temperance here has to encounter strong temptation, it has taken a most decided form. There is not only the usual Temper-

ance Society; in addition to it is "The Total Abstinence Society," whose pledge extends to "wine, cordials, and strong beer." This, too, is the favorite society; it has 1,900 members. I do not now judge the principles on which it acts; of course its influence must be great in promoting the sobriety of the town. There is also a considerable confederation here, under the denomination of "The Lyceum." It is a society enrolled for moral and literary purposes. There are reading-rooms, books, and weekly lectures, to meet the one branch; and for the preservation of the public morals there are five committees appointed, each composed of not less than five members. Their duty is to take cognizance of five vices—intemperance, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, gaming, and lewdness. They visit, examine, and confer confidentially for this purpose, and adopt such means as their discretion may suggest. The lectures are made to assist this object.

On the Sabbath morning, I worshipped at Mr. Twining's church. It is of fair size, and well attended. President Day preached, on the anxieties of parents for the best interests of their children.

In the afternoon, I attended a communion service at Mr. Blanchard's. Members are admitted at this service, and I was glad to observe the order. We began, as usual, by singing and prayer. The persons to be received were then called out by the pastor. There were eleven; six by letter, and five on profession. They came as they were called, from their seats, and stood in the centre isle before the minister. The Confession of Faith was then read, and their assent taken to it. Then three persons, who had not been baptized, submitted to that ordinance in our usual mode. Afterward the Church Covenant was read, and their assent asked; and when the portion of it which pledges the church as a party was read, all the members rose and stood, to express their assent. Prayer was offered on their account, and they took their places. An address was then given, and prayer offered, followed by the distribution of the bread; and address and prayer were renewed, and followed by the distribution of the wine. And the whole closed by a short address, prayer, and the benediction.

I should think not less than 500 persons were at the table. Only two deacons were employed in the distribution; they have eight plates and cups under their care. One deacon attended on the pastor. I was struck by the great excess of females present; I should think they were as seven to one. This is accounted for by upwards of 200 of the members being composed of the young women of the factories. Mr. Blanchard spoke of them as being exemplary and useful. They labored with much advantage in the Sabbath schools, as they have thus many of the younger girls under their care. In all these schools there are no less than 2,500 children, and 1,500 of them are factory girls.

This is the church of which much has been said in America, and recently even across the Atlantic, relative to the disuse of wine at the Lord's table. It has mostly been said in mistake or exaggeration. The fact is, that there is in this community an "Abstinence Society;" and the matter has been discussed; but the utmost that was done, was to resolve "that no wine should be used which had alcohol in it." In practice, the effect has been to use a harmless preparation, which they call wine, and with which the most scrupulous are satisfied. To my taste it was like one of our British wines diluted with water. I have confidence in the excellent pastor, that he would not break up the peace of ■ society by such a question, or establish terms of communion which Christ has not enforced.

In the evening I preached to the United Congregations, and a collection was taken up, as the phrase is, on behalf of the Home Missionary Society. Dr. Peters was in the pulpit, and made a short statement on the subject. There was a large attendance, and by a serious people.

The morning of the 8th I spent in calls, and the exploration of the town. It has an animated and pleasant appearance. Everywhere the signs of improvement are abundant. The streets were at first lined with wood cabins; these are quickly vanishing before the smart and lofty red brick house and shop; and where they still linger, they offer to the eye a singular contrast. I visited the principal factories. They are very like our own; but have a cleaner aspect, from the absence of smoke. Their machinery looks heavier than ours, from the circumstance of wood being employed instead of iron for the stronger parts. Many persons are found here from the mother land; and the agents, or foremen, are mostly Scotch or English.

Professor Silliman was tarrying in this town, to deliver a course of lectures on Geology. He kindly invited me to a private view of his specimens and drawings. They were good and various, and a few of them exquisite.

In the evening I met the Professor to tea, at Mr. Edson's, an Episcopal clergyman, of liberal views and pious character. Here was the church and the parsonage all in English style. We had pleasant intercourse, and then adjourned to the lecture-room. Dr. Silliman was to deliver his first lecture this evening. The subject was "Primitive Rocks." He has excellent qualities for a popular lecturer; fluent, simple, animated, and gentlemanly. All could understand, and all were interested. There were about 500 persons present. Ten lectures were to be given; and the charge for the series was one dollar and a half.

On the following morning I took leave of the friends here, at eight o'clock, for Andover. Professor Silliman called, and obligingly gave me an introduction to his family at New Haven, in case of his not having returned. An Englishman, also, foreman of the machine factory, who had heard me on the Sabbath, came to say farewell, and put thirteen dollars into my hand. He remarked he had been putting it by for some good use, and he would like to have it given to a society in the old country.

Nothing worthy of note occurred on the way, except that we were overtaken with one of the most sudden and violent storms which I had witnessed. We had called to the coachman to stop, and look to the luggage, and get the curtains closed round us; but he drove on. The driving rain fell in sheets, so that before I could get the curtains fastened on my side, I was wet through. My predicament had at least the charm of novelty; for it is no usual or easy thing to get completely wet within a stage-coach. What was quite as bad, my portmanteau and dressing case were once more soaked through; an evil which a minute's attention would have prevented. The drivers generally take little care of the luggage. On many of the lines the proprietors give notice that they will not be responsible for it; and this is equal to an advertisement to their men to neglect it, and to the robber to prowl for it.

Happily, I was near to Andover when the storm came on, and on reaching the dwelling of Dr. Woods, I at once found the kindest reception, and the opportunity of relieving myself of wet garments. While I was in my dressing-room one of the most singular claps of thunder broke on us that I ever heard. The rain had ceased, but the heavens were still heavy. It was just over us. There was no rumbling or rolling either before or after it; it.

was just one clap, resembling, only so much more powerful, the discharge of a tremendous cannon. It shook the house and the ground; and within half a mile of us, it struck a large tree adjoining a house, split it, and shattered all the windows of the dwelling.

You cannot well conceive of a spot more eligible for its purposes than is that occupied by the Institutions of Andover. It is a fine piece of headland, embracing about 150 acres, and dwelling in light and air. On looking down its slopes, in one direction, you see the pretty village crouching among the trees, and showing here and there its white gables and turrets. And beyond it, and all around you, is spread a fine and extensive country, beautified by hills, rich with woodlands, and animated by cultivation. It is enclosed by the outline formed of the Temple Hills, the Blue Hills, and the Monadnoc, some of them standing away at a distance of forty and sixty miles.

The whole of this elevated and commanding platform is in the possession of the trustees, and this allows them to keep it select. It is appropriated to its uses with much advantage. On the right hand side of the road, and receding from it, are the dwellings of the officers and professors, and the Mansion House, or Hotel. All these are detached; of considerable size; with double fronts, fore-courts, and gardens, and composing good elevations. On the left hand, and therefore in front of these dwellings, is an extensive opening of many acres, rising on the eye, laid down in grass and gravel walks, and planted with fine trees, and kept in a state of preservation very uncommon here. At the head of this verdant and shady area is placed the Theological Institution, composed of three parts; a handsome chapel filling the centre, and two colleges becoming the wings. On the one side there is the Phillips Academy, and on the other the Classical School, and the dwelling of a professor; the angles are all left open, and the eye takes in the distant landscape. The entire aspect of these objects is very grateful to the eye; and the finish and order of the estate, and its sensible adaptation to its proposed end, make it as grateful to the mind, and secure its approbation.

The origin of this extensive foundation is remarkable, and perhaps I may not have a better occasion to refer to it. Dr. Spring, the father, I believe, of the present Dr. Spring, of New York, was pastor of a church at Newburyport. Some of his people at that time were very prosperous in business. He was of a generous mind, and rejoiced in their prosperity; and he was of a pious and lofty mind, and desired to stimulate them to proportionate exertion. There were two especially with whom he did not labor in vain, Messrs. Bartlet and Brown. Having prepared his way, he got a meeting with them, and applied to Mr. Woods, now Dr. Woods, of Andover, to attend it. They engaged in free conversation. It was admitted that something ought to be done; they were ready to do something: what, among many claims, would it be best to do? Dr. Spring inquired what they would like to do? Would they like an Academy? It was much wanted, for the use of the ministry. They were quite willing. How should they begin? He suggested, that they might make a commencement by securing Mr. Woods, who, with the aid of a preceptor, might take six young men. "Well," said Mr. Brown, "I will give 10,000 dollars." "Why," said Mr. Bartlett, "did you not say 20,000, and I would too?" Before they parted, Mr. Bartlett observed to Dr. Spring, "Let the work go on, and you may look to me." Dr. S. knew his man, and was satisfied and thankful. He went to Salem; saw his friend Mr. Norris there; told him of what it was proposed to do, and of what had been done; and obtained another 10,000 dollars.

It appeared that similar intentions, without the exchange of opinions, had been entertained by Mr. Abbott and Mrs. Phillips, of Andover; and that they were willing to apply 10,000 dollars each to a like use. An overture was immediately made to them, and immediately accepted. But, in coming to a definite arrangement, there were difficulties which made delay, and threatened to prevent the execution of the plan. These difficulties were connected with difference of religious creed; but at length the matter was adjusted, and in favor of orthodox principles.

Thus the good work began. It has uniformly been under wise and efficient management; and its resources have been fed time after time by its original friend, Mr. Bartlett. In addition to his first gift, he built the chapel, which cost 50,000 dollars; afterward, one of the wings, and several houses for the professors, as well as endowed several professorships. It is thought that, in various ways, he has not given to this object less than 200,000 dollars; and there is reason to believe that all his benevolent intentions are not yet fulfilled. He is, I think, the only original trustee now living. He was present at this anniversary; is about seventy-eight years of age, and has a portly, intelligent, and venerable aspect. He was at first a shoemaker in Newbury, and became, in the end, for talents and success, a first-rate merchant.

There are then, in fact, three institutions matured here; and they are perfectly distinct, although they are held and managed by the same trust. The Academy supplies only an English education, and is meant to prepare young men as teachers; a sort of normal school. The classical school is for boys, and meant to qualify them for college; and the Theological Institution receives pious young men, who have had collegiate or equal advantages, and prepares them for the ministry. They are all well appointed. The accommodations for the divinity students are good. The chapel is really handsome. There is a fair philosophical apparatus, and a considerable library; not less than 11,000 volumes, and more select than many.

My arrival was the more pleasant, as I met with so many of my former friends; and among them, the Lieutenant-governor Armstrong and his lady, and Drs. Codman, Woods, Stuart, and Skinner. Mr. Matheson and myself met the trustees to dinner at the Mansion House, and afterward went to hear a sermon, which was called an oration, to the students, from Dr. Wheeler, of Burlington College. The subject was, "The manifestation of truth to every man's conscience." The discourse, if I may venture to criticise it, showed good mind, and power to say good things, with good feeling and expression. But it wanted harmony. There was a frequent effort to be fine, which ended in being turgid and abstruse. He appeared to have studied Coleridge and Chalmers, and with bad effect. It was, however, an interesting exercise.

The next day was really the day. We were all accordingly summoned to assemble at or before the Mansion House, at eight in the morning, that we might go in procession to the chapel. I was rejoiced to find in the muster new accessions of our former friends. The candidates, or students, were first; then came the alumni; then the trustees, professors, visiters, and ministers, amounting altogether to about 300 persons. We got into line, and moved forward; and had you seen it wind along among the trees, and athwart the grass-plots, with the morning sun sparkling on it through the trembling foliage, you had not deemed it a bad spectacle.

When the head of the procession reached the chapel doors, instead of entering, it paused; and the students and alumni filed off, and formed a line on each side, and uncovered, as to seniors and benefactors; while the remaining portions of the procession uncovered to them in turn, and moved on through their ranks to their places in the chapel.

I need not be particular in stating the order of service, as it was very similar to that which was adopted at Amherst Commencement. The exceptions were, that the speakers were supplied with a stand and a Bible, and that their address lay written before them, although they made little or no use of it. Besides this, the subjects were of a more theological complexion, and the exercises were suspended midway, for the purpose of dining, and renewed in the afternoon.

As it must always happen, the exercises were of various character and merit. Generally, they were delivered with fair action and accent; but with little that was free and graceful. There was less declamation and bad taste than might have been expected; and, with good average talent, there was much right feeling and just distinction. They discovered less vanity, and more directness of purpose, than is usual in these exhibitions. To be sure, they were older than is common with us; still their danger would be rather to err from want of prudence than want of zeal. As a whole, the exercises were of a very refreshing and promising character; highly creditable alike to the teachers and the taught.

The congratulatory addresses at the close were not used. Instead of them, some verses were sung. Dr. Woods, who presided, looked to me to offer the concluding prayer and benediction. The people showed that they could unite the spirit of true devotion with the avocations of the day. They were interested; though weary, and the place so crowded, the profound silence was affecting. It gave to our last acts great solemnity.

After the services, we called on the widows of Dr. Porter and the Rev. Mr. Cornelius. Dr. Porter was president of this college; and Mr. Cornelius was well known by his labors, as secretary to the Foreign Missionary Society; it owes, perhaps, as much to him as to any one person. The church has lost in them two of her most gifted and pious sons. This day, while one of joy to others, was one of extra grief to these widows; and they required the gentle sympathy of their friends. Mrs. Cornelius is left with six children. She seemed gratified with an opportunity of intercourse. I, in turn, was gratified to learn from her, that so excellent a man as her husband had had communion of spirit with me, through the medium of the Missionary Sermon. I left this house of quiet mourning, with its widow and fatherless children, with much concern. But "God is in his holy habitation."

We took tea at Professor Stuart's, with many friends. A Mr. Styles, from Georgia, came, and begged an introduction, and expressed much affection and pleasure at the visit of the Delegation. He had been an attorney, at once worldly and successful, and even opposed to religion. Suddenly his wife died; he fell under the stroke; gave up the world; studied at Andover; and returned to preach the faith which once he denied. He has now labored in this cause for twelve years, and been very useful. Throughout, his attention has been chiefly directed to the welfare of the slave. Before he left, he and Dr. Stuart retired with us, and they both engaged in prayer with much tenderness and simplicity.

After tea, most of the friends moved off to chapel, to hear a concluding sermon by Mr. Dickenson. Meantime, Drs. Beecher and Woods came in, and we had got into a corner of the room with our host in a good round conversation. I was not willing to leave such an opportunity without improvement; and we spent the evening together most agreeably, and to me most profitably.

On returning to Dr. Woods', we found ourselves in the bosom of a large and affectionate family circle. We closed our intercourse with a common act of domestic worship, which was delightfully solemn; and then sought repose from the fatigues of the day.

On the following morning we breakfasted at Mr. Farrar's, the treasurer of the Institution, in company with Drs. Church and Wisner, and other friends. Mrs. Farrar is the grand-daughter of President Edwards; and it was a real gratification to meet with a branch of his family. We afterward visited again the schools and colleges; had some pleasant intercourse with Dr. Woods and his family; took a hasty refreshment at Professor Emerson's; and left in a carriage which had been procured for us by the zeal of Professor Stuart, when other means of conveyance had failed.

Though thus hasty, I know of no visit that has been more delightful. The Woods family, of which I saw most, is full of sweet natural affection. Dr. Woods is greatly blessed in his children, and they in their father. On every side, indeed, there was an overflow of kindness. The remembrance of Andover will be sweet and sunny to me!

LETTER XXV.

My dear friend—We were now making our way into Maine, and taking the most interesting places in our course. Our first object was Salem, to which our friend's carriage was to convey us. The quiet of this ride assorted well with my state of mind; and the passage through the cool air refreshed the spirits, under excitement and separation. The scenery had no remarkable features, but it was not uninteresting. We wound our way along through heads of granite rock, partly covered with trees, which found a precarious and dwarfed existence on their impenetrable sides. These and the roadside were enlivened, and even beautified, by the great abundance of the barberry shrub, which was now in fruit.

On reaching Salem, a gentleman immediately came up and greeted us. He said we had met on the platform at the Boston meetings. I found from him that we had about an hour and a half to wait for the stage which was to take us onward; and engaged him to acquaint us with the things in the town best worth knowing. The Museum is the lion of this place. We made a hasty survey of it; and it is unusually good and extensive, considering where it is found. It arose in a very laudable spirit. This town enjoyed an extensive trade to the East; and it was thought it might be made to contribute to science, as well as to opulence. A society was formed; and all those were eligible as members who had doubled the Cape, or who had vessels that did. Each master or supercargo was supplied with a journal, in which he was to make notes; and he was expected to collect, as occasion offered itself, such curiosities as might illustrate the character of the people and of the regions which they visited.

We ascended to the top of our hotel, to take a bird's eye view of the town, and to observe in the distance the spot where the persons were burnt, who were condemned for the sin of witchcraft. What lamentation, that even here the fires of persecution should have been enkindled!

The towns along this sea-board were mostly of early settlement. Salem was among the earliest, and is more than two centuries old. It is, after Boston, one of the most populous towns in New-England; and, allowing for that nakedness which is so common on the sea-shore, is very pleasant. It has a fine harbor; but its trade has fallen away greatly. There are, however, upon it no marks of dilapidation or decay.

At four we took leave of our friend, and started for Ipswich. We arrived at the close of day; and having refreshed ourselves by tea, we went in search of the school here, which is superintended by Miss Grant. I had met this lady at Cincinnati; and although she had not returned, she had prepared Miss Lyon, who acted as principal in her absence, to receive us. The evening was pleasantly and usefully employed, in obtaining, by free conversation, the details of the establishment. It is one of high repute in New-England, and will require attention elsewhere.

The temperature here changed in the night very suddenly. I was awoke twice with the cold; and, in the morning, found my thermometer, which had been in the chamber all night, at 46°. The brethren called on us early, and were deputed by Miss Lyon to request that we would open the school by prayer. I excused myself, as I had devoted an hour to writing, and Mr. Matheson went. I afterward walked out with one of the brethren. The town stands on a rock, and is relieved by pretty declivities and a fine stream. I was shown a head of granite rock, on which George Whitefield stood, and preached on those words, "On this rock will I build my church," &c. There is now a church standing on part of it; and it is not unlikely that it owes its existence, in a great measure, to his apostolic labors.

I called to take leave of my obliging friend, Miss Lyon. Nothing would satisfy her but that I should meet the school. I did so; and we united together in an act of worship.

At eleven o'clock, we went on to Newburyport. Here we were met by Dr. Dana and Mr. Bannister; and were received with much courtesy and cordiality at the residence of the latter gentleman. He has a most comfortable house; it is not only like ours, it is quite English; but English in the olden style. The forms, carvings, cornices, and patterns, such as I have seen a hundred times; and the beautiful limes in the fore-court were literally brought from England.

We had a conference with the pastors here; and afterward went to the church, which is enriched with the remains of Whitefield. The elders of the church were present in the porch to receive us. We descended to the vault. There were three coffins before us. Two pastors of the church lay on either side; and the remains of Whitefield in the centre. The cover was slipped aside, and they lay beneath my eye. I had before stood in his pulpits; seen his books, his rings, and chairs; but never before had I looked on part of his very self. The scull, which is perfect, clean, and fair, I received, as is the custom, into my hand. I could say nothing; but thought and feeling were busy. On returning to the church, I proposed an exercise of worship. We collected over the grave of the eloquent, the devoted, and seraphic man, and gave expression to the sentiments that possessed us, by solemn psalmody and fervent prayer. It was not an ordinary service to any of us.

More care should be taken to preserve these remains, and less freedom used in the exhibition of them. There are three slabs before the pulpit, to record the interments beneath. But, recently, Mr. Bartlett has erected, in one angle of the church, a splendid monument to the name of Whitefield. It was prepared in Italy, and bears the following epitaph, from the pen of the excellent Dr. Porter; himself now needing, from some kindred hand, the like office:—

THIS CENOTAPH
IS ERECTED, WITH AFFECTIONATE VENERATION,
TO THE MEMORY OF
THE REV. GRORGE WHITEFIELD,
BORN AT GLOUCESTER, ENG., DEC. 16, 1714;
EDUCATED AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY; ORDAINED, 1736.
IN A MINISTRY OF 34 YEARS,
HE CROSSED THE ATLANTIC 13 TIMES,
AND PREACHED MORE THAN 18,000 SERMONS.

As a soldier of the cross, humble, devout, ardent, he put on the whole armor of God, preferring the honor of Christ to his own interest, repose, reputation, or life. As a Christian orator, his deep piety, disinterested zeal, and vivid imagination, gave unexampled energy to his look, action, and utterance. Bold, fervent, pungent, and popular in his eloquence, no other uninspired man ever preached to so large assemblies, or enforced the simple truths of the gospel by motives so persuasive and awful, and with an influence so powerful on the hearts of the hearers.

He died of asthma, Sept. 30, 1770;
Suddenly exchanging his life of unparalleled labors for his eternal rest.

On leaving the church, we called on Mr. Bartlett. He occupies a good house; but lives in a very plain style; and has evidently more pleasure in bestowing than in consuming his property. We met, in haste, at a friend's to tea, and to enjoy some last words with the brethren; and were thus engaged, when the mail called for us to go on to Portsmouth. The ministers here are excellent and useful men. Religion is in a thriving state; and during the last winter, much serious concern obtained among the people. The town has a clean and agreeable appearance, and many of the residents are very respectable.

Portsmouth is a sea-port and naval establishment; and is usually spoken of as an abandoned and wicked place. During our stay, nothing occurred to confirm such an opinion, and there was some testimony to the contrary; at least, as it affected its present condition. On arriving, I was glad to get near to a good fire, in a room of the inn open to common use. Here were several persons of the town in full chat. Among other things, the Temperance cause gained attention, and was more leniently dealt with than might be expected from a tap-room company. All allowed that a great change had been wrought; and one of them argued against its continuance from this circumstance. "Why," he exclaimed, "three years ago, the people would get drunk four days in the week; now, they will not drink at all. It is impossible that this can continue." There was a wicked hope at the bottom of this prediction, which gave strength to the admission in favor of the town.

On the next morning, at eight, we took the stage to Portland. There was added to a low temperature a sharp wind, which made the ride a cold one; and there was little on the road, beyond its novelty, to fill the attention. The Rev. Mr. Johnson met us at Saco, and urged us to divide our services for the Sabbath. Mr. Matheson, therefore, stayed here; and I went on to Portland, where the friends were expecting my arrival. In accordance with previous invitation, I took my residence at the Rev. Mr. Beckwith's.

Portland is a populous town, containing about 14,000 persons. It has an extremely fine location

on the ridge and side of a hill, running down to the water, and having a beautiful bay on the one hand, and harbor on the other; and, beyond both, the vast ocean. The harbor is completely land-locked, and yet possessing an easy and safe access to the sea; and the projecting lands, which shut it in, present so many capes, of different formation to the sight, as greatly to raise and ornament the scene. It is very considerable as a shipping port; and its fair waters are enlivened by the constant movement of a great variety of vessels. The main street has the advantage of running along the ridge of the hill. It is wide and cheerful; it is decorated by the town-hall, custom-house, and a church, which has a portico, with granite columns; and its higher extremity terminates with a tower, called an observatory, used for nautical and pleasurable, but not scientific purposes. From this point of sight, which is 140 feet above the level of the waters, you get a commanding and combined view of earth and sea, of great extent.

On the day after my arrival, the Sabbath, I preached at Mr. Dwight's church in the morning, and at Mr. Beckwith's in the afternoon, to considerable and attentive congregations. In the evening, an annual sermon was to be delivered by the Rev. Mr. M'Ginnis, in favor of the Female Orphan Asylum, lately established in this place. He is a Baptist minister, of good repute here; and I had pleasure in the prospect of attending the service. The other churches were closed on the occasion; and the congregation was made up by a contribution from all. The service and the object are both popular with the people; and the place was very crowded. I was pressed to take a seat in the pulpit, as is very common here; but, as a hearer, I did not enjoy so conspicuous a station, and I declined it. Besides which, being in the pulpit is the next step to partaking in its duties; and I was already exhausted, and had much desire to hear. The usual service went on. The singing was rather theatrical, but it was a special occasion; and professed singers seldom neglect any occasion for display. The sermon was read; it was superior as a composition; but it was somewhat above the congregation. The closing appeals were good, and such as I had been familiar to at home. The preacher closed; the children sung; and a collection was about to be made, when he came forward again to the front of the pulpit, and said, he understood that they were favored with the presence of a minister from England; and that he had, for many years, been devoted to some orphan establishments in that country; and solicited it as a great benefit to this infant Asylum, that I would oblige the congregation with some particulars relative to those institutions. I was confounded; for I had never spoken to the preacher, and knew not that my name, much less my engagements, had ever been before him. But, in an instant, the eyes of all present were directed towards me, and a movement made to let me pass. I had no option. To have risen and declined the request was as trying as to comply with it; and, as to comply was the more grateful part, I obeyed the bidding, and went to the pulpit. I scarcely know what I said. Briefly, I gave them a sketch of the origin and advancement of the London Orphan Asylum; and, by a reference to its difficulties and success, used its history as an encouragement to their incipient exertions. My observations were then made to fall in with the preacher's address, and to support his appeal. It was most kindly received; and the collection was greater than it had been on any former occasion. Mr. Cutter, the Mayor, and his lady, sought an introduction after the service, and invited me to return and stay with them. An invitation which I declined only on the ground of prior engagement.

From this day's exercise, although it was evident there was a large proportion of religious persons in the town, it did not appear to me that religion at this time was in a thriving state. Their pastors had been removed; the people had got unsettled, and in some cases disappointed; and though other men of talent and piety had been chosen to stand in their places, it required some time to put forth a pastor's influence, and to gather together that which had been scattered, or enliven what had become torpid. Payson, too, was gone! and for his flock, as yet, no shepherd had been found!

The Monday, being the only day remaining, was a very busy one. I visited the town, received calls and made them, and sought information. At noon I had an appointment with the Ladies' Committee to inspect the Orphan Asylum. It has within it twenty-three female children; they are not all orphans. The dwelling is clean, and managed with economy and care. I felt half at home amid the little fatherless family. We sang and prayed together; and took a respectful leave of the managing ladies. Of course, there was nothing to learn. America herself has no London Orphan Asylum; it would be absurd to expect that she had. Happily, at present, she does not need these charities as we do; when she does, she will learn of us, and rival us.

We dined at Mrs. Payson's the widow of Dr. Payson, with Dr. Humphrey, Mr. Nettleton, and other friends. I felt, as you may suppose, an interest in the family and in the house. Yes, in the house! This was the very dwelling in which he lived, and wrestled and prayed: and there was the very chamber, the very couch, where he communed with heaven, till he scarcely knew whether he was "in the body or out of the body."

After dinner, agreeably to appointment, the brethren from the country came in, and we held a conference. About twenty were assembled. It was a delightful interview. Prayer was offered by Messrs. Nettleton and Johnson.

In the evening we had to attend a public meeting. It was held in the church that was Payson's. It is the largest in the town, and it was very full. There were three prayers, and three addresses. Dr. Humphrey, Mr. Matheson, and myself, gave the addresses. As a deputation, we were introduced to the congregation by my esteemed friend, Mr. Nettleton. The service was long, but it was not felt to be so. It appeared to have made a good impression.

By this time, about forty of the ministers had come together; some of them from great distances. As we could not hope to meet with them on the morrow, they stayed after the service, and we were introduced to each other. When our duties were closed, I amused myself, while waiting for a conveyance, with looking over the place. One of the elders attended me. He pointed to the pulpit, and said, emphatically, "That is the place, sir, where Payson *prayed*." I was struck with this remark. It gave me Payson's peculiarity in an instant. I had thought that whatever might have been his power as a preacher, it was greatest in prayer. I was now sure of it.

On the morning of the 15th, we had to leave, by the steamboat, early for Boston. Mr. Cutter kindly took us to the wharf in his carriage; and he, with Dr. Humphrey and other friends, saw us to the ship. All our pleasant meetings were now beginning to be dashed with sorrow, from the prevalent idea that we were parting—perhaps for ever.

The town had a fine aspect as we moved out of the harbor. As we got father out, the haze which

is common here, closed in around us, like a gauze curtain illuminated by the growing lights of the rising sun. Every thing was mist, and every thing was hidden, except a pretty fishing sloop, which lay sufficiently near to be seen, surrounded by the haze, and glowing with light. It had an indefiniteness and a lustre about it which made it look unreal, and it presented the most perfect picture of repose in an object and on an element almost always agitated. It was lovely and fascinating; and supplied an evidence how readily, when nature is the painter, an ordinary and insignificant object may be made illustrious.

We had a charming run; a good sight of Lynn, Salem, Marblehead, and Nahant, on our way; and reached Boston at five o'clock, having been ten hours in making a distance of ninety miles. Mr. Matheson went to Mr. Stoddard's; and I was kindly welcomed to my former accommodations in the family of Lieutenant-governor Armstrong.

LETTER XXVI.

My dear friend—I believe, in my former hasty visit to Boston, I took no notice of its topography; yet it ought not to be passed over in silence. Every where it meets the eye in imposing forms, and nowhere, perhaps, so forcibly, as by the entrance we made to it yesterday from the water. The expanded waters are themselves fine objects, being relieved by a variety of islands and headlands of very picturesque character and position, and animated by the number of vessels which are seeking egress or ingress to this port. From these, and above the shipping, the town rises on the three hills which compose its site, crowned with its domed and turreted State House. These hills spring about 100 feet above the level of the water; and the State House rises about 120 feet above them; and they have, from the lower surfaces, to a great distance, a commanding and magnificent effect.

The town of Boston is more like an English town than any other in the Union. It often reminds one of Bristol, though it is not enriched with such fine landscape scenery as is that favorite city. Its streets of business are narrow and irregular; but those of more recent date, and for domestic use, have more freedom. It has been outrun in population by the other great cities of the seaboard; but, for its size, it has still the greater number of wealthy and well-educated residents; and there is a proportionate number of commodious and handsome dwellings. It has, besides the State House, an Athenæum, a market-place, picture-gallery, halls, and reading-rooms, which would be good in Bristol or Liverpool. There are some recent erections of stores and warehouses on a large scale, faced with a fine white granite. When you enter the narrowest and poorest portions of the city, you meet with nothing that offends you. Poverty here is deprived of half its evil, by having for its wedded companion decided cleanliness. Indeed, it can be said to exist here only in a comparative and mild sense; for the poorest have enough, and competency is wealth. For casualties, however, charity is not asleep; she stands with open door at the hospital and infirmary; and her helping hand is ready in a thousand ways to aid those who are lowest to a better standing.

But the advantage which Boston has, as distinguished from its rivals, is to be found in what is called the common, or mall, but which has a better right to the name of park than many things so named elsewhere. It consists of an opening in the heart of the city of upwards of seventy acres. You could not choose the land to lie more handsomely than it does. It is bounded, as you may expect, by the finest houses and churches in the town. At its highest point it is perfected by the State House; and from this point it runs off in beautiful slopes and swells, to the waters which separate Boston from the adjoining country. These waters are more than two miles wide, and, broken by the land, they have the air of a confluence of lakes and rivers; and beyond them is seen, among the wooded hills, the smiling villages and hamlets which are the offspring of the parent city. The park itself is kept in a verdant state, with excellent walks, and has a very cool and refreshing aspect, from it natural basin of water, and its fine overshadowing trees. On a fine summer's evening, when this scene is animated by the families of the worthy citizens, the elder moving down the shaded avenues, and the children, buoyant with life, chasing the elastic foot-ball over the green, I know nothing of its kind more admirable.

I cannot dismiss this spot without expressing a fear that, in their excess of love, the Bostonians may spoil it. I observed with regret, that a number of young trees had been recently planted over this park, which, if allowed to grow up as they stand, will entirely destroy the charming effect of this picture. What had been previously done, had been done with great taste and efficiency; but if the present plantations are realized, there will be a few French avenues, and nothing more.

On the morning after our arrival I attended my friends to an exhibition of the Horticultural Society. It is made in the Public Hall—a large room, with galleries in chapel style. It is frequently called the Cradle of Liberty; since it was here that the celebrated resolutions were passed to resist the tea-tax. The room is decorated with several pictures, and at this time the galleries were filled with young pines, and among the pines were suspended a variety of singing-birds; rather a forced attempt, certainly, to bring the freshness and melody of the woods into the city. To the eye, however, it was more grateful than a vacant space. For the area, there were along the sides of the walls, and resting against them, galleries filled with rare and curious plants; and in the centre of the room were tables covered with the handsomest specimens of fruits and flowers that could be produced by the members. And everywhere there were gay festoons, and garlands of flowers, suspended from table to gallery, and gallery to ceiling. The specimens, which were really the subject of exhibition, were, for the age of the institution, and the circumstances under which they were produced, exceedingly good, and discovered great zeal and practical skill on the part of the contributors.

When the company had had leisure to inspect and admire the productions, an address was delivered before the Society by Mr. Gray, an intelligent merchant of the place. It commended the subject to their attention and pursuit, by an exposition of its advantages and their facilities. It was a very sensible address, and composed in good taste and liberal spirit; and was, in fact, an evidence of the humanizing and elevating influence which nature exerts on her true disciples.

In the afternoon we made a visit to Cambridge and Mount Auburn. This college, or university, is the oldest in the Union, and has high claims to consideration and respect, though it has ceased to be the friend of orthodox opinions. There is a sweet village-green here, surrounded by detached cottages, professors' residences, and two churches. The colleges are of various dates, and conform to no plan, either in elevation or arrangement, and occupy a flat surface. Nevertheless, with their verdant courts, and their ancient trees, they have, together, a venerable and interesting appearance.

The library, museum, and philosophical instruments, are worthy of attention. The library is one of the largest and best in the country. It has upwards of 40,000 volumes, and some of them very rare and precious; they are about to erect a suitable room for its reception.

Recently a law-school has been added to this establishment. Judge Story, the professor in this department, was at pains to inform us relative to it and the fellow-colleges. Here is also an excellent library, remarkable for possessing a complete set of the Law Reports of Great Britain. The American Quarterly issues from this University, and does credit not only to it, but to the country, as a literary production.

Mount Auburn is about two miles beyond Cambridge, and is a place of burial. It embraces no less than sixty acres of ground, and is a late purchase of the Horticultural Society, with the intention of forming at once a garden and a sepulchre. The land is fine, clothed with young wood, and has beautiful undulations, affording alternately the most quiet little dells and pleasant outlooks. There cannot be better scope for English landscape-gardening than it supplies; and a skilful hand might soon place it above Pere la Chaise. It can never be so rich in tombs as this is; but Pere la Chaise has no sense of retirement about it. This, even as it is, gives you the sense of silence without sadness, and retirement without gloom. But I am jealous of the hand of the mere horticulturist; and there are already reasons for this distrust. Formal beds and flowers, assorted by their genus, least of all accord with a cemetery. Now, it is not uncommon to see flowers crowded together over the new-made tomb; and these not the humble daisy, violet, and primrose, which might spring from the sod and sleep on its bosom, but showy and glaring flowers, evidently fixed on the soil by an intrusive hand.

A great many interments have been made here already. There is one just finishing, of great pretensions and expense; but money has been unskilfully applied, and has ruined it. It is full of small parts and small ornaments, which destroy its unity and power. There is one also for Spurzheim, which pleased me best; it is simply a tomb, of massive parts, and has only his name cut on its side in bold and deep characters. There is also a neat monument for the amiable Hannah Adams. She was the first person interred in this ground, and the following superscription is on the tomb:—

TO
HANNAH ADAMS,
HISTORIAN OF THE JEWS,
AND
REVIEWER OF THE CHRISTIAN SECTS,
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED
BY HER FEMALE FRIENDS.
FIRST TENANT
OF MOUNT AUBURN.
SHE DIED DEC. 15, 1831.
AGED 76.

Because the drive to this place is very pleasant, and because the walks within are equally so, it has become quite a place of fashionable resort; so that it may be said that the pleasure of the people of Boston consists in going to the grave. There were, I think, some dozen of carriages, and a number of saddle-horses, in attendance when we went; but it did not materially affect the quiet of the place; it is so extensive, and a party is so quickly lost in the numerous paths which wind about the acclivities.—And all do not go for purposes of recreation. As we made a sudden turn in one of the secluded walks, we came in sight of a tomb which had been just erected, and there were two newly-made widowers standing over it, who had stolen from the crowd and the world, to gaze in solitude and silence on the spot which enclosed all that was dearest to them on earth. We shunned them, lest we should seem to intrude on their sorrows.

On the 17th we attended a council to which we were summoned, for the purpose of forming a church, and ordaining Mr. Jacob Abbott as an evangelist, at Roxbury, about two miles from Boston. You will like to know the order of proceeding. The first business was to choose a moderator; usually the senior minister present is chosen; but on Dr. Jenks pleading excuse on account of deafness, Dr. Codman was appointed. Then a scribe for the occasion is chosen. The moderator offers prayer; and then, on explaining the purport of their meeting, challenges any persons present to say whether they are prepared to offer themselves to be examined as suitable to come into a state of church-fellowship. A member of a committee of arrangement, Mr. Abbott, arose, and stated that forty-five persons by letter, and six on profession, were ready to offer themselves, and had been approved by the committee. A committee of two of the council was appointed to examine and report. They reported that the letters were examined, and were regular and satisfactory; but that they had not examined those who offered themselves on profession; and they submitted that, as they had been examined by Mr. Abbott, an accredited minister among them, it was unnecessary. The report was accepted, and the usual examinations waived on the special ground taken.

Mr. Abbott further reported, that the committee advised him (Mr. Abbott) to offer himself for ordination as an evangelist; and that he was prepared to be examined to that issue. Special reasons were required for his desiring to be ordained as an evangelist, and not as a pastor; and in this case were deemed sufficient. He then presented his certificate of education, and his license to exercise the ministry; and stood for his examination. A vote was taken to refer the leading inquiries to the moderator; but several of the council soon took part in them, though always careful to do it through the chair.

The examination was limited to the opinions of the candidate on dogmatic theology, church discipline, and his experimental acquaintance with the truth he professed to acknowledge. When the examinations were finished, the moderator announced that the council would be alone. Immediately all strangers, including the candidates for membership and ordination, withdrew. The deliberations of the council continued some time, but they were confidential. There was a want of unanimity; and it was therefore thought advisable to see Mr. Abbott again. The examinations were renewed, and explanations were candidly given. The candidate was then requested to retire, and a vote was taken, "that the council do proceed to the ordination of Mr. Jacob Abbott."

The order of the ordination service was then agreed to, and the council adjourned to the Baptist Church, at which the service was to be, as affording better accommodation. We had been pressed to take part in the service; but the examinations had been so much longer than usual, as to make it necessary to leave immediately, to comply with other engagements. The following is the order of service, as it was printed for the use of the congregation:—

Formation of the Church.

READING THE SCRIPTURES. HYMN.
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS—REV. MR. BURGESS.
ORGANIZING THE CHURCH AND CONSECRATING PRAYER—REV. DR. CODMAN.

HYMN.

"'Tis done—the great transaction 's done;
I am my Lord's, and he.is mine:
He drew me, and I followed on,
Rejoiced to own the call divine.

"Now rest, my long divided heart,
Fix'd on this blissful centre, rest,
Here have I found a nobler part,
Here heavenly pleasures fill my breast.

"High Heaven, that hears the solemn vow,
That vow renewed shall daily hear;
Till in life's latest hour I bow,
And bless in death a bond so dear."

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP TO THE CHURCH, REV. MR. WINSLOW.

Ordination.

ORDAINING PRAYER—REV. MR. GILE.
CHARGE—REV. DR. WISNER.
RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP TO THE CANDIDATE, REV. MR. N. ADAMS.
HYMN. ADDRESS—REV. MR. BLAGDEN.
CONCLUDING PRAYER. DOXOLOGY. BENEDICTION.

There was one circumstance of interest in this case. The first church in Roxbury had Eliot, the missionary for its pastor; there had been no orthodox Congregational church from that time. It would be revived in the engagements of this day; and the associated saints were to take the name of the Eliot Church. Mr. Abbott was still to labor among them; although he was unwilling, in their existing condition, expressly to assume the relationship of a pastor.

We hastened to town, to attend a meeting of merchants on the subject of making mercantile pursuits auxiliary to missionary objects. We met at Cowper's Rooms. The notice was short; but thirteen gentlemen out of twenty, attended. We explained the design of the meeting, the objects to be attained, and the especial facilities which merchants, as such, had towards their attainment. We stated what had been done in New-York and in London; and solicited candid opinion on the important subject. Many interesting and affecting statements were made; especially of the abuses practised on the sailor when on shore. Communication followed communication, till each one seemed to wonder that, when so much evil existed, and so much good might be done, so little had been attempted. The consequence was, that they unanimously resolved on an adjourned meeting, to which other pious merchants should be invited; and a sub-committee was appointed, to consider and arrange the business. The subject continued before these gentlemen during our stay; and possibly, before this shall pass from my hands, further information may arrive.

In the evening, we met, at Mr. John Tappan's, a party of about forty persons. I gained information from him on the subject of the slavery question.—Dr. Beecher, whom I was to have met here relative to that matter, had arrived before me. Some meetings, however, had been held, and a plan was under discussion. I was invited to attend a meeting of the provisional committee, but was unable. If the subject is well managed at this crisis, it may do every thing; but I have my fears. The party was very agreeable, and well informed. We were mostly on our feet, forming little groups in the different rooms; and participating of coffee, tea, cake, lemonade, ices, and fruits, which were served in succession. Our intercourse was closed, as usual, with an act of worship, and we retired between ten and eleven o'clock.

While on this visit, I inspected the State Prison, the Athenæum, the Schools, the State House; and obtained the particulars of the Savings Bank and other institutions. I was particularly concerned to know what were the pursuits and the progress of the children in the colored schools; and I certainly think their parts are, on an average, equal to those of the whites; they are, perhaps, usually, quicker, though not more solid. The master here, who had had considerable experience in both, assured me that it was quite as easy to teach the blacks. It was somewhat curious to hear them addressed as master and miss. Here the colored population are free; and the circumstance of bond or free enters materially into the development of the faculties; especially those of the superior class.

On the 19th we attended a convention of ministers, called at our suggestion. We had upwards of twenty brethren present; and Dr. Stuart, who was visiting Boston, presided. We remained together about two hours, and received, in free intercourse, most important and cheering information relative to the state of religion. We took tea at Dr. Wisner's, and then hastened to a public and farewell meeting, which was to be held at Park-street Church. Supposing that such a meeting would be freely attended, it had been wisely made select, by announcing it as a meeting of pastors and churches. Such a notice, with us, would certainly have little effect in giving selectness to a meeting; but here it would be generally understood to limit it to the members of churches, and would, generally, be obeyed. In fact, on arriving at the place, we found it full, and, mostly, with members of the several churches. And it was truly a most exhilarating sight. We had before been sympathizing deeply with the orthodox, in the gradual introduction and prevalence of corrupt opinions, and in the reviving energy of the truth in more recent days; and here was the evidence before our eyes. I suppose 2,000 persons were present; and they were, for the most part, the choicest members of the various communities. The service was composed of three prayers and three addresses, with the usual singing. The prayers were offered by Mr. Blagden and Drs. Jenks and Codman. The addresses were taken by the Deputation and Dr. Stuart. The professor, in the name of the churches, congratulated us on our visit, expatiated on its good and kindly influence, and assured us, and the churches we represented, of their sympathy and affection.

At the close, we all rose, and sang that favorite hymn, "Blessed be the tie that binds," &c. We were six brethren in the pulpit; and as the sacred melody went to its close, we found ourselves spontaneously locked arm to arm. It was a very affecting and delightful service. We were of one heart, and one mind, and one voice; the only difficulty was in parting. Slowly the people moved away that night, and many were the affectionate greetings. But the last words would come, and the last lingerer must leave the now forsaken house of God. I had peculiar sensations on quitting that church. I had been within it so often, and on such delightful occasions; and it was now to receive me no more.

We had still to pass a couple of days in the city. On the Saturday, we dined at Dr. Codman's, with a number of esteemed friends. He resides at Dorchester, a delightful village, about six miles from Boston; and his residence commands a prospect which is at once rural and magnificent. Dr. Codman received his education in Britain, and he seems to have been prepared by Providence for the station he has been called to occupy. When heresy

came in like a flood over Boston, it spread also over much of its vicinity. He saw one after another swept away by it, frequently his particular friends, but he remained firm; and when at last it reached himself, he stood immoveable. He was subjected to violent persecution for the truth's sake; and a determined effort was made to deprive him of the church in which he labored, but without success.

When almost every thing else was possessed by the enemy, Dorchester remained as a commanding and impregnable outpost; secure in itself, and waiting for the first opportunities of favorable action. Those opportunities have come, and have been improved; and our friend's firmness, conciliation, and extensive influence, have contributed, with other means, in no small degree, to the change which he has witnessed. He now rejoices in comparing the present with the past; he deserves and he enjoys the esteem and confidence of his younger brethren, as one who has borne "the heat and burden of the day;" and to him the words of a higher testimony seem peculiarly appropriate—"I know thy work, and thy labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them that are evil; and thou hast tried them who say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars; and hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast labored, and hast not fainted!"

Apart from his general influence, Dr. Codman's labors for his particular charge have been followed with the best results. Besides his other advantages, he holds a considerable patrimony, and has a consort qualified to unite with him in every plan of benevolence. Here are Sabbath schools, working schools, and an academy for superior education. The ignorant are taught; the sick find medicine and sympathy; and the poor are prompted to adopt methods of domestic thrift and decency. The whole village presents an excellent example of the effect of religion so administered. No children are left to grow up in ignorance; few persons abstain from a place of worship: and here, where every thing else is on a small scale, the schools and churches assume an imposing character.

On leaving our friend's hospitable abode, I returned to town with Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong, to attend a few friends at their residence in an exercise of prayer. Messrs. Tappan, Hubbard, and Stoddard, the Rev. Mr. Edwards, and Dr. Wisner, were of the party. It was a refreshing evening, and a suitable preparation for the Sabbath.

On the following day, the last of our continuance, we preached, alternately at the Old South in the morning, and at Dr. Codman's in the afternoon.—They were services I shall not forget. At the close of the afternoon service, Dr. Codman had to submit to his church an application which had been made to him to go as a delegate to England; and he solicited me to preside on the occasion. On requesting the church to remain, I was struck and gratified to find a *majority* of the congregation stay. In most congregations, on such a notice being given, how small a *minority* would have retained their seats! Dr. Codman explained the application, and submitted his views to them. I then addressed them. It was to me and to them an interesting subject. It was proposed and seconded, in the form of a resolution; and on taking the sense of the church, it was unanimously carried. There was certainly something remarkable in an English delegate being called to act on such an occasion.

LETTER XXVII.

My dear friend—On the morning of the 22d, at half past two o'clock, we quitted Boston for Hartford. The ride is not sufficiently interesting to justify me in detaining your attention on it. We arrived late in the evening, and sought at the inn immediate repose. Early in the morning our kind friends were about us, and saw us comfortably settled. I was received into the family of Mr. Hudson, an intimate friend of Mr. Boorman.

I had written previously to Dr. Hawes of this place, from Northampton, expressing regret that we had not been able to meet the brethren of Connecticut at their usual meeting, and stating the time when we expected to be at Hartford, in the hope that some of them might be brought together at that period. He had acted promptly to this end; meetings were arranged for the whole day, that we might not be idle; and so readily was the call obeyed, that we had a larger association of the brethren than had occurred for a long season.

Hartford is a pleasant and thriving town on the banks of the Connecticut, and is associated with interesting recollections. It was first settled in 1635, by a little colony from Massachusetts. About a hundred came, and among them was Thomas Hooker, the first minister of the place. It was quite an adventure, and they were nine days in coming. I saw his tomb; and it is remarkable that the church over which he presided has had ten pastors; and that the nine who have died all lie buried in one place. In the same ground is also the tomb of Winchester. It is singular, that while the heresy of this man has died out in our country, it is thriving as an exotic in America.

There is shown here as a great curiosity what is called the Charter Oak. It is considered to be an aboriginal of the forest; and though it has seen a city grow up about it, and generations pass away, it is still full of vigor, and crowned with living beauty. It is as sacred to the people as it would be to a race of Druids, from the following circumstances. Sir Edmund Andross was sent over in 1687, to demand the charter of the colony. He had a meeting with the responsible parties on the subject; and when Wadsworth comprehended his intentions, he threw his cloak over the table, extinguished the lights, and disappeared with the charter. It was carefully hidden in the body of this venerable tree, and remained there for many years. When there was nothing more to apprehend for it, it was taken out, and is now deposited in the office of the Secretary of State.

There is here also an hospital for the insane; an asylum for the deaf and dumb; and a college for the education of young men trained for the Episcopal church. They all contribute to ornament and commend the town. The asylum has acquired distinction, even in comparison with those of Paris and London; and is excellently conducted. The Episcopal college is a good establishment; and capable of accommodating about 100 pupils. It is not, I believe, in a very vigorous condition. The college bills for the year are fifty-two dollars; and the students get their board in private families at one dollar and a half per week.

Our first meeting was with the brethren at ten o'clock. We met in the lecture-room, connected with Dr. Hawes's church. There were no less than seventy or eighty present. We remained in conference and prayer till one. The conference was of the most fraternal and interesting kind. It related to the state of religion in the two countries. The communications on the subject of revivals were edifying; and the statements of Professor Goodrich, on the revivals among the students at Yale College, were such as moved him and all of us. They were very desirous to learn our state; and were cheered and grateful on receiving the communications we felt at liberty to supply. Par-

ticularly they were anxious to know, whether we had any thing approaching to the character of their revivals. I remarked that we had not the name; and that we had not, and were even jealous of, some varieties of the thing, as they might be found in the States; but that I thought we had in substance what they would be most disposed to approve. Without employing any names, I then gave them a brief sketch of a church with which I was intimately acquainted, relative to its progress, and the means employed to that end, during the last ten years. They were delighted, and exclaimed—"Why, this is a revival, and the only kind of a revival which we approve." Our sitting was very long considering our other engagements; but we were as brethren, and were exceedingly unwilling to part.

At two, we had to attend a special meeting of the Bible Society. The Association embraced four counties; and it had engaged to raise 5,000 dollars towards the assistance of Gutzlaff, in circulating the Scriptures among the Chinese. Nothing could have assorted with my wishes better; and I was happy to give my help to such a cause. The meeting was in the church, and was very well attended. It was conducted in the usual order of the platform meetings, and contributed to facilitate the object to which they were pledged.

One of the friends had open house to tea. There were several rooms occupied. One of them is honored with having witnessed the formation of the Missionary Society. Mrs. Sigourney was one of our party; and I was gratified with an introduction to her. We had a *tete-a-tete* of a few minutes; and had no fault to find with them, except that they were few, and likely to be final.

In the evening we attended the ordination of two brethren; the one about to leave as a missionary to the sailors at Marseilles, and the other as an evangelist. We met in Dr. Hawes's church again, and the place was very full. The service began by singing. Then an invocation prayer was offered, which noticed distinctly all the succeeding parts of the service, and craved a suitable blessing on each and all. Then the scribe read the minutes which led to this public service, and justified their proceeding. The ordination prayer followed, with the laying on of hands; it rested with me. The charge was given by Dr. Parkins, the father of the Association, and eighty-two years of age. It was composed of short, suitable, and pithy counsel, as from a father to his sons, and lasted about twenty minutes. The right hand of fellowship was then given. The pastor of the missionary, a junior pastor in the town, took this service. It is always made more of than with us; but I never saw so much made of it before. The address was composed and read, which destroyed that freedom which is the grace of gratulation and benediction. It was, I think, as long as the charge. The right hand was given three several times, and the manner altogether was too theatrical. It had been excellently done, had it not been overdone; but there was, after all, a warmth of heart that redeemed it. The instructions from the Sailor's Society to their missionary were then read by their agent. We afterward rose, and united in singing once more their favorite hymn, "Bless'd be the tie that binds," &c., and the service closed by prayer and the benediction.

Having breakfasted and united in domestic worship, we took an affectionate leave of the friends here, and left by the stage for New-Haven. The ride greatly improved in comparison with the last. The flowing river, fine rich valleys, towns and villages imbosomed in them, and surrounding highlands, in their various combinations, filled the eye, and exhilarated the imagination. We arrived at New-Haven early in the afternoon, and found Mrs. Whitney prepared with the most hospitable kindness to receive us. This excellent lady is the relict of Eli Whitney, Esq., the inventor of the cotton gin—the Arkwright of America. Though his name has been little honored in his own country, and scarcely known in ours, his genius has secured an important trade to the Southern States, and is annually bringing a large revenue to the government. He discovered the same force of mechanical genius in other ways; and though he sunk under the persevering ardor of his mind, and the discouragements common to the inventor, his family are deriving considerable advantages from his labors. I should offend against feminine and Christian delicacy, if I said how much, in this instance, property is made to serve the cause of religious benevolence. Mrs. Whitney is the grand-daughter of President Edwards.

We found that a public meeting had been arranged for us in the evening; so that we had to hasten our refreshments, and attend it. Meantime the professors and other friends did us the favor to call.

The meeting was at the Congregational Church, of which the Rev. L. Bacon is pastor. It is large and handsome, and was quite filled. Here we met with Dr. Beecher, and he took a seat with us in the pulpit. Prayer was offered; and the Deputation made addresses. After I had finished, Dr. Beecher followed. It was a very interesting service; nowhere had the New England people shown more readiness to receive the delegation with respect and affection.

In the morning, Mr. Matheson, who had been here before, left for New-York; I stayed over this day, and occupied it in making myself acquainted with this important town.

New-Haven is considered to be the most handsome town in the States; and every one inquires of the stranger whether he has seen New-Haven? I cannot exactly accord with this opinion; but, without comparisons, it is handsome enough, and has attractions of a higher class, to which few towns can have even a pretence. It is placed on a small plain, which is redeemed from tameness by the bay, with its fine headlands in front, and by the west and east rocks, with the distant peak of Mount Carmel in the background. This plain is laid out in squares; so that the streets cross each other at right angles. They are unusually wide; and on each side are planted with the drooping elm, which flourishes here in high luxuriance.

One of these squares is left open, as a green and promenade; and it is here that the great beauty of the town is concentrated. Round three sides of this large area, stand some of the best dwellings in the place. The remaining side is occupied by the several erections of the college; and in the centre of it are placed, with intervening distances, three churches and the State House. These buildings, especially the State House, are admirably adapted to become the principal objects of the picture; and the verdant foreground, with the breaks which allow the eye to take in parts of the old college, make, indeed, a noble sight. But the charm of this, as of other views, is derived from the overspreading foliage of the trees, which softens down the hard lines and bright objects delightfully, and which forms, as you pass about, those lovely vistas of light and shade in which the eye rejoices. New-Haven is a city in a wood, and a wood in a city. It wants, however, a strong sun to appreciate it. On a cold and heavy day it might appear cheerless; but give it a fine warm sun and a playful breeze, and whose shades shall be so refreshing? whose light so sparkling and animated?

President Day, Professor Goodrich, Dr. Skinner, and Mr. Bacon, obligingly attended me over the colleges. They are old; raised of red brick; and have little to commend them beyond their venerable and quiet aspect. The observatory on the central buildings is a copy of the Tower of the Winds. As a whole, they are spacious. In the year 1833, they accommodated 496 students, who were proportioned as follows:—theology, forty-nine; law, twenty-one; medical, sixty-one; resident graduates, six; seniors, seventy-one; juniors, eighty-seven; sophomores, ninety-five; and freshmen, one hundred and six. The expense of tuition and lodging is about fifty dollars; and of board in commons, seventy-five dollars. There is a good philosophical chamber and apparatus here, and an excellent chymical laboratory. The library has two departments; the general and the students': in both there are above 21,000 volumes. There is a picture gallery, which has one room devoted to the productions of Colonel Trumbull. I had seen most of his; but none equal to some of these. There were two that raised my idea of his talents. Most of those in the second room were daubs; and could only have been placed there to cover the walls, till something better should be obtained.

The gem of the place, however, is the mineral cabinet. Two French collections were purchased, and are its basis. For the variety and rarity of its specimens, as well as for its excellent arrangement, it is unrivalled by any thing in America, and surpassed by few in Europe. It has been secured at great expense, and is a noble effort; and it will exert a beneficial effect on every department of this university. I could not help observing, that while it was felt to be greatly in advance of every other provision, its tendency was to raise the rest to its own exalted level. Whether this was within the view of those who have pressed this purchase, I know not; but if it were, the movement was the offspring of true philosophy.

Dr. Dwight was the president of this college. The American Journal of Science and Arts may be considered as issuing from it, as it is conducted by Professor Silliman, whose name is familiarized in the Old and New World.

Schools, of every sort and grade, abound here to an astonishing degree. The whole town seems only a larger college for the purposes of education, male and female, adult and juvenile. From the celebrity of the spot, many are sent here for the purpose of education; and from its other attractions, many families settle here, to facilitate their children's instruction. The influence is general, striking, and most agreeable. Ordinary society has an air of selectness which seldom prevails. The people have an intelligence and refinement which you do not expect; and the tone of mind, and of morals too, is raised by the elastic and renovating element of knowledge and discipline in which they dwell. Offences seldom arise here; the poor-house is empty; and though the benevolence of the people has lately erected an hospital, there is seldom any one to need its aid.

We visited the burial-ground. It is considered the most beautiful in this country; and a traveller, following this impression, calls it "the Pere la Chaise." No two things can be more unlike than it and Pere la Chaise. It is of considerable extent; has a flat surface; and is kept with unusual care and in excellent order. These latter circumstances would be enough to commend it to most Americans as beautiful; from being differently situated, our tastes are different. After all, that taste must be strangely perverted which should prefer this cemetery to that of Mount Auburn.

But, to the description. It is, as I have said, large, well enclosed, and nicely kept. It is supplied with a great number of stones and monuments; some of them expensive and handsome; the favorite form, if my memory serves me, is that of a miniature obelisk of marble. That of Eli Whitney is very good. The custom is, never to open the same spot a second time; so that a family requires a considerable space for interment. This leads to the enclosure of large family plots, with white rails; which have not a good effect. The fine trees which abound elsewhere are excluded here. Nothing appears but some straight poplars, with their heads dying off; and which least of all are suited to a spot, already too formal by its flat surface and angular lines. Judicious planting might yet make it almost what it claims to be.

There was one portion of this cemetery that especially interested me. The interments of the old ground were removed to this. They have all been wisely placed together; and their broken tablets, weather-worn surfaces, and decayed inscriptions, were in striking contrast with the fresh, and bright, and marble monuments by which they were surrounded; it seemed to create a distinction in those regions of death, where all distinctions are annihilated.

I dined at President Day's, and met a party of friends, among whom were Dr. Beecher and Professors Goodrich, Skinner, and Fitch. It was a pleasant interview; but I had to leave early, to join some friends who had proposed to drive me into the suburbs, and to the Caves of the Regicides. This ride improves your opinion of the situation of New-Haven considerably. The surface of the ground becomes varied as you approach it; the East and West Rocks grow upon the eye, and stand out in imposing attitudes. Your way now becomes winding, and is gradually rising, till you find yourself fairly among the rocks, and shut out of the living world. Here, under the eye of a little cottage of the woods, we left our carriage, and began a sharper ascent, through the copse-wood and stunted trees, which ornamented a spot where they could find little nourishment. Still we ascended among the rugged rocks, often uncertain whether we had retained the right track, till we found ourselves on the head of the rock, and opposite the Judges' or Regicides' Cave. It is formed by a cluster of stones, of immense size, and thrown together as if by some great convulsion of nature. The crevices in these rocks form the cave. There is only one portion of these large enough for human habitation; and here, it is said, with certainty I believe, that Goffe and Whalley were concealed and succored for a considerable time. Though it could afford but small accommodations to the sufferers, it had some advantages. It has no appearance of a cave till examined; it is near the town, though completely concealed from it; and there are various ways of approach, to prevent detection or facilitate escape. On one of the rocks composing this cave is this inscription:—

OPPOSITION TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD.

The spot was full of moral interest. The troubles of England had then reached to this cave of the desert! A judgment, calmly given in Westminster, had pursued these refugees across the great Atlantic, over the Western world, and had shut them up in this desolate mountain-top, familiar with silence, darkness, and savage nature, and fearful of nothing but the face of their fellow-man!

When we had indulged our thoughts and observations a little, we ascended to the forehead of the rock, and climbed to the top of the cave, to look around us. The views are exceedingly fine. At your feet, every thing is bluff and bold, and yet

beautifully clothed. To the right lay the plain we had left, with New-Haven, and its turrets and spires, half hidden in the trees; and beyond it, the noble bay and boundless ocean. To the left, the valleys and the waters ran up among the hills, showing distance after distance, till they were lost among the shadowy mountains. This was not spoken of as a point of sight; but, apart from the legendary interest of the cave, it is the finest spot to visit about New-Haven. Fancy disposed me to think that the Judges found in it some relief to the tedium and apprehension of their confinement. How often might they have reposed on these rocks; and while the person was concealed, the eye might have ranged over this prospect! And while looking on a scene so blessed of nature, and radiant with the blessed lights of heaven, how often might they have found their cares grow lighter, and their weary hours shorter!

In descending, we amused ourselves in collecting some botanical and geological specimens, with which this region abounds. A gentleman of our party, who had explored it with Professor Silliman, afterward very kindly supplied me with a complete set of mineral specimens illustrative of the Connecticut hills.

I met some friends to tea at Dr. Skinner's, and afterward made some calls. Among them, I visited Mr. Timothy Dwight, and was introduced to the widow Dwight, the mother of President Dwight. She is a venerable woman, full of years and of faith, and greatly blessed in her children.

I went in company with Mr. Dwight to church. Dr. Beecher was to preach on the condition of the West. It was well attended, though not full. The address was long, and rather a statement than a sermon. It was quaint in some of its parts, but energetic; the speaker was full of his subject, and it told on the audience. I took, at his request, the prayer after the sermon.

Dr. Taylor had arrived in the afternoon, and we were now introduced to each other. I met some of the brethren, previous to separation, at Mr. Bacon's, for an exercise of prayer. Professor Goodrich gave expression to our common desires with much wisdom, fervor, and affection. I reached home late; led the family worship; and retired, after a day of abundant but profitable occupation.

LETTER XXVIII.

My dear friend—I left New-Haven, with many regrets that my stay was so short, on the following morning at five o'clock. We had a fine run by steam through Long Island Sound, a distance of nearly ninety miles, in seven hours. The view of the town, as you get into the bay, is good; and as the Sound narrows, and you approach New-York, there is much to admire. It was my happiness to have Dr. Richards for a companion on this trip; and we spent a good portion of the time in profitable conversation. Dr. Richards is President of the Seminary at Auburn, and has had much experience in revivals in their various types.

Once more, then, and for the last time, I found myself at home with my esteemed friends, the Boormans. In four days we were to sail for England, and, of course, our time was over pledged. On the Sabbath morning, I preached for Dr. Spring. We united in an exercise of prayer before we left the vestry. I passed through his schools in the way to the church. There was a numerous attendance on the public service; and among those present were many whom I knew, and could denominate friends. Mr. Abeel, the missionary, was of the number. In the afternoon, I heard Dr. Skinner; and in the evening we attended a special missionary meeting. I had objected to it as a platform meeting; but it was conducted much in the way of our usual services, except that several addresses were made, instead of a more regular sermon. They rested with Messrs. Winslow, Abeel, Matheson, and myself. There was a large attendance, and the engagements were fulfilled in harmony with the sacredness of the day.

On the Monday we dined at Mr. Taylor's, with a party of friends. Dr. Beecher, and Dr. Ely, who had come on from Philadelphia to express his kindness to the last, were of the number. The intention in getting us together was, that we might be prepared to meet the merchants in the evening. Dr. Spring, and other friends to the object, had kept the affair distinctly in view; and a select portion of their body had been invited to give us the meeting. When the hour came, we had, indeed, a most cheering sight. The rooms were thrown open, and they were quickly filled with from fifty to sixty gentlemen embarked in mercantile interests, and professing to make those important interests contribute to the higher interests of religion and virtue. Mr. Perrit presided. Dr. Skinner offered prayer. The President then explained the object of the meeting, and looked to us to sustain it. I spoke, and was succeeded by Messrs. Matheson and Abeel. There was a fine spirit in the meeting. The whole subject, as it had been explained and enforced, was referred to an existing committee, to consider and digest.

More might certainly have been made of this meeting for its avowed and proper object, but there had been a strong desire on the part of some friends, and of Dr. Beecher himself, that the occasion might be also used in favor of the West. A hearing was granted to him; and he made a good use of it. His statements were similar to those at New-Haven, but they were shorter, and more in keeping. It was followed by a proposal to contribute, and a subscription list was laid on the table, to which many of his friends gave their names, with handsome sums. About 2,500 dollars were subscribed before we left. My only wonder was, that it was so small, knowing something of the men who were present. But the fact was, there was some division of opinion, not on the object, but on the propriety of attaching it to a meeting called for another purpose. Many were not prepared to meet this application, and some not to justify it. The object was of first-rate importance, and it was excellently pleaded; but it was somewhat out of place. From the same men, under other methods, four times the amount, in my judgment, would have been raised.

On the following day we dined with our esteemed and constant friend, Mr. Phelps. We had, of course, on the last day, many friends at the dinner-table. In the evening we had to attend a valedictory meeting. I would gladly have shunned it; but it appeared to be a means of usefulness, and it was very desirable to impress this character on our mission to its close. The prospect, however, of meeting the excellent of this city, and of many who had come from various distances to express their affection, to speak to them, to look on them for the last time, was, as it approached, overpowering. One little circumstance afforded some alleviation. I had sadly failed of all letters from home on reaching New-York; but half an hour before I went to the meeting, I received a letter from my church, of a most affectionate and cheering complexion. It was a word spoken in season.

The meeting was to be held in Murray-street church. It was built for the venerable Dr. Mason, and is the largest church in the city, and admirably

adapted to exhibit the entire congregation. When we arrived, the place was crowded, so as to make it difficult for us to attain to the pulpit. It is large, and on this occasion served all the purposes of a platform. Dr. M'Auley, the pastor, presided; and Dr. Spring looked to the fulfilment of the arrangements. Dr. Skinner opened the meeting by prayer.

It was then moved by the Rev. Mr. Patton, and seconded by Dr. Miller, of Princeton—

"That the intercourse between the churches in Great Britain and the United States, so auspiciously begun in the present year, is, in the judgment of this meeting, of high importance to the interests of vital piety in both countries."

It was moved by the Rev. D. Abeel, from China, and seconded by Dr. Ely, of Philadelphia—

"That, in the judgment of this meeting, peculiar obligations rest upon the churches of Great Britain and America to *unite* their efforts for the conversion of the world."

Dr. Ely, on this resolution being disposed of, begged permission of the chair and of the meeting to submit a letter, which, as Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian body, he had drawn up, and addressed to the Delegation of the Congregational Union. It was as follows:—

NEW-YORK, *Sept.* 30, 1834.

"*Rev.* ANDREW REED, D. D., *and Rev.* JAMES MATHESON, D. D., *Delegates from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.*

"MY DEAR BRETHREN,

"With more satisfaction than I can describe, or you well imagine, as the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, I introduced you to that Reverend Judicatory, in May last; and now, as the official organ of that body during its recess, and in behalf of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, which, under the spiritual government of one annual Assembly, embraces 32 synods, 118 presbyteries, 2,000 ordained ministers, 200 licentiate preachers, 300 candidates for license, 2,500 churches, and 245,000 communicating members, with more than a million and a half of their baptized associates in public worship, I bid you, on your return to England, AN AFFECTIONATE FAREWELL. We thank you, and the Congregational Union, which you have represented in this country, not only among our ministers, but among the 900 orthodox Congregational pastors of New-England, for your fraternal, animating, and highly useful visit. You have rendered more dear than ever to us the land of our Puritan fathers, by your friendly, unassuming, pious intercourse with all classes of our fellow-citizens. We have great confidence in the candor with which you have surveyed the American people in their domestic circles; their public institutions of learning, civil government, and religion; their benevolent enterprise, and the common concerns of life.

"You have seen us at a time of greater political and religious commotion than we have ever before experienced since we became an independent nation; and you will have to tell of noisy elections, mobs, and ecclesiastical controversies; but you will tell the truth, without exaggeration and bitterness. You will be able to judge of the stability of our republican government, and of our voluntary religious associations, more accurately, from the shaking which they have experienced from these evils which you have been providentially ordered to see in our country, than had your visit occurred at some more favorable period in our history. For our own sake, we could have wished that you might have witnessed nothing but order, peace, brotherly love, and success in every good enterprise; but such as the American people are, in church and state, operating in their respective spheres without any statute union of the two, and without interference with each other, you now know us more thoroughly than any English travellers ever did before. You have visited not merely our public hotels, the Falls of Niagara, the Natural Bridge of Virginia, the Halls of Congress, the President of the United States, and a few of our churches, but our family circles, in log-houses, and neat village or city mansions. You must have formed your opinions of American society, talents, manners, and enterprise; you must have judged of our privileges, improvement, good qualities, and faults, from intimate acquaintance and close inspection; and not, as many former reporters to the British public, from passing through our canals, forests, and bar-rooms.

"Go home, then, brethren, beloved by the churches in these United States, to our fellow-Christians in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and tell them, that in religious and moral character, grace has made us much like themselves: that we love the Saviour whom they love; that we love their representatives tenderly, whom we have seen; and that our hearts shall be more and more knit to all British Christians whom we have not seen, in the fellowship of the gospel.

"We trust that, in May next, some of the delegates from the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in our country will return your most acceptable public visitation.

"In the mean time, may the God of our salvation waft you in safety to your families, congregations, and ecclesiastical UNION, followed by the prayers and benedictions of tens of thousands of Christians on this side of the Atlantic, who highly esteem you in love, for your works' sake, and for the sake of Christ Jesus, our common Lord, whom you serve in the gospel.

"EZRA STILES ELY

"Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

On having read it, he submitted whether, if the congregation generally approved of it, and of its being presented to the Deputation, they would rise from their seats, as an expression of that opinion. It was a striking sight to behold that mass of people rise over the place like a wave of the ocean, and, like it, subside again!

Having received the letter from the hand of Dr. Ely, I was called on to move, and Mr. Matheson to second, the following resolution:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the signs of the times imperatively demand a more intimate union of sentiment and effort throughout the Christian world."

It was then moved by the Rev. Mr. Spencer, of Brooklyn, and seconded by Dr. Beecher—

"That while we give thanks to Almighty God for his gracious care of our beloved brethren during their voyage to this land, as well as for their frequent and untiring labors among us, this assembly now unite in humble supplication for their safe and comfortable return to their families, and the household of faith which they have represented, in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel."

Dr. Miller was then requested to give expression to this resolution, by thanksgiving and prayer.

The doxology was then sung, and the benediction pronounced by Dr. Spring; and we began to separate. But we were long that evening in separating. All were desirous of presenting their salutations, and some had come one and two hundred miles for that purpose.

To the people generally, it was evident that the

meeting was delightfully interesting. Persons of various denominations and opinions, unaccustomed to meet, were brought together; and, though unused to sympathize, found their sentiments softened and blended. The exercises were sustained in the spirit of devotion and of Christian charity, and the spirit of love passed over the assembly. To me it was almost too affecting. I was looking on every thing, every face, every friend, for the last time.

On the following morning we had many friends calling, and many to breakfast. Afterward we had an exercise of worship. Dr. Cox read the Scriptures, and offered our prayers to God. Dr. Beecher made a short spontaneous address; and then, at my request, reduced the substance of it to prayer. We were strengthened by these engagements for remaining duty. The parting words, or rather separations and salutations, without words, followed. We took leave of the family which had been to us as a home; in which we had received the kindest attention; and which, though frequently inconvenienced by the number of calls and claims arising on our residence, were never discomposed or weary.

Mr. Boorman had provided an omnibus to convey us to the ship; and as many as could be accommodated went with us. At the steamboat, which was to take us down to the vessel, was also a host of friends. Most of them were proposing to go with us; but it rained hard, and, from the state of the wind, it was probable we should not sail; and we persuaded them not to be at inconvenience on our account. We took leave, therefore, of most of them; but Dr. Spring, Dr. Miller, and several other friends, determined to continue with us to the last. That short period, when you have parted with most of your beloved friends, yet still retain a few of the choicest, with the impression that they must be quickly surrendered, is full of feeling; but it balks expression. We reached the vessel; received the last farewell of our last friends, and went on board. Here there was nothing to occupy the attention; there was no prospect of sailing that day; the rain fell heavily around us; one's affections had been lacerated by a thousand partings; the last, the very last, had come; my heart within me was desolate.

The next day we were under way. But the weather was not favorable, and the vessel rolled greatly, so that we were nearly all, more or less, unwell, and had but little opportunity of looking about. I caught one last glimpse of the country I had left. That amazing continent, with all its cities and mountains, was now reduced to a thin dark line, running parallel with that of the horizon; and now it disappeared, and the sea and sky shut up the prospect.

The vessel by which we returned was the same that took us out. Two improvements had been made in this excellent line of packets since our arrival. The one related to the use of wine; you were now charged only for what you ordered, instead of paying a round sum and drinking at pleasure. Under the former system, persons least accustomed to wine were tempted to drink the most, that they might have the worth of their money.—The other variation, I am happy to say, is in favor of the Sabbath. It has been determined, so far as New-York is concerned, that the vessels shall not sail on that day; so that when the date of sailing falls on the Sabbath, it shall be understood to take effect on the following day. This is not only important in itself; it is valuable as an example.—This line of vessels has established itself by its promptness and celerity, and it thrives by it; but if it is not afraid to make this sacrifice in favor of the Sabbath, surely others are left without excuse.

We had a very full vessel, but our company was agreeable and obliging. Many were under a religious influence, and some were previously known to us. Among them was the Rev. W. Paxton, from Virginia. For the first three days we had faint or head winds to contend with, but afterward we made way surprisingly. We ran in six days about 1,500 miles. Of course, we had some fine sailing, and had two of our studding-sails blown away; but the motion was far less trying. I kept, on the whole, pretty well; the weather became much warmer and finer, so that I could enjoy the deck; and I suffered much less than in the voyage out. We had a couple of hawks come on board when we must have been 500 miles from land.

My comparative freedom from physical inconvenience left me at leisure to enjoy the scenes around me; and they did afford me the highest enjoyment. I cannot subscribe to the charge, that the ocean loses all its interest by its uniformity; it supplies the lover of nature with endless variety. I did not see it two days in the same condition, or assuming the same forms, or showing the same colors. I was literally surprised at the variety of its aspects; and all of them either suffused with beauty or magnificence. Now it swelled into gradeur and filled you with awe; now it was full of life and motion, and gave by sympathy a briskness and elasticity to your spirits; and now it lay at your feet, like an infant in slumber, so placid, so still.

It was a great advantage on this, as on other accounts, that we were indulged with such beautiful moonlight nights. It allowed me to be much on deck, and frequently alone. I think I never knew so fine a moon; certainly I never enjoyed it more.

One night I shall never forget. I had left the dinner-table to secure some retirement on deck. I sat down near the helmsman, who was silently directing our course. The breeze dwelt finely in the sails, and gave to the vessel her noblest appearance The sea was animated, but unbroken; and we were moving rapidly, but quietly, and with a pleasant undulating motion. A bright sun had just sunk down in the waves, and left his vermilion hues on the margin of the dark clouds which skirted the eastern horizon. Here and there a bright star appeared, dancing among the shrouds. Presently, the dark but calm clouds, sleeping on the waters, gave indications of a lustre not their own. Soon they were attenuated, and diversified, and illuminated, by a presence which was still unseen. And then the lighter and gauzy portions drew back like a curtain, and forth came, as from her pavilion, and in all her majesty, the queen of night. Her lustre shot across the dark waters, and turned them into a flood of quicksilver. The clouds quickly disappeared as she ascended in her career; and the stars, one by one, were extinguished by her brightness. The lines of the horizon, too, had vanished, so that the blue sky and blue sea seemed united and infinite. Over all this infinitude of space there were only two objects to be seen: the moon sailing silently through the ocean above, and ourselves sailing silently through the ocean below!

Although we were making so short and swift a passage, it was remarkable what anxiety there was on the subject of making land. On the fifteenth day some birds came on deck, and there was great joy, and many discussions whence they came, and the probable distance they could fly. Before there was a reasonable chance of seeing land, there was an eager outlook in the direction in which it was expected; and when the chance became reasonable, it is astonishing what eagerness was excited. The meals, which had been an object of so much attention, were comparatively neglected; and hour after hour they would be searching for land, and seeing

only water, till the eye ached under the exercise. At length land appeared, but so mistily and cloud-like that it created doubt; it grew on the sight, and there were trees and cottages dimly seen, and there was the hopeful certainty of waking bliss.

I, too, although I had much enjoyed the voyage, exulted to see my native shores. I had, however, a sort of fear, with all the freshness of the New World upon me, lest the Old Country should suffer in the comparison. But when we passed Holyhead, and ran along the coast of Wales, that fear was exchanged for delight. I already owed much to Wales, and many times, but never more than on that morning. Penmaenmawr and his associates present a range of coast scenery such as is seldom to be seen, and such as I had not seen in the New World. I was thankful to have seen other countries, and to have thought better of them than ever; but I was thankful also to find that it was not at the expense of my own.

It was the Sabbath; and notwithstanding the excitement necessary to the circumstances, as we had no reason to think we should arrive early in the day, we proposed an act of worship. We had done so, both in going and returning, when the weather permitted. As usual, the passengers mostly complied, and we had, I hope, a profitable service. A gentleman of the Hebrew nation voyaged with us, and at this time joined in our service; he did so feelingly, and afterward expressed his gratitude.

We could not pass the bar in time, and were therefore obliged to wait for a steamboat. As we passed up the river, we saw several vessels stranded. I inquired the cause. "The cause?" said the master of the vessel; "why, we have had such a gale of wind these three days as has not been known for many years." We were most likely to be visited by it, and to suffer; and yet we did not even know of it, and had only wind to fill our sails! About fifty vessels were lost by these gales in the North Seas; and in going out, about sixteen vessels and 1,000 persons perished on the American coasts; and we made the passages in safety—the one in twenty-two, and the other in seventeen days. The captain, in allusion to this, said, "You are very lucky, sir!" I was constrained inwardly to say, "God is very good!"

It was night before we landed. I was weary and cold, and that I might have the advantage of a tepid bath, and accompany Mr. Paxton, I went to an hotel. We united in an act of devotional acknowledgment, and then retired.

I went the following morning to my kind friends, Mr. and Mrs. Bulley. We received great assistance from them and others in passing our luggage; we offered praise where last we had offered prayer, in connection with Dr. Raffles's church, and then we hastened to the metropolis. As it was not known at what time or by what conveyance I should arrive, I did not expect to meet any one till I reached my home. But at Islington a voice hailed me which I knew, and presently my deacons were around me, and embracing me!

They took charge of me and my concerns, and conveyed me, without a moment's trouble, to the threshold of my own door. Over it they would not pass; but when they had served me to the utmost, with a delicacy worthy of the Patriarch's friend, they instantly disappeared.

Thus was I brought again to the bosom of my family and my flock in peace. I had been absent seven months; I had travelled 13,000 miles, and had passed over the very line which the cholera fearfully occupied, and yet no serious evil had befallen me or my dearest interests. But the mission was eminently the subject of prayer; and I gratefully connect the many happy circumstances with which it was attended, to the affectionate and fervent prayers offered by the churches on either side of the Atlantic.

LETTER XXIX.

My dear friend—I have now disposed of all that I have to communicate in the form of narration. In this portion of the report it has been no part of my intention to exhaust my notes or my memory; but to limit myself in subject, and in detail, to those statements which, as they were most interesting to myself, I might hope would be most acceptable to you. There are some subjects which have been glanced at, and partially illustrated in the course of the narrative, which you will, perhaps, consider as worthy of further notice. These subjects, to avoid unsuitable digression, and to give them the attention which their high importance demands, I have reserved for separate consideration. Let me hope, that your interest is so far awakened that you will not be the less inclined to follow, because the subject assumes a graver and more settled aspect.

I can readily suppose, that on turning your thoughts in this direction, your first inquiries would be anxiously connected with that great religious phenomenon of this country—the Revivals; and it is, therefore, to these I would, in the first instance, direct my remarks. It was a frequent lamentation that we were not making our visit in the time of a general revival; but, while it would have been a source of great personal pleasure to have seen and felt more of the presence of religious influence, I think we could hardly have been placed in more favorable circumstances than we were, for the purposes of candid and calm observation. One of the most remarkable and extensive revivals ever known had passed over this people: it was sufficiently remote to mark the reaction which might attend it; and it was sufficiently near to be assured of its character and its history. My notices, though not wholly, will be mostly governed by either a silent or expressed reference to it.

I believe it is now well understood that the term Revival has become conventional, and that it describes the fact, that within a limited and comparatively short period, a church is greatly renovated in pious feeling, and a considerable accession is made to it from the classes of the formal and ungodly. Usually there is a previous state of spiritual depression amongst the religious people; and of irreligion and increasing wickedness in the neighborhood. The minister, perhaps, and some few Christians, in the recollection of better days, lay it to heart. They converse of it; they agree to submit it to prayer; they influence others; other means are adopted; and in proportion to the diligent and wise use of just and scriptural methods, is the blessing.

I feel that these simple remarks, without designing it, have nearly disposed of what has been deemed the mysteriousness of this subject; but I must endeavor to place it in other lights, and surround it with more exact information. You are ready to ask, how it happens, if true religion is to advance, that it advances in this particular form? My reply is twofold; first, that they expect it, and, secondly, that they labor for it, in this form.

First, *They expect it.* All who have some acquaintance with human nature, will easily perceive how greatly this must contribute to the end. Man, under religious influence, is still a free agent, and the influence that governs him takes its form from the current through which it flows. Suppose two persons to be equally earnest for their salvation, and the one to have become so under the ministry of

Whitefield, and the other under that of Wesley. The likelihood is, that the disciple of Wesley would but out with his conversion some physical expressions, because Wesley made them a test of conversion; while the disciple of Whitefield would show no such signs, because they were not demanded.

These expectations are created partly by habit, and partly by circumstances. Their habits are entirely on this side. They have not to acquire a taste for revivals; their difficulty would be to destroy it. They are mostly the children of revivals; their churches have been mostly raised or nourished in revivals; their whole history, and that of their country, is greatly the history of revivals. Their seasons of revival are only a variation on the approved and constant practice of their pilgrim fathers. They had, if Presbyterians, their four-day sacraments, which were protracted meetings; and, if Puritans, their solemn seasons of fasting and prayer, which were usually, in the highest sense, periods of revival. While, therefore, a revival, exactly after their type, would be deemed a novelty in a church with us; with them, a church that knew no revival would be the exception from the rule. Custom, then, which is second nature, feeds their expectation.

Then, their circumstances are favorable to these expectations; and in several ways. Sympathy is no inconsiderable agent in a revival; and sympathy has freer play with them than with most. They have fewer lines of distinction in society; and those few are much fainter; so that there is far less difficulty in coming together. And even the distinctions which do exist, are often deemed invidious and hateful; so that those who are, by any circumstance, distinguished, are glad of an occasion to place themselves on a common footing. In consequence, the churches and the classes which compose them, have more association. What is done in one is quickly known to all; and the report of a revival at New-York will vibrate, till it reaches Cincinnati; and the churches there, true to the fellow-feeling, will desire to possess its counterpart.

Especially, the circumstances of the people are those of uniform and great emergency. With a population advancing at the rate of one thousand a day, and a large part of this increase of unpromising character, the church would soon be overwhelmed, if she did not make some extraordinary efforts for her proportionate advancement. Then, the great passion of this people, in these buoyant and progressive circumstances, is hope; you might sooner destroy thought and action than depress them. But when this hope is found in alliance with religious character, it becomes Christian hope; and animates the Christian community as it does the commercial community, to high endeavor and irrepressible exertion.

This conducts me to the remaining portion of the explanation, which is, that *they labor* for the revivals they expect. As far as I could learn, this is uniformly the case. I know of no individual who would expect a revival independent of means; and I know of no church which has enjoyed a revival without the use of means. The means may be proximate or remote, more or less apparent, but always they do exist. Undoubtedly the most delightful change might happen, by a special communication of grace, without the intervention of any means; but I am now speaking only to the fact; and after carefully obtaining extensive information on the subject, I am prepared to say, that I know of no case in which means have not been employed.

There were, indeed, some cases which were reported to me before I visited the country, and some, also, while there, that were spoken of as unconnected with all means to the end. But I am now satisfied that the parties making such statements had too limited conceptions of the order of means; and, led away by the natural love of the marvellous, reported things to have happened without an instrumentality, when, in truth, it was only an instrumentality which they were too short-sighted to discern. It has been represented, for instance, that some revivals have begun quite suddenly, and before any means had been adopted to the end; and even when existing means were unfavorable. That, in some cases, even the minister has been taken by surprise; and that a revival has sprung up when the whole design of his frigid discourse was to keep it down. But on looking into these cases, it is found that less visible, though not less potent, means have worked to the issue. In a church so influenced, there has, perhaps, been a salutary sense of its depressed state resting upon it, and a desire for change; or there has been a striking revival in a neighboring town, which has awakened expectation to the event; or the papers, which they read in abundance, may have reported revivals at a distance, and thus have impressed some with desire and prayer for the like advantages. And in the instance of the good minister, who was laboring to cool down his people, is it not evidence that he thought them predisposed to catch at the flame; and if this was their state, is it difficult for any one, who is conversant with the human heart, to perceive, that the course he took was the very means to bring on an explosion?

These means, then, which imply a preparedness of mind, are always acting, with more or less force, on this people; and they are of the first consideration. They place them, in regard to the more ostensible means, in the relation of conductors to the electric fire; while, without this readiness for excitement, the ordinary means might be used and repelled. Frequently it has happened, and does happen, therefore, that the mere notice, that a revival has occurred in the vicinity, or that a revival preacher is about to visit the town, supervenes a revival on the one part, and a hostile combination to resist it on the other.

These observations may dispose of what is anomalous. But the general rule is, that, with whatever causation Divine influence may be, at first, connected, an approved revival advances in the regular use of regular means; and that its advancement is mostly in proportion to the discreet, humble, and persevering use of those means. You will expect that I should glance at them.

1. I would name *the preaching of the gospel with earnestness and fidelity.* It is generally admitted, that the momentous truths which concern our salvation are made very prominent in these periods of extraordinary effort; and that on this circumstance the soundness of a revival greatly depends The sovereignty of God; his righteousness, in condemning the world for sin; and his free election of any to eternal life. The holiness, the spirituality, and the inflexibility of the moral law; the entire alienation of the heart from God; the complete obligation of the sinner, as a moral agent, to repent and do all that God requires, without delay; his voluntary and inexcusable disobedience, and his certain rejection of the gospel, till his heart is subdued by Divine influence; his need of an infinite Saviour, to make atonement for his sin, and an infinite Sanctifier, to renovate him in the love of God; and his entire dependence on Divine grace to accept, and justify, and save him. These are the truths which are then delivered with life, and carry life to the soul.

The preaching exercises, at such a time, are *more frequent* than is usual. Their occurrence is suggested by convenience and necessity. The extra services are taken, perhaps, on one or two even-

ings of the week, or other parts of the day, as may suit the attendants. Sometimes a whole day, or more, in connection with the Sabbath, is set apart for the purpose; and, in that case, it would receive the modern appellation of a protracted meeting.

2. *Visitations.* These frequently take the lead; as you will remember they did in the case of Morrison, in revivals. The pastor; or the pastor and a brother minister; or a pastor with his elders; or the elders, two and two, acting under his arrangements; are usually the persons making these domiciliary visits. They are short, serious, and devotional, and are kept to the single object they have before them.

3. *Special Meetings for Prayer.*—They are regulated by the call there is for them; and are often attended by fasting. They are, when rightly used, the soul of revivals, and animate all the services. The hand of God has, by them, been most directly acknowledged; the offence of man most freely confessed; and the blessing that was devoutly sought, was abundantly granted.

4. *Conference or Inquiry Meetings.*—These are instituted for those persons who have become anxiously concerned for their salvation; and who need the more exact guidance and encouragement, which discreet conversation can best supply. The pastor, with assistance, if the numbers require, passes amongst the inquirers, and in an under voice, invites them, in turn, to express their state of mind, and seeks to advise them in their difficulties. Exhortations and prayers are connected with these exercises. These meetings are often continued beyond the period of revival, and are carefully used in favor of young converts, that they may be confirmed in the faith and experience of the Christian life.

The instruction which is regularly given in the Sabbath schools and in Bible classes, should, though not of a periodical character, be considered as contributing, in an important degree, to a sound and extensive revival. The young persons, who have been thus trained in religious knowledge, are in a state of preparation to admit and feel the power of the truth; and when they are placed in new circumstances in relation to it, and it is applied with unwonted force to the conscience, it is usually with the happiest result. Their previous knowledge facilitates the introduction of life, and regulates it when introduced. The first rush of living feeling over the heart is controlled by an informed understanding. They give the more sure and pleasing evidence of conversion at the time; and are expected most to adorn their profession afterwards.

Still, perhaps, in the diligent use of these means, you are at a loss to account for the great effects, which are common to these seasons of revivification. Let me explain it in some measure.

1. These periods are looked to as the great seasons of ingathering; and from this circumstance, the ordinary additions to the church are less, and the periodical additions greater. In a revival, a great portion of the church may have been recovered from what they deem a state of declension, and these are frequently numbered amongst the fruits of revivals. Very many have, perhaps, waited for a revival, to adopt an open profession, or to make a full surrender of themselves to the Saviour. So that these accessions are much larger at one time than is usual; though their average of increase may not surpass that of our healthy and prosperous churches.

2. Then, the mere enumeration of the approved means, does not supply you with a just idea of the use that is actually made of them. It is the *spirit* of the occasion, which gives it its character and success. Life pervades every thing. The people are raised above the ordinary level of existence; the mind, the imagination, the passions, are all wound up for unusual action. The very notice of a revival awakens every one. Some look to it with joy, as the day of their salvation; others shrink from it with fear and trembling, lest the contagion should touch them, and with the apprehension that it will; and others band themselves together, and resolve to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and harden their hearts, lest they should see, and hear, and repent, and be saved. None are indifferent—none are unmoved. You will, at once, see that this offers a fine field for Christian service. Usually, our great foe is Insensibility; but he is the first victim in a revival.

The way in which the means are used is surprising. All who, in this state of high excitement, have come under the influence of the truth, are ready for extraordinary action. For the period, but one object is before them, and it *possesses* them. They have found mercy, and they thirst to bestow it; they have dishonored God, and they thirst to glorify him. They become missionaries for the time; and they move about in their families and their connections, warning, teaching, and entreating, with tears, that they would be reconciled and saved. The services of the sanctuary are imbued with this "healthful spirit of grace." In the psalmody, the prayers, the preaching, there is life. There is a reality and a solemnity in every thing, which is itself a means of conversion; and which, if the ungodly shall witness, the probability is, that he will be "convinced of all, and fall down and worship God." The ministry, at this time, has an uncommon degree of simplicity, decision, and pungency about it; and of this the ministers are fully aware. On one occasion, on hearing a sermon, which was good as a composition, but not efficient, I remarked, "Would this do in a revival?" The answer was, "Oh, we don't preach so in revivals." On another occasion, when I had reason to complain of some flat and fine singing, I observed to a brother minister, that it was enough to extinguish a revival; the reply was, "Oh, that is not the way we sing in our revivals." I have nothing to do just now with this admitted difference, except as a cause working to a given result.

3. There is yet one other particular which may assist you to comprehend this important subject. In the application of the means used at these periods, great efforts are made to bring them to bear on the negligent and irreligious portions of the community. These classes are visited without scruple; sermons are delivered, and prayer meetings are held expressly for their benefit; notices are given of these services, and they are canvassed by pious and zealous persons for their attendance, as they might be for their votes at an election. Tracts and books are lent; and if the first or second application fails, it is not the last; so that by "violence" those are frequently brought to the church who were never brought before. At Cincinnati, in the late revival, this was frequently done, and with the greatest success. On one occasion, a sermon was delivered to the young men of the town; and by these efforts the church was completely filled with this class of persons. The Christian community, accustomed to assemble there, finding that their places were wanted, retired to another place, and continued in prayer, that the address made to them might be successful. Such methods as these will account to you for that measure of increase which is common in revivals, and which would not be possible, if the effort were limited to the congregation.

This brief description will unfold to you, though imperfectly, what may be denominated the approved revivals of this country; and I presume that, as a

matter of detail, there is nothing that can meet your judgment offensively. Before I pass to other views of the same subject, I am desirous of confirming and illustrating this statement by some considerable extracts from "The Narrative of the late Revival in the Presbytery of Geneva, in the State of New-York." It is one of the most satisfactory accounts with which I have met; it can be entirely relied on; and it is the more important, as it arises in a district where much, and perhaps just complaint has rested:—

"The year past has been, to the churches within our bounds, emphatically a year of the right hand of the Most High. In no year, since the settlement of our country, have we witnessed so many and such signal triumphs of the Redeemer's cause; or recorded so large an accession to the number of his professed followers, as the year which we are now to review. All our churches, which have enjoyed the stated means of grace, have been visited with revivals during the past year.

"The first special indication of a work of grace appeared in Geneva, early in the month of June, 1830; and the first subjects of it were members of the Female Seminary. At the close of the first week, after the attention became general, eight or ten were rejoicing in hope, and an unusual seriousness pervaded the minds of all. A weekly prayer meeting was appointed, for personal conversation with those who were inquiring; another for those who were indulging a recent hope; and a season of prayer was observed, at the same time, by a small number of the church. Others, not connected with the seminary, soon became interested in the work; and though it was not powerful or general, it continued, with various degrees of interest, through the summer and fall: every week furnishing some new cases of hopeful conversion to God. Several seasons of prayer and religious conference were observed by the church, which were generally well attended, and apparently happy in their results; yet the members generally did not take that deep interest in the work which they ought to have felt, and which might have been expected. The revival, however, continued slowly, but steadily to advance until December, when the number of hopeful converts amounted to more than forty."

"From the middle of January until near the last of March, the number of conversions was from twelve to twenty in a week; but, notwithstanding the power of the work, no irregularities were witnessed, no crying out in public worship, no boisterous expressions of joy, no audible sighing or groaning, and, indeed, little else than the natural expressions of a soul deeply impressed with its guilt, or calmly reposing, by faith, upon the Lord Jesus Christ. From the last of March until the first of May, the work was less powerful; though no week passed without witnessing some new cases of conversion. It was about one year from the time of its commencement before it entirely subsided. The whole number, who have expressed a hope of renewing grace, is about two hundred and seventy; of these, forty or fifty were members of the Female Seminary, most of whom, residing in others places, did not unite with the church in Geneva. The number who have united with the Presbyterian church is more than two hundred, making the whole number of the church, at the present time, five hundred and fifty-one.

"The *means* that have been most blessed in the progress of the work, have been the preaching of the gospel on the Sabbath, and at the stated lectures, and the ordinary performance of parochial duty; to which may be added, special meetings for prayer and religious intercourse. The course of weekly labor has been, three services on the Sabbath; a meeting for inquiry, and another for prayer, on Monday evening; a service, addressed, more particularly, to the unawakened, on Tuesday evening; social prayer meetings in different sections of the village, and lectures in the more distant neighborhoods, on Wednesday evening; the Bible class, followed by a season of prayer, on Thursday evening; a meeting for the instruction of the young converts, and another for prayer, on Friday evening; and on Saturday evening, a prayer meeting for a special blessing upon the labors of the Sabbath. The day was principally employed in visiting from house to house. The meeting of young converts was one of peculiar interest. Its object was *instruction* in the leading evidences of Christian experience and the practical duties of the Christian life: not only to guard young Christians against self-deception, but to imbue their minds with religious truth, to instruct them in doctrinal knowledge, and thus to lay a broad, and deep, and permanent foundation of Christian character. This service has uniformly been performed by a clergyman, and is still continued.

"To these general means may be added, the personal exertions of many members of the church, and of the young converts, generally in a way of individual influence. This influence was exerted, not in the public meeting, but in the private interview. The young converts did not become exhorters, nor arrogate to themselves the prerogatives of teachers; but testified their interest in the cause, by their personal exertions to bring others to a knowledge of the truth. A protracted meeting of three days' continuance, was held about the middle of April. The services were ably conducted and well attended, and the interest, for the time, was considerable; but, so far as the conversion of souls is concerned, the permanent results, if any, were very small. It is now more than a year and a half since this work commenced, and from eight to ten months since, the greater portion of its fruits were gathered in, and, thus far, the subjects generally appear well. In the admission of members to the church, it has been a general rule for the pastor and some of the elders to acquaint themselves, by personal interview, with the case of each individual previous to his examination by the session. In all cases several weeks, and in most cases, from two to three months have elapsed, after they experienced hope, before they were admitted to the church. All have been publicly propounded, and have been received in the presence of the congregation. In testimony of the increased interest which has been excited in the cause of Christ, it may be observed, that the appropriations for religious charity have been nearly doubled the last year. The church now sustains one foreign missionary, at an expense of six hundred and sixty-six dollars; thirteen home missionaries, at one hundred dollars each; nine scholarships, of the American Education Society, at seventy-five dollars each; which, in addition to the appropriations for the Bible, Tract, Sabbath School, and other objects of benevolence, amounts to more than *forty-five hundred dollars* the past year.

"The present state of religion is, in some respects, quite interesting; several conversions have recently occurred, though there is not properly a revival. The public services are well attended; entire harmony of sentiment and feeling prevails in the church; the Sabbath School has about three hundred members, and the several Temperance Societies in the town more than eleven hundred. Four or five young men have commenced study, with a view to the ministry. The Female Seminary is flourishing, and several hopeful conversions have occurred recently among the pupils. A Manual

Labor School has been opened in Geneva, with peculiarly favorable prospects. It has now between sixty and seventy members; about forty of whom may be regarded as the fruits of the late revivals, and are in a course of preparation for the gospel ministry. Most of the young men sustain themselves at an expense not exceeding from fifty to seventy-five cents per week, and facilities are afforded them to earn, by their own labor, more than sufficient to defray this expense. The Lyceum is not a theological nor a collegiate institution, but strictly a preparatory school, designed to fit young men for an advanced standing in college, or for the counting-room, or for any other situation in which a thorough, systematic, and practical education is required. It promises results highly interesting to the church of Christ."

"Early in February a favorable state of religious feeling began to be apparent in Penn-Yan. Several days of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, were observed; and the church renewed their covenant with God and each other. One individual before the first fast, and two soon after, gave evidence of a change of heart. The next week an inquiry meeting was appointed, at which ten or twelve persons were found anxious for their salvation.

"The meeting for inquiry was continued weekly, and meetings for prayer and religious instruction were attended almost every evening. The meetings for prayer were, for the most part, strictly prayer meetings. Sometimes a word of exhortation, or a hymn of praise, occupied a moment between the prayers; but usually the meetings which were appointed for prayer were employed chiefly in that exercise. The work continued with undiminished interest till the opening of the spring, when, by the pressure of worldly business, it began obviously to decline. At this time a protracted meeting of four days' continuance was tried with happy effect. Ten or twelve were added to the number of hopeful converts as the result of this meeting; and a much larger number from neighboring congregations professed to have been born again.

"The services of the protracted meeting were a season of prayer at sun-rise, three sermons each day, and a meeting of inquiry, and another for prayer, at the close of the second service. Prayer meetings were also attended in smaller circles in different places in the village. During this meeting, and through the whole revival, all the services have been characterized by perfect order and regularity, both as to time and manner. No public meetings have been continued after nine o'clock in the evening. In the instructions that have been given to the young converts, great care has been taken to guard them, if possible, against trusting in a false hope. Many, whose hope at first was strong and sanguine, were on being instructed in the nature and evidences of a change of heart, induced to relinquish their hope entirely, and have since given conclusive evidence that it was at first but a delusion. This course of instruction and personal examination has, in all cases, been previous to their presenting themselves for admission to the church. The number received to the church is 123, and there are, probably, twenty more who will unite at a suitable time. The work, in all its leading features has been of a most precious character. While members of the church have been active and engaged, they appear to have manifested a deep sense of their dependence and unworthiness. In the early stages of the work, and while the church seemed relying on an arm of flesh, a desire was expressed by some to call in the aid of some itinerant evangelist, and that a course of measures might be introduced, which had been said to have been employed with success in other places. But the people of God were soon brought to see and to feel that in God alone was their hope, and no wish was afterwards expressed for any other means than the means of God's own appointment, nor any other aid than the aid of the Holy Spirit; and, with the exception of a morning prayer meeting, they enjoyed neither in preaching, nor measures, nor manner, nor means, of any kind, any thing, different from what has been common in the churches for many years.

"When we compare the present condition of this congregation with what it was six years ago, the change is surprising. Then but one family, where prayers were regularly attended, was found in the whole village; but one man, except the minister, to lead in a public prayer meeting; no Sabbath school, no religious association of any kind, except a small female prayer meeting, and the church was then so small and scattered, that twenty-five could hardly be collected. Now there are more than fifty praying families; more than fifty who can lead, in an acceptable and edifying manner, in public prayer; a flourishing Sabbath school; an auxiliary to almost every benevolent society in the land; and a church of more than 200 members. The church is happily united in sentiment and measures, and the various objects of Christian benevolence are sustained with increased interest and efficiency. In September, 1831, the pastor relinquished the charge of the congregation, being called, in the providence of God, to another department of Christian labor.—The church have, with entire unanimity, elected another pastor, and have the prospect of soon enjoying again the privileges of a settled ministry.

"The state of religion began to assume a more interesting aspect in Seneca Falls early in the autumn of 1830. For two or three years previous to this, the prospect had been gloomy in an unusual degree. Several perplexing cases of discipline had occurred, one after another, in rapid succession, till it seemed as if the very foundation was parting asunder, and the whole fabric crumbling down. But even then there was praying and weeping in secret places. Some there were who even then could look through the darkness and the storm, and could lay hold upon the promises of God. A female prayer meeting, the monthly concert, and some other meetings, called together a few constant souls, who knew where their strength lay, and there they were strong in the Lord.

"For a year or more previous to the close of 1830, favorable appearances had been witnessed, and some hopeful conversions had occurred. An increasing sense of the necessity of a revival was manifested on the part of Christians, and a kind of expectation was entertained by some, that the blessing was in store, and would be bestowed soon. A general impression prevailed that something must be done, and done soon. At an evening prayer meeting, it was proposed that each Christian present should engage to converse faithfully with at least one impenitent sinner the next day, and several engaged to do it. The result was manifestly favorable. Some time in December, at a little prayer meeting, an unusual spirit of prayer, an earnest wrestling of the soul with God, was manifest. Towards the close of the meeting, a request was made to the impenitent who were present, and who desired an interest in the prayers of God's people, to signify it by rising. Five or six arose. This was the first *public* expression of anxiety on the part of the impenitent. A general visitation of the congregation was now commenced, and many were found anxiously concerned for their souls. The meetings became crowded, attentive, and solemn. On one occasion, near the close of the evening service, it was proposed to such [illegible] were resolved to

submit to God that night, to signify it by rising; seven arose, and all but one were the next morning rejoicing in hope, and that one embraced a hope soon after. The same experiment was tried two or three times afterwards, but not with the same success. It was, upon mature consideration, judged more safe, and more in accordance with apostolic usage, to press upon sinners the duty of immediate submission, and to do it without delay; to surrender themselves at once to the Lord Jesus Christ, and leave it there. Meetings for the anxious inquiries, conducted in the usual way, were attended with very favorable results. These meetings were evidently much blessed. The work soon extended to other parts of the town, where frequent meetings were held, and the same general course of measures pursued. The work continued through the winter, and resulted in the addition of one hundred and twenty-seven to the church.

"In April, a protracted meeting of three days' continuance was attended, it is thought, with *some* good fruits. The preaching was designed to urge upon sinners the duty and the reasonableness of immediate repentance, and the renunciation of every self-justifying excuse. 'But,' says the pastor, 'I am afraid, that the sovereign efficacy of Divine grace, and the reason of its necessity, were presented with less frequency than I now think should have been done.' Though these truths were often exhibited, illustrated, and enforced with the greatest plainness, yet it is now believed that a still greater prominence should have been given them."

The report, in closing its account of all the churches, concludes by the following observation:—

"This work, in its general features, has not been essentially different from former revivals, except that it has been more powerful, more extensive, and has enrolled among its subjects an unusual number who had been openly hostile to the truth. Less opposition has been manifested than is usual in revivals of so much power, and less, perhaps, than is usual has occurred in its progress, in which a captious, unbelieving world would find occasion to complain. The doctrines which have held a prominent place in the preaching generally, are the plain and humbling doctrines of the orthodox faith; the doctrines of our standards; of the Reformation, and of the Bible. These have been exhibited, not as matters of controversy or as problems, but as matters of fact and of faith. While sinners have been taught to regard the depravity of their hearts as total, they have been also taught to regard it as consisting in their own voluntary rebellion against God, 'whereby,' as our confession of faith expresses it, 'we are utterly *indisposed* to all good,' 'and wholly *inclined* to all evil.' Not the want of a power, but the want of an inclination to do the will of God. The inability predicable of the sinner in his depraved condition has been represented, as the standards of our church very forcibly express it, as an 'inability of *will*,' regarding the sinner as bound at all times to keep the whole law, and to do the whole will of God. The doctrine of Divine sovereignty and Divine decrees, the doctrine of election and effectual calling, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, and the final perseverance of the saints, together with all those leading truths which have long been designated, by way of distinction, the 'doctrines of grace,' have been constantly kept in view as the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, and the only permanent foundation of Christian character.

"The labor generally has been performed by the pastors and stated ministers; assisted in prayer meetings and parochial visiting by the elders and other members of the church. The young converts also have exerted an important influence, by personal conversation, and in meetings for social prayer. It may be mentioned, as one distinguishing feature of this revival, that the converts generally seem to have imbibed, in an unusual degree, the spirit of missionaries. No sooner did they indulge a hope that they had themselves accepted the invitation to the marriage feast, than they were ready to go out into the highways and hedges, and compel others to come in, that the house might be filled, and the table furnished with guests. In some instances the labor of itinerants was employed, but with few exceptions, with no very obvious success. Seldom, perhaps, has the case been known, in which God has so obviously honored the means of his own appointment, in distinction from those of human invention, and the labors of a stated ministry in distinction from those of itinerant evangelists, as in the revivals within our bounds.

"The means which have been most commonly employed, and most obviously blessed in these revivals, have been, in general, no other than the ordinary means of grace. In several of our churches protracted meetings were held; in some instances with desirable results, but in others without any apparent effect, other than might be expected from the preaching of the word in other circumstances. In some places, the practice of calling out those who were awakened, at the close of public worship, to take what was called the '*anxious seat*,' was adopted. This practice was by no means general at any period of the revival, and in some instances, where it was at first introduced, it was afterwards discontinued, from a full conviction that so soon as it ceased to interest by its novelty, no beneficial results were accomplished by it. In most of our congregations, the usual method of holding 'inquiring meetings,' for personal conversation and instruction, has been found to secure the attendance of a much larger number; to afford greater facilities for instruction suited to the condition of each individual; and to be, all things considered, the 'more excellent way.'

"The religious services generally have been orderly, still, and solemn. Never interrupted by loud and boisterous expressions, nor painful to the ear of piety by an irreverent and affected familiarity with sacred things. No quaint and questionable expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of effect; no audible praying of females in promiscuous assemblies; nothing, in short, in the way of means or measures, except as above specified, which has not been common in conducting revivals of religion since the days of Edwards. From some of these remarks, a few of our churches are to be excepted. These churches, however, were, with perhaps one exception, without pastors, and the innovations which have been made upon the ordinary modes of worship, have been introduced by itinerant preachers, who do not belong to this Presbytery. But few, if any, of these innovations are now regarded as improvements, and facts have shown that generally, if not universally, the revivals have been most powerful, of the longest continuance, and most desirable in their results, in those places where there has been the least departure from the ordinary methods of conducting revivals in the Presbyterian church."

LETTER XXX.

My dear friend—It would certainly be pleasant to me not to disturb the impression which the former interesting statements will have made on your mind. But while it is impossible and unnecessary that I should present to you the whole material I have collected on this important subject, it is my first duty to see that what is stated shall be so equal

and proportionate, as to give you a true opinion of the whole case. Already, perhaps, you will have wondered that nothing objectionable has occurred; since much that has previously reached you in other ways, has more or less of this character. The fact is, in this, as in other instances, that what is objectionable and extravagant, wins notice; while what is excellent and approved seeks the shade, and remains unknown. Revivals have often been used as advertisements. A feeble, or a vain man, doubtful of his standing, or thirsting for illegitimate distinction, has looked to a revival, as he would call it, as his instrument. In his case the bolder measure was the better; he has committed himself to daring experiments, looked for hasty and dashing results, and has sent them, without delay, in dashing terms to the newspapers. Many of these statements have reached, unhappily, this country, and have warped many minds from a calm and just opinion. Let me, however, assure you, that these occurrences are as much the cause of lamentation to the wise and humble of that land, as they can be to ourselves; and that to take up a judgment of the case before us from them alone, or chiefly, would be as unjust as to determine the character of religion at home, by the extravagancies of Irvingism.

Apart from these unworthy instances, it is to be admitted, that a course of action in connection with revivals has recently sprung up in many of the churches, which has created great division of opinion and feeling. These practices have received the appellation of "New Measures," and they have the countenance of many in the leading denominations; and of the ministers who use them, some are of excellent talent, and undoubted piety. The two measures by which they are chiefly marked, and for which they are mostly blamed or applauded, are protracted meetings and anxious seats. The first of these, indeed, existed before, and the principle of them enters into the nature of a revival; but they existed under other names, and had a different character. In the earlier revivals, the meetings were made more frequent than ordinary, as the case seemed to require, and often a day would be entirely set apart for fasting and prayer. Sometimes a freer demand on time might become, from the interest of the occasion, desirable, and sometimes, where there was a predilection for the Scotch sacraments, or where the people, from being greatly scattered, found it very difficult to come together, four days, inclusive of the Sabbath, would be thus employed.

But with the friends of the New Measures, the protracted meeting does not arise out of the urgency of the case; it is a component part of the system. It is, agreeably to its name, rather one lengthened meeting, than a number of meetings, admitting of intervals for worldly and social duties. It is seldom less than four days in duration, and is often run out to seven or more.

Undoubtedly, the discreet use of the protracted meeting, by giving solemnity to a special occasion, by fixing the attention on one subject, and by causing the whole power of truth and sympathy to bear on the conscience and affections, may be attended with the most happy and striking results. But the evils of making it an essential part of a system appear to be, that an undue importance may be given to it, at the expense of ordinary and stated means; that the means supplied may be so far in advance of the spirit to use them, as may abate, rather than improve desire, and end in weariness; that many excellent ministers, in meeting the claims of such a period, will break down under them, as indeed they have done, and be unfitted for their fair share of labor. Besides, where the length of the meeting becomes amongst the people the popular test of its excellence, there will be no bounds to this easy mode of competition. Already a seven day meeting has a sound of reputation about it, which is denied to one of three or four days. Of course, empirical teachers have taken advantage of this impression, and have outdone all outdoing. They have held, some of them, fourteen days; some twenty-one; and recently an attempt has been made to hold a forty days' meeting. This party, then, if length be excellence, has excelled all; and has, moreover, the benefit of a number which is frequent in Scripture, and is associated with sacred recollections. As you might expect, long before the forty days were expired, all patience and all feeling were exhausted. The pastor whom he professed to assist, I was told on the best authority, sought to meet his congregation on the usual evening, for the usual service on the following week, and he could not get enough people together to compose a prayer-meeting.

The other measure which has been lately adopted, and which is, I believe, altogether new, has received the somewhat barbarous and canting denomination of "Anxious Seat." The practice is so styled from the circumstance, that after a sermon which is supposed to have impressed the people, a seat, or seats, before the pulpit, and in the face of the congregation, is cleared, and persons willing to profess anxiety for their salvation or conversion to God, are challenged to come forward, and to use them for that purpose. They are then made mostly the subjects of particular address and supplication.

Now I have, on several occasions, seen this practised, and have carefully sought information relative to it from its friends and its foes. I can readily believe that the employment of it may have been attended with decided evidence of usefulness in many cases. And I can as readily understand that a pious minister, truly awake to the importance of his work, and weary of the delay and indecision of many who wait on his ministry, may have, from the best intentions, ventured on such a measure, rather than to stand in perpetual doubt of those he pants to save. Besides this, I well know, that a congregation may be brought to a certain state of feeling, which may authorize some special movement on the part of a pastor, who finds himself in exact sympathy with them, and which nothing could justify under other circumstances; and in such an untried and affecting situation, should his earnestness commit him to some indiscretion, it would be any thing but marvellous. Yet, after the best consideration of the subject, and the fullest admissions in its behalf, it does appear to me, and is, I believe, appearing to many who have tried it, to be, as a measure of action, unwise and unsafe.

1. In the first place, I am disposed to submit, that we have no right to establish such measures. It is certainly not an apostolic method. It is not within the limits of our commission. It is our duty to urge the authority of Christ on the conscience, and to insist on an entire submission to it; but, as I conceive, we have no right to make this particular movement the visible test of that submission. It is an undue encroachment on the rights of a congregation assembling on the authority of Christ, and professedly for his worship; and there is no reason why they should obey such a call to show their discipleship.

2. It is a bad auxiliary to the success of the ministry. That some good may arise from it, is not denied; this may be predicated of the worst things. Its general tendency is not to support the effect of the preached word, if it is wisely administered. Where it is introduced as a novelty, there is, indeed, excitement enough; but it is of the wrong

complexion. I have seen a whole congregation moved by it; but their attention has been withdrawn from themselves to others; or from what was spiritual in themselves, to an overt action of no importance any way to their welfare. The question has then been amongst the people, "Will *any* go? Will *they* go? Shall *I go?*" Questions which many are glad to entertain, as a diversion to the conscience, from more serious and inward inquiry.

3. Then, as an evidence of character, it is certainly among the worst that can well be employed. It is a measure highly inviting to the ignorant, the vain, and the self-conceited; and it is equally repulsive and difficult to the timid, the modest, and reflective. I can hardly conceive of a delicate and well-educated young female, being able to meet such a demand in the face of a large congregation, unless she regards it as a duty to Christ, and a term of her salvation; and then, in obeying, she does violence to those feelings, which are the safeguard and the beauty of her character. I have seen such young persons shrink and shudder at the call, through modesty, and then comply through fear; and, when complying, writhing from distress under hysterical tortures. But who has a right to exact all this amount of suffering? And is it not the worse, if it is not only unnecessary, but prejudicial, to the end proposed, by diverting the attention to a bodily service, from what alone is of acknowledged importance?

4. Let me again observe, that where it is used as an evidence of state, it is likely to lead to hazardous and precipitate conclusions. I know that many ministers are very guarded on this subject; but with this caution it is difficult to prevent the anxious inquirer from regarding it, and similar signs, as evidences of condition. And in many instances, especially among the Methodist denomination, the anxious seat, or the altar, and the acts of rising or kneeling, are in reality, if not with formal design, made terms of state. They are used too, not only to express the reality of awakened concern; but as tests of having "submitted to Christ," "found hope," and of being "true converts." Such notices as the following are common in the several religious papers:—

"Last Sabbath day I attended a camp meeting; it was orderly and solemn; and thirty-one professed to *indulge hope*."

"On Saturday, an awful solemnity was on the assembly. On Sabbath morning three persons *gave themselves away* to Christ, and *were admitted to the church*."

"A protracted meeting began on Monday. On the following Saturday the session examined twenty-one; *all of whom were next day admitted to the church*."

"On the second day of the meeting, the *anxious* and the *converts* were called on to separate themselves from the rest of the congregation."

"On the last day," at another meeting, "about four hundred, if I mistake not, assembled in the anxious room. The converts being called on to separate themselves from the anxious, about one-third *declared themselves converts*."

A revival preacher, after delivering a sermon, called on the anxious to meet him in the lecture-room. About two hundred obeyed. He called on them to kneel in prayer; and he offered an alarming and terrific prayer. They arose. "As many of you," he said, "as have given yourselves to God, in that prayer, go into the New Convert-room." Upwards of twenty went. "Now," he said to the remainder, "let us pray." He prayed again in like manner. He then challenged those who had given themselves to God in that prayer, to go into the New Convert-room. Another set followed. This was repeated four times. The next morning he left the town, having previously sent a notice to the newspaper, stating, that Mr. ——— had preached there last night, and that sixty-one converts professed religion.

Need I multiply cases? or need I remark on those I have adduced? Apart from the last, which is too blame-worthy to be common, has not the *spirit* of these measures a strong tendency to beget, on the part of ministers and people, an impatience of results; not of actual determination of mind, which we cannot ask, nor the sinner yield too soon; but of outward and visible evidence, when, in truth, the case does not really admit of such evidence? Regeneration is, indeed, the work of an instant; but the evidence of it is the work of time. The mere assurance on the mind that I am converted, is not evidence to me; and the mere assertion of it can be no evidence to others. The proper fruits of conversion are the only safe evidence in either case; and there has not been time to produce or ascertain them.

The effect of such a course is, undoubtedly, to create a fearful amount of premature and unscriptural hope, and, therefore, of dangerous and destructive delusion. The effect again, on the church, is to fill it with unconverted, ignorant, and presumptuous persons, and to produce defection on the one hand, and corruption on the other. And this, in fact, has been the result. Of revivals *so managed*, it is considered that not one fifth, sometimes not one tenth, have stood; and many of those who have remained in the church, have given painful evidence of the want of renewed character and conversation. If one half of those sixty-one, who were so hastily reported by the minister to whom I have referred, to be converted on one evening, should retain a false hope through life, and die with it in their right hand, where would the responsibility lie? or who would dare to incur such responsibility?

5. Besides the objections to the new measures thus taken, it must be stated, that they seem to have the faculty of generating a spirit worse than themselves, and which is chiefly to be apprehended. Rash measures attract rash men. Those who would have felt it difficult enough to manage an argument, or discriminate between a right or wrong affection, are struck by what is so tangible and so visible, and so capable of impressing the grosser and animal sensations. Without the power, and perhaps the piety of their teachers, they quickly usurp their places. As they have attained their stations by deviating from the usual way, they reckon that it is only to be retained by the same course; and their onward and devious path is tracked by the most unsanctified violence and reckless extravagance.

In fact, a number of young and raw men, previously unknown to the ministry, and without pastoral experience, instead of giving themselves "to reading, meditation, and prayer," have chosen this shorter method to ministerial efficiency; and the effect, wherever it has reached has been exceedingly calamitous. They have announced themselves as the revival preachers; and have chosen to itinerate over the church; unsettling every thing, and settling nothing. They have denounced pastors, with whom they could not compare, men of tried and approved piety, as hypocrites, formalists, "dumb dogs," and as "leading their people to hell." They have denounced the Christians who have listened to them; and have made submission to their mechanism the test of their conversion. They have addressed the sinner, under the name of fidelity, in harsh, severe, and bitter terms; and have been covetous either of submission or opposition. The endearments and

ties of relative life have been sacrificed to the bitter zeal which has taught the child to disrespect the parent, and the parent to cast off the child. They have made, as many have recently in our own land, great, if not full pretensions to inspiration; and have taught people to rely on impulse and impression in offering what has been called the prayer of faith. They have encouraged females to lead in prayer in promiscuous and public assemblies; and, in fact, have revived all the irregularities of the Corinthian church, as though they had been placed on record, to be copied, and not avoided.

The consequence has been most disastrous. Churches have become the sport of division, distraction, and disorder. Pastors have been made unhappy in their dearest connections; they have stayed to mourn over diminished influence and affection; or they have been driven away to find in calmer regions a field of renewed labor. So extensive has been this evil, that in one presbytery of nineteen churches, there were only three that had settled pastors; and in one synod, in 1832, of a hundred and three churches, only fifty-two had pastors; the rest had stated supplies. The general effect has been to discourage revivals in their best form; to cast down the weak, to confound the sober-minded, and to confirm the formalist; and to dispose the censorious world to "speak evil of the good way."

I was, as I have remarked, just in time to observe these effects; and while it is needful that I should report them, I must be careful with you, as I was with myself, that a wrong impression should not be received from them. They followed on the great revival of 1831; but they are the mere sediments of that flood of life, which went over the land, and blessed all things where it came. Much as it may be lamented, and right as it is to use it for future caution, the evil is as nothing compared with the good consequent on revivals generally. That evil, too, is subsiding. Those ministers of most talent and character, who were carried away partially by the heat and interest of the period, are now reviewing their course. The madness of others will make them perfectly sober. The leading ministers of the country, and amongst them the best friends of revivals, have entered their testimony against them. The following extracts of a letter written by my esteemed friend, Dr. Beecher, will show you with how much wisdom, as well as determination, it is done. It will also, if I mistake not, powerfully illustrate a portion of the subject I have endeavored to place under your attention:—

"To some of the consequences of a revival, conducted under such auspices, I beg leave now to call your attention.

"It will become more and more exceptionable. Urged by circumstances, men will do things, which, if in the beginning they had been predicted, they would have said, 'Are thy servants dogs, that we should do these things?' By degrees, however, all landmarks will be removed, and what was once regarded as important will be set at naught, and what would once have produced horror will be done fearlessly. There is nothing to which the minds of good men, when once passed the bounds of sound discretion, and launched on the ocean of feeling and experiment may not come to. But the evil, which may flow from those who commence these aberrations, is but a drop of the bucket in the ocean of disorder and misrule to which they may open the door. There is nothing so terrible and unmanageable as the fire and whirlwind of human passion, when once kindled by misguided zeal, and sanctioned by conscience, and the idea of being reviled and persecuted for doing God service. They who did the deed may repent of it early, and stretch out impotent hands to stay the evil; and weep over the desolation without being able to repair it. The restoration of Davenport to sanity, and his subsequent confession, did not repair the moral desolation which his conduct and principles had made.

"Another of the evils to be apprehended, is opposition on the part of good men, and the consequent disunion of the churches by a civil war. The peculiarities of the system I have recognized cannot go through the churches without opposition. Splendid by its early power, many have yielded to it who disapproved, for fear they might quench the Spirit; and many have been silent, because they feared that they might speak against a work of God. But when the work shall have given out its distinct character, and put off the natures of love and gentleness, &c. and put on those of wrath and strife; when other reformers shall hasten on to new discoveries, and surpass their predecessors as much as these surpassed others, and denounce them as they denounced those who could not go with them; when stripling imitators of pious men having nothing in common with them but their imprudence, without their age and moral power, shall go out to outrage humanity, and caricature revivals of religion; then will these irregularities be met, and then the collision will be keen and dreadful. For, in every church, there is wood, hay, and stubble, which will be sure to take fire on the wrong side. All your periodical Christians, who sleep from one revival to another, will be sure to blaze out now; while judicious ministers, and the more judicious part of the church, will be destined to stand, like the bush, in the midst of the flames; while these periodical Christians will make up, by present zeal, for their past stupidity, and chide, as cold-hearted formalists, those, whose even, luminous course, sheds reproof on their past coldness and stupidity.

"Another evil to be feared, is, that it will unavoidably array a large portion of the unrenewed part of the community against revivals and religion; and produce infidels, scoffers, Unitarians, and Universalists, on every side—increasing the resistance seven-fold to evangelical doctrine; withdrawing, in proportion, the voluntary support of the gospel; and consigning the precious cause of Christ, which ought and might govern public opinion, to the hands of a feeble, despised, dispirited few, who watch the holy fire upon the deserted altar of God. All forms of error will grow rank from the aliment of such violence done to the laws of humanity and to the laws of God. The extravagances of the pious in the time of Cromwell threw back the cause of vital piety in England for two centuries, to a state of imbecility and scorn, and has furnished topics to grace the pages of infidel historians, poets, and orators, through every succeeding generation.

"Another effect to be deprecated is, that it will prevent the great evangelical assimilation which is forming in the United States, and paralize general efforts as much as private churches. The rumor of extravagance would soon begin to press hard upon the friends of revivals in New England; who could not and would not take the responsibility of justifying what they disapproved, and would be compelled, in self-defence, publicly to clear themselves, as having no part nor lot in such matters. There is also a large portion of the church out of New England, which is evangelical, but which is acquainted with revivals more by the hearing of the ear, than by eye-sight and experience; and who, between doubt and fear, are approaching the happy day, when the breath of the Lord may breathe upon them. Upon all these, a revival of extravagance and disorder would exert a deadly influence, and for one generation, at least, protract the form with-

out the power of religion. While all the enemies of evangelical doctrines and of revivals, would keep a jubilee, that these days of hated light had gone by, and given place to the reign of reason and formality.

"Another thing to be feared is, that meeting in their career with the most determined opposition from educated ministers, and colleges, and seminaries, all these in succession would be denounced, and held up as objects of popular odium, and a host of ardent, inexperienced, imprudent young men, be poured out, as from the hives of the North, to obliterate civilization, and roll back the wheels of time to semi-barbarism; until New England of the West shall be burnt over, and religion disgraced and trodden down as in some parts of New England it was done eighty years ago: when laymen and women, Indians and negroes, male and female, preached, and prayed, and exhorted, until confusion itself became confounded. There is nothing so powerful as the many waters of human passion, and nothing so terrible as the overflowing of such a scourge; and a dispensation so calamitous would be more intolerable, as it is so utterly needless, and would come so unexpectedly in the very dawning of a bright day. The nature of the gospel, and of the human mind, and the mode of exhibiting truth and conducting revivals, have been developed, and practised with such success, that in New England, and to a great extent through the nation, the conviction is established, that they are the work of God, and most benign in their moral influence upon the present as well as the future life. Extensively opposition is silenced, and the public mind is fast preparing to come under the influence of faithful preaching, and the Holy Ghost. In New England, revivals are becoming more frequent in the same places, and more general in their extent. There seems to be a joyful and rapid spread of the work of God: but one overflowing of a violent, ungoverned revival, would snatch the victory from truth, and throw revivals back at least fifty years. It would be the greatest calamity that could befall this young empire. The perversion of the popular taste, and the extinction of the popular prejudice against learning, and a learned ministry, where an enlightened public sentiment, coupled with enlightened piety, is our all, would be to us, nearly, what the incursions of the northern barbarians were to the Roman empire. It would stop all our improvements, and throw us back in civilization, science, and religion, at least a whole century. It would constitute an era of calamity never to be forgotten, and be referred to by future historians as the dark age of our republic. There are parts of our nation, to which I might refer you, which were burnt over by such a revival some twenty years ago, where the abiding evils may still be seen in the state of society which has followed. And there, too, with all their extravagances of falling, and groaning, and laughing, and jumping, and dancing, were regarded by many, and by some very good men, as a new dispensation of the Spirit—a new mode of conducting revivals with power; and those who rode on the foremost waves, thought themselves to be, and were thought to be, raised up to be reformers in their day. Oh, my brother! if a victorious army should overflow and lay us waste, or if a fire should pass over and lay every dwelling in our land in ashes, it would be a blessing to be coveted with thanksgiving, in comparison to the moral desolation of one ungoverned revival of religion; for physical evils can be speedily repaired, but the desolation of moral causes is deep and abiding.

"Dear brethren in Christ, you must not, for a moment, suppose that I do not fervently love you; or that I ascribe to you, *in extenso*, all the defects to which I have alluded; but that I have drawn the outlines of a moral chart, which such a disastrous revival, as your present course could not fail to lead to, would amply fill up, I have not a doubt. That you will appreciate my motives, and not be offended, I cannot but believe; and I have equal confidence that you will appreciate the considerations which I have suggested, and will, as fast and as far as possible, supersede our fears, by a course that all good men will approve and rejoice in."

LETTER XXXI.

My dear friend—I have thus, with some are, and not, I hope, at too great length, endeavored to possess you with the result of my observation on the interesting and momentous subject of revivals, both in the forms which are deemed objectionable, and in those which are generally, if not universally, approved amongst this people. I am ready to suppose, that in passing through the account with awakened attention, it may have suggested such questions as the following; and of which you would be glad to find a solution. Are no evils attendant on the approved revivals? Are these evils capable of a remedy? Are the fruits of these revivals equally good with those produced under ordinary circumstances? Would not a continued advancement in knowledge and piety be preferable to these occasional movements? Are revivals to be expected for our own country? If practicable, are they, on the whole, desirable? Let us just glance at these inquiries, so proper to the subject, and so important in themselves.

Are there any evils attendant on the approved revivals?

Yes, there are. They are liable to run out into wild fanaticism. The extravagances to which I have referred grew out of an approved revival; they were not consequent from it, but were incidental to it; they were an unlovely excrescence on one of the fairest reforms in the history of the churches. A revival is a crisis. It implies that a great mass of human passion that was dormant, is suddenly called into action. Those who are not moved to good will be moved to the greater evil. The hay, wood, and stubble, which are always to be found, even within the pale of the church, will enkindle, and flash, and flare. It is an occasion favorable to display, and the vain and presumptuous will endeavor to seize on it, and turn it to their own account. Whether such a state of general excitement is connected with worldly or religious objects, it is too much, and would argue great ignorance of human nature, to expect, that it should not be liable to excess and disorder.

The evils to which this state of excitement exposes, may, however, be greatly qualified, if not wholly prevented. I know, indeed, some imagine, that they are already so fully master of the subject, that they can adjust the whole affair as they would a machine, and determine before hand how it shall act, and where it shall stay. But I do not admire their mechanism; it is too nice and too complicated, to be wise in itself, or useful for the occasion; and I freely confess, that the churches, both here and there, have something yet to learn on the question.

The churches in the States have indeed had considerable experience in these revivals, and there is undoubted advantage in this. The ministers have looked carefully at the subject, and have taken wise consultation on it; and there is obtaining amongst them a general agreement, as to the methods which are most effectual and approved. This is well; still I should rely for the prevention of evil, as also for the educing of good, not so much on the organiza-

tion as on the *spirit* of the revival. The spirit of the true revival is humility and prayer; and if this were made prominent and predominant, as a sign and a test, by ministers and churches, it would strangle in its birth the evil spirit of vanity and vexation.

As far as instrumentality may contribute to the end desired, nothing appears of such importance as a wise and influential superintendence. The ordinary mind may do for the ordinary occasion; but here is an occasion in which every thing is extraordinary, and which, like the storm at sea, will call for the utmost sagacity and steadiness of character. The management of such a period should never be allowed to pass into the hands of the untaught, the inexperienced, and the froward. Most of the extravagance which we have to lament has arisen from this source. The people have seldom gone astray until they have been led astray. In every case which has come to my knowledge, where a revival has been conducted by discretion, no blameworthy excesses have followed. The churches should look carefully to this. They could not employ their associated functions better, than by discountenancing, on the one hand, those self-constituted itinerant revivalists, untried and unknown in any other capacity, and who rise to notice by trampling on better men than themselves; and by claiming, on the other hand, in this best, but most onerous and most difficult of services, some of her best men; men of large pastoral experience, of great success in pastoral life, and of not only unfeigned but eminent piety.

Perhaps, however, the evil to which the revival, as it now exists, is most liable, is the danger of relapse. That there is room for this complaint must be admitted; and it is open to two or three remarks.

First, where revivals are pressed into excess, they carry the seeds of this evil in their own nature. We are so constituted, that our nature seeks indemnity for all violence done to itself. Excess of excitement brings excess of exhaustion, as surely as night follows day. Hence, when those have managed a revival who have not known where to stop, they have been confounded to find, instead of the results they expected, a deep sleep come over the people, from which none could awaken them.

When revivals are allowed to take, in common expectation, a periodical character, there is danger of reaction. Those who have received benefit by a certain method, if they may calculate on its return, will be disposed to look to it exclusively. Hence, some churches have an exaggerated hope in the extraordinary means, and almost no hope in the use of the ordinary; they have obtained a dispensation to slumber through the intervals, on the promise of being thoroughly awake at the revivals. These circumstances, connected with a partial reliance on the same causes, have affected many ministers. They wear an air of despondency, and often preach under its chilling or paralysing influence, except they are expecting a revival, or in the midst of one; and, on this account, if such men would be more efficient in a revival than most, they would be less so at any other period.

This evil might be mostly prevented, by not allowing them to receive an intermitting and periodical form. Care should be taken to show that they are of a special and an extraordinary nature; and are not of equal importance with the means that are ordinary. They should be made subservient to, and not subversive of, the regular institutions of Divine mercy. They should be regarded as a remedy for a disease, and not as the aliment of vigorous life; to be used only as occasion required; and which occasion ought not, in fact, to arise.

After all, the reaction, on the whole, has been inconsiderable with the approved revivals. Where it has occurred most sensibly, the state of the church subsequent to the revival, as compared with the state previous, has still been a decided improvement. And in the best cases, which are very numerous, and still increasing, where the crisis has been regulated by a just and holy discretion, there has been no relapse. The state of excitement, through which they have passed, has, indeed, disappeared, for to be healthy, it must be transitory; but it has left upon its subjects that ardor of life, which has made them ready, with delightful elasticity, for every good word and work.

I think, then, these observations may dispose of the second as well as the first inquiry.

Are the fruits of the revivals equally good with those produced under ordinary circumstances?

I should say, decidedly, Yes, quite as good, and frequently better; only admitting that the work is real, wisely managed, and associated with proportionate instruction. Persons, so converted, are surrounded by more affecting circumstances, and receive deeper impressions. Perception is more awakened, conviction is more pungent, prayer is more ardent, the will more resolved. There is a prostration and a solemnity of feeling which is never forgotten. There is, therefore, greater evidence of character, stronger motives for progress, and, as an effect of these, more decision of conduct. Most of their active and devoted Christians have been born in the revivals; and their most intelligent, pious, and successful ministers, have either received the truth at these seasons, or have had their incipient character formed and moulded in them.

This is as I should expect it; and it is in harmony with my experience. I have never found that those make the best Christians, who have taken the longest time in coming to a decision. On the contrary, conversion, when it has been long in developing itself, has been of feeble character; the subject of it has often been in doubt as to its reality; and in doubt and darkness, he has held a cheerless and unprofitable course between the church and the world, neither party being certain to whom he belonged.

Would not a continued advancement in knowledge and piety be preferable to these occasional movements?

Undoubtedly it would, if the average result of the supposed uniform movement were equal to the occasional one. But is not this a begging of the question? Do we know any thing, in fact, of this continued and uniform advancement? We are speaking of a mode of life; and all modes of life, known to us, are subject to the alternations of declension and progress. Is the spiritual life, whether personal or social, exempt from these vicissitudes? Has it no winter, and may it know no spring? In the course of twenty years, where is the church that has not had a comparative season of depression? And, at such a time, what could have been a greater blessing to it than a sound revival? And might not such a revivification have been expected, in the use of the means of grace, in a special form, and with condensed power, as a remedy for a diseased and dangerous state?

Besides, let us take the best of the case, and suppose that the churches are not sinking into declension, but are making gradual and uniform advancement; have we ever known any churches in so happy and palmy a state, as that the blessings meant to be conveyed by a revival would be superfluous? Have we not a thousand congregations, and these the most prosperous, to which, as it relates to one half of their body, the blessing of a revival would not be as life to the dead?—who are untouched by ordinary means and who require a

last remedy—if, indeed, there be such remedy—and who appear as though they would perish if it is not applied?

Are revivals to be expected for our own country?

This important question, I am aware, has been frequently answered in the negative, on both sides of the Atlantic. But I am surprised that it should; for it must be in forgetfulness of the nature of the subject, and of the history of the facts. A revival, in the just sense of the term, is not local or circumstantial in its nature; it is a mode of life in the church, and wherever the church is found, it is found. The Acts of the Apostles is a history of the early revivals. The reformation from Popery was a glorious revival; and that from formal and dormant Protestantism, by Wesley and Whitefield, no less so. Of these, our country has partaken equally with America in the ineffable advantages. Wales and Scotland, too, have been familiar with revivals down to the present time; and more in the American type, because in a greater parity of circumstances, although they have not been so much known or reported.

More than this: I am not afraid to state, that all the essentials of a revival are to be found in very many of our churches at this very hour. This is not much known, and may, to many, seem a startling assertion. What has occurred in one church, from diffidence, has not been communicated to others: this may be right, but I begin to fear it is wrong. The effect has been, that the aid of sympathy and example has not been called in; and the movement has not been so simultaneous, or so extensive, as it would otherwise have been.

But certainly, a good influence has been over many of our churches. Expectation has been created; special effort has been made; and on the expectation of prayer, and the labor of love, the promised blessing has come freely down. The slight illustration I gave of a case to the brethren of Connecticut, (and the half was not told,) satisfied their judgment, and filled their hearts with holy joy and thankfulness. A multitude of such cases may, I am persuaded, be supplied.

Are revivals, on the whole, desirable?

After what has been said, need I pause on this question? I speak not now of type or circumstance, but of a true revival; and I should say, it is unspeakably desirable. It is the one thing desirable. For ourselves, for our families, for our churches, and for the nation, most desirable! It would heal our divisions; humble our spirits; and convert us from the insignificant and perishable, to the unseen and eternal. It would infuse into our efforts for the world's conversion, intelligence, life, and power; and a measure of this comprehensive and decisive character, whatever may be its type, by which, not a few, but a multitude may be gathered to Christ, is demanded by the emergency of the times, and by the spirit and grandeur of prophetic testimony.

I have now spread before you what appears to me material on this very interesting subject. I might have taken a wider field of observation; but this would have required a volume of itself. The subject is, indeed, worthy of that more enlarged attention; and it will not escape my anxious thoughts. Meantime, I hope what I have stated will furnish you, though with a limited, yet with a correct miniature representation of the case.

In closing this letter, let me just remark, that I have spoken of the method of revivals as a means to an end. If I have not made the influences of the Divine Spirit, as necessary to originate, sustain, and prosper such special methods, a distinct feature of the discussion, it is not that I have been insensible to its essential importance, but that it has not fallen within the range of my design. The whole economy of revivals, whatever that economy may be, will, without this agency, end in disappointment and confusion. But while, on the one hand, the best methods would fail without this influence; and while, on the other, it is to be admitted in the highest sense, that the Spirit of the Lord is not straitened; it is still to be fully understood, that he is pleased to attach his blessing to the use of adequate means, and in proportion to the use of them, and the spirit in which they are employed.

This, then, authorizes a concluding remark, which is by no means least in importance. It is this: that special circumstances demand special means. If the church has fallen into a manifest state of depression and worldliness; if she is making but slow and feeble advances in comparison with her privileges, the claims of the times, and the fair interpretation of the will of God, concerning her; if, within, she is afflicted with disorder, division, or lethargy; if she fails to shed forth a saving influence on the world around her; or if that influence and agency is not attended with a just measure of success; then her circumstances are special; and they require not that we should devise new and special means for her help, but that we should give special use to the ordinary means, and thus confer on them the charm of novelty and the force of condensation.

This is to me the material point. All that we have hitherto seen of spiritual life, personal or social, teaches us that it has a strong tendency to decline. That the uniform use of the same means, administered in the same forms, like the continued exhibition of the same medicines, have a tendency to lose their first power. That should they be increased to any amount, even till they turned the church into a monastery, and be *regularly continued*, the effect still promises to be the same. The ordinary means require to receive a special character; but if this speciality of character were allowed to be permanent, it would become ordinary.—Many have erred here, and have deprived themselves of the power of giving to the means entrusted to them an extraordinary character. Nothing more fully claims the serious attention of the devoted pastor; nothing in his whole course of service, will be a surer test of his discretion and efficiency.

LETTER XXXII.

My dear friend—Having given a separate consideration to one peculiar exhibition of religious influence, I will now proceed to offer some information on the subject of religion generally. Some visible order will assist the distinctness of your conceptions; and what I have to communicate may, for the most part, fall under the following running heads: *Religious Opinions*, *Religious Denominations*, *Religious Economy*, *and Religious Societies*.

I have adopted the head of *Religious Opinions*, not for the purpose of making an excursion over the wide field of the church, and collecting together all the strange and amusing anomalies which may possibly be found there, and which are incident to our state of imperfection; but for the purpose of referring to those important differences which have recently created much discussion in the States, and considerable attention and anxiety at home. If these differences spread into other denominations, they are chiefly found in the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies. These bodies are, as you know, decidedly Calvinistic in their professions; the one formed on the Westminster

Confession, and the other mostly recognising the Saybrook Platform, which is of kindred spirit.—The complaint is, that a considerable minority have been guilty of a faulty and dangerous aberration from these standards of orthodoxy, and of propounding sentiments in conflict with them. A friendly hand describes the points of difference as follows:—

"Sinners can repent without the grace of God, but never do. The nature of mankind, by which they are children of wrath, consists in their innocent natural appetites, which in time, always suggest motives which occasion sin and moral death. God has willed the existence of all sin, and yet every sin is contrary to his will. No sinner ever uses the means of regeneration, while a rebel against God. In regeneration, the sinner's wickedness is gradually reduced to nothing. The Spirit of God never operates directly on the heart of the sinner; but only on the truth, or on the motive, so as to give it an overpowering efficacy."

This is sufficiently metaphysical, certainly. The following summary, though from a warm friend of orthodoxy, is, I have strong reason to believe, drawn by a careful hand, and with much concern to make an impartial statement.

"The doctrines referred to are such as these. That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam, than with that of any other parent. That he was not constituted the covenant head of his posterity, but was merely their natural progenitor. That there is no such thing as original sin; that infants come in the world as perfectly free from original sin, as Adam was when created. That to speak of innate, corrupt inclinations, is an absurdity; that by human depravity, is meant nothing more than the universal fact, that all the posterity of Adam will always begin to sin, when they begin to exercise moral agency. That the doctrine of imputed righteousness is imputed nonsense. That the human will determines itself. That the impenitent sinner is, by nature, in full possession of all the powers necessary to a full compliance with all the commands of God. That he has plenary ability to repent and believe, without the special aid of the Holy Spirit. That if he labors under any kind of inability, either natural or moral, which he could not himself remove, he would be fully excusable for not complying with God's will. That man is active in his own regeneration; in other words, that his regeneration is his own act. That it is impossible for God, by a direct influence on the mind, to control its perceptions and choice, without destroying its moral agency. That we have no evidence that God could have prevented the existence of sin, or that he could now prevent any that exists, without interfering with the moral agency of man, and converting him into a mere machine. That he would, no doubt, be glad to do it, but is not able. That he elected men to life on a foresight of what their character would be; and that his sovereignty is confined to the revelation of truth, and the exhibition of it to the mind."

These statements are, indeed, of a startling character, especially as found in fellowship with the Westminster Confession. I have good reason to know, that they faithfully represent the opinions of many; but, at the same time, the wiser and more educated of those who have adopted the New Divinity, have never yielded themselves to such unphilosophical and heretical conclusions in their freest speculations. Recently, the most conspicuous and eminent men in this discussion, have made a protest on many of the charges which have been brought against them, which, in itself, is gratifying; and it will, without doubt, contribute to suppress the extravagances which have created apprehension. By this protest, they deny that they maintain the self-determining power of the will; they deny that they maintain, there is no tendency to sin in the nature of man; that sin consists in a mere mistake as to the means of happiness; that the Spirit, in regeneration, acts merely by the presentation of the truth; and that God could not exclude sin from a moral universe. They divide the doctrines of the Reformation and of Calvanism into primary and secondary. The primary are: The entire depravity and ruin of mankind by nature, as the result of the sin of Adam;—Justification, by faith, through the atonement of Christ;—The necessity of regeneration by the special or distinguishing influences of the Holy Spirit;—The eternal and personal election of a part of our race to holiness and salvation;—and the final perseverance of all who are thus chosen to eternal life. And to these articles they profess to yield their full consent.

If these conflicting statements shall appear to have a neutralizing power, and shall lead us to the conclusion that the differences are not so great as feared, they are still considerable. The pupil, in his ardor and his ignorance, will usually leap to conclusions from which the professor would shrink; and whatever may have been the caution of a few pious and intelligent men, these speculations have carried many, who saw none of the difficulties, into the wildest opinions of moral power and human perfectibility which the wildest Pelagianism ever produced. The evil has certainly been great. The seeds of division and animosity have been widely sown. The people have been led to distrust their teachers; the pulpit has been familiarized to fine, but insignificant and perplexing distinctions, instead of important and simple truth; and as the dispute and practice of religion seldom go together, it has been checked in its advances over the people. The peace and fellowship of brethren in the associations and presbyteries have been interrupted; the principle of *elective-affinity* presbyteries, unknown to the constitution of the church, has been made necessary; memorials on memorials have been presented by appellant and defendant; the chief business of the General Assembly, at its last session, was to deal with these differences; and so far from the determinations of the supreme tribunal being accepted as final, they have given birth to an Act and Testimony, and the calling of a convention previous to its next sittings.

While these differences are greatly to be deplored, and at first create much alarm, I do not, on a better acquaintance with the case, look on them with despondency or surprise. There are existing causes which may account for them, and there are also causes at work which may restrain and regulate them.

One source of these discrepancies is certainly the fondness which this people have, at least those of New England, for speculative opinion. Many have delight in metaphysical inquiry, though very few can master it. It is astonishing how much has been written in this discussion, and most of it with acuteness and power; though little of it with that command of the subject which reduces the complex to the simple, and sheds light where darkness was before. The men mostly engaged in it are of unquestionable piety; and, in their greatest aberrations, have not adopted opinions from dislike of Calvinism. They appear to have had, on the one hand, an ardent passion to arrive at the ultimate reasons of things; and, on the other, to relieve Calvinism of the burden by which they thought it to be oppressed. At present, unwilling to think they have labored so long in vain, they flatter themselves that they have succeeded. When they shall have had time to look more soberly on the subject, they

will find that the burden still remains. All they have done, all any can do, is to change its place, not remove its pressure. The difficulty is not, as many have supposed, proper to Calvinism; it is common to it, to Arminianism, Socinianism, and Deism; or rather it is common and proper to our very nature, when we seek, with our limited powers, to comprehend the relationships of man to infinity and eternity.

Yet, while it is professed that these discoveries, so far from weaning them from the great doctrines of Calvinism, have established their attachments, much humble caution is required. The very reference to discoveries in this connection is somewhat ominous, as it implies a forgetfulness of historical testimony which is improper to the occasion. I say not, that no farther light shall be thrown by devoted study on the relations and harmony of revealed truth; but I do say, that this discussion has little claim to such honor or distinction. This New Divinity is, in fact, many centuries old, and for as many centuries it has been exploded.

It has been considered, that, at least, these speculations are made safe, by preserving a distinction between the doctrines of religion and the philosophy of the doctrines. I have no objection to the distinction within just limitations; but if an aspiring mind is misled by it to place equal reliance on his reasonings about the doctrine, which will be to him the philosophy of the doctrine, as on the doctrine itself, I know of nothing that is more to be apprehended. He has already forsaken the proper ground of faith, which is the will of God; and if once the philosophy of the doctrine shall be in opposition to the doctrine itself, it is easy to see which will become the victim. Let us be careful, then, of a philosophy which is "heady and high-minded," and which is "falsely so called;" it will assuredly lead from Calvinism to Pelagianism; from Pelagianism to Socinianism; and from Socinianism to Theism. All heresy, the most subtle, the most mischievous, from the time of Origen to the present, has wormed its way into the church under these refined pretences; and we have nothing to learn on this subject, beyond what the schools and the schoolmen have taught us.

The existing circumstances of the churches may also account in a measure for these differences. Without doubt, a large proportion of the churches renowned for "old orthodoxy," were cold and formal in their orthodoxy; and were little awake to the wants of the world. Their boasted Calvinism, too, was but a profile, and frequently a distorted representation of the truth. The doctrine of divine grace was often so presented, as to become a soporific to the Christian, as to embarrass the preacher in his earnest and persuasive appeal to the conscience, and as to leave the sinner discharged from his sense of obligation and responsibility. When the breath of life passed amongst the people, it cannot be matter of wonder, if this state of things was "tried so as by fire." Many who had been awakened to seek their own salvation, and were intent on the salvation of others, became impatient of their bondage, and, in casting away their bonds, were in danger of losing their armor also. They saw that certain opinions attached to the prevalent system impeded their course; they did not pause to ascertain whether they were indigenous and essential to it, or a mere excrescence; and in rejecting a system which gave a disproportionate view of the doctrines which have affinity to the Divine sovereignty, they gave an undue preference to those which related to human action and responsibility.

Excess brings recoil; and there is hope that those who, in the ardor of zeal, and the immaturity of judgment, have gone too far, will retrace their steps. But if these threatening evils are not only checked, if they are converted into positive good, it must be mainly by a wise improvement on the part of the old orthodoxy. The decided friends of the truth must not content themselves with assuming an elevated standing, and denouncing, as with authority, the heresy and the heresiarch; they must review their ways, renounce their errors, and remodel their opinions from the pure form of doctrine in the Scriptures. They must show that the truth has every way the advantage over error; and this must be done, not so much by a logical, as by a practical exhibition. They must show, that it furnishes them to every good word and work; that none can so well console the penitent or quell the rebellious; that none can so readily convince men that they are lost, and that they may be saved; that none are so fully prepared, by heavenly wisdom and heavenly charity, to enter and occupy the field of benevolent and Christian enterprise. In such a course they would soon reclaim all who were worth reclaiming; and this happy qualification of opinion might lead the church to that fixed recognition of human dependence, on the one hand, and of human obligation, on the other, which so eminently contributes to honor God, and to convince and save the transgressor.

The New Divinity and the New Measures have greatly coalesced; and they have given, for the time, currency to each other. Many pious and ardent persons and preachers, from the causes to which I have adverted, were disposed to think that the new opinions had all the advantage in a revival, and this gave them all the preference in their judgment. Where they, in connection with the New Measures, have been vigorously applied, there has, indeed, been no want of excitement. The preacher, who firmly believes that the conversion of men rests on the force of "moral suasion," is not unlikely to be persuasive. And the hearer who is told, "he can convert himself;" that it is "as easy for him to do so as to walk;" that he has only "to resolve to do it, and it is done," is not unlikely to be moved into self-complacent exertion. But it may be asked, Do either the preacher or hearer possess those sentiments, which are likely to lead to a true conversion, and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance?

By their fruits ye shall know them. There has certainly been good done where there has been much evil; for with this evil, there has still been a large portion of divine truth. But I fear not to say, that where there has been the largest infusion of the New Divinity into the New Measures, there has been the greatest amount of unwarrantable extravagance. There has been great excitement—much animal emotion and sympathy—high resolves, and multiplied conversions; but time has tested them, and they have failed. Many see this; the candid and observant are weighing it; and the effect, I trust, will be, as I have already intimated, that the truth will be separated from error, and error from the truth, and that it shall become "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, and of every thought and imagination that exalteth itself against the Lord, and against his Anointed."

Finally, to understand this subject in its just relations, you must remember that a remarkable change has been effected in the position and character of religion, amounting, indeed, to a reformation, within the last thirty years. When so much has been done, in comparatively so short a period of time; when many thousands have been added to the churches, some with doubted claims to the Christian character, and most with a very slender acquaintance with the distinctive truths of the gos-

pel; and when the people are always, and in every thing, borne on by the buoyant hope of seeing something more wonderful than they have witnessed; it can be no matter of surprise that the noviciate should start into extravagances, under the expectation of solving difficulties, the force of which he has not felt, and of discovering methods of action which appear efficacious, and which he concludes have not been tested. It may have happened with religious inquiry as it has happened with mechanical invention. I saw, in the Patent Office of this country, some thousands of inventions, each one claiming, in ignorance of what had previously been done, decided originality; when, in fact, it mostly appeared, that what was introduced as a valuable invention, had been discovered, and tried, and failed, an age before.

But the excesses, making the most of them, are as nothing compared with the benefits. They are not greater, not so great, as those which attended the last great reformation in this country; and who would think now of adducing certain extravagances of that period against the revival initiated by Wesley and Whitefield, and all the substantial good which it has conveyed to us? When so much can be said for the American churches, and when it is considered that the religious movement there has been greater within a given period, and that it has taken place where the social institutions and habits were far less fixed than our own, it cannot be deemed feeble praise; and may become a tributary evidence, that the "work is of God."

I hope I have now succeeded in imparting to you some just conception of this subject. I might have more easily disposed of it by the introduction of manifold quotations and documents; but I think this would rather have perplexed than have assisted your judgment. My desire has been to give, in the smallest space, a condensed and proportionate view of the case; and we conceive truly even of facts, not as they are presented in their naked form, but as they are connected with their causes, and surrounded by the incidents which are proper to them.

I have been the more careful, because the subject is of importance to ourselves. Before I left this country, some attempts were made to supply us with the *rationale* of Calvinism, by the adoption of some of the more objectionable opinions of the New Divinity; and since my return, a clergyman, who has seceded from the Episcopal church, has been strangely allowed to enact the objectionable parts of the New Measures in the Methodist pulpits of the metropolis. I am fully desirous that we should import what good we can from America; but it would be sad, indeed, if we should covet the evil and despise the good; and it would be ridiculous as well as pitiable, to be adopting, as interesting novelties here, what have already become obsolete nullities in the estimation of the wise and the good there.

For my own part, all that I have seen of the new methods, both of thought and action, incline me to think that our true wisdom will consist in "asking for the old ways." The churches will not evince their wisdom by comparing themselves among themselves, or by inquiring for some new thing; but by recurring at once to the old apostolic models. We must re-model ourselves upon these. The divinity we want is such as we find in the Epistle to the Romans, free from the glosses of German neology; and the revivals we want are precisely such as glorify the Acts of the Apostles. Let us only preach as they preached, and pray as they prayed, and a new era is begun! And while waiting in humility on such teaching, if there be "any other thing, God shall reveal even this unto us."

LETTER XXXIII.

My dear friend—I am now to offer some remarks on the leading denominations in the States; and as your attention has been already engaged by two of them, I shall dispose of these first.

The Presbyterian body, if not the strongest in numbers, is certainly so by standing and consideration. It has nearly 2,000 ministers, about 2,500 congregations, and upwards of 200,000 communicants. It resembles exceedingly its kindred body in Scotland; and where this resemblance exists, I may be exonerated from remark. I had large and fraternal intercourse with its clergy; they are amongst the excellent of the land; and, as far as I could learn, whatever may be the differences of opinion, they compose a regenerated ministry. It is this that gives them their efficiency; and this also supplies one with the assurance, that there are no deviations, but they will find a speedy corrective.

This body holds a remarkable connection with the Congregational denomination. They have each, indeed, "a local habitation and a name;" the Presbyterian having its stronghold in the middle States, and the Congregational being established in the six States of New England. The common understanding is, that on passing the geographical line which divides these States, the party shall so far yield his distinctive opinions on church government as to unite with the prevailing profession, and he is passed from the one church to the other by the ordinary certificate. This compact includes ministers as well as the laity; and it is no uncommon thing to find the man who was a Congregational pastor to-day, a Presbyterian to-morrow.

It has been thought that the Congregational body suffered by this concession; and this opinion is confirmed, on finding that so many more pass from New England into the other States than do from them into it. But it is entirely corrected by closer inspection. In consequence of this practice, there are scarcely any Presbyterian churches in the whole of New England; but, in defiance of it, and the usual observance of it, a number of Congregational churches are springing up in the other States, and are gathering themselves into associations.

What is much more important to observe is, that the great numbers of Congregationalists, both ministers and people, who have passed into the Presbyterian church, have not forgotten their predilection for a more simple and less restricted form of government. This has operated silently, but with power; and the effects begin to be seen and felt. It has contributed certainly in its measure to that conflict of opinion and conduct which I have already noticed. The Congregationalist has been charged with policy in looking to this result. But this is too much. The movement is not the effect of design, but of circumstances; and the circumstances remaining the same, the same results will follow, though policy should conspire to prevent them. And, speaking impartially, I know not that this is to be regretted. While it supplies us with the edifying and scarce example of two religious bodies dwelling in amity and oneness; it may, in the end, by the influence they shall exert on each other, supply us also with the example of a church possessing within herself all the advantages of independency, and all the force and beauty of consolidation.

The Congregationalists must, unhappily, be divided into Orthodox and Unitarian. The Orthodox, including some forty churches out of New England, amount to upwards of one thousand congregations. The ministry is composed of a body of educated, pious, and devoted men; and though they have not been free from the causes of collision

already cited, as associated bodies, they remain in peace. This is rather to be ascribed to the absence of judicial power, than to the want of provoking occasion for its use.

When this body was the standing order, or, in other terms, the established religion, there was a great disposition to symbolize with Presbyterian principles; and the Consociation promised to clothe itself with synodical powers. But that time is past; the tendencies now are certainly the other way. The pastors, equally with the people, have renewed their attachment to the principles of their fathers; and they profess to be confirmed in their attachment by all that transpires around them.—They are warmly attached to their associations, which have an advisory power; but they are opposed to any body being clothed with legislative or judicial faculties.

The union between the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies is recognised, by the reception of delegates to sit in the principal conventions of each.

The Congregational body is dishonored and enfeebled by the defection of Unitarianism. You will, perhaps, expect me to remark more freely on this subject than on some others.

The Unitarians have, in the United States, 170 religious societies, and 150 ministers. In Massachusetts, they have about 130 societies, and 110 ministers. In Boston, which is their stronghold, they have twelve societies, and seventeen clergy, including two who are assistants, and three at large. With the exception of Boston, the congregations are very small; in that city, they average about 600, and out of it, about 100. Their communicants are still lower, in comparison with other denominations.

This subtle spirit of error, for a long time, concealed itself under the forms of orthodoxy; and it would have been content to do so till the present time. Cotton Mather says, till 1716 there was not a minister known who denied the proper divinity of Christ. Even within our own day, there was little suspicion of the defection; and there was no desire to avow it on the part of the delinquents. It was positively in England that the truth was first published to the astonished churches of America. Belsham, in his Life of Lindsey, boasted of the strength of Unitarianism in Boston; and, I believe, referred to communications made to him on this subject. Dr. Morse seized on this indiscretion; and challenged the ministers to avow themselves. This led to an explosion. Concealment could no longer be practised, and they had made sure their footing; so that they had some confidence in doing what they could no longer avoid. When the declaration came, it was fearful indeed. In Boston, every thing was gone, except the Old South Meeting; and within a radius of fifteen miles, not ten ministers could be found, of the Congregational order, holding "the truth as it is in Jesus."

But the explosion was followed by no abdication. These men had taken office as the friends of orthodoxy; but there was no resignation of it on the announcement of their errors. Considerable property had come into their possession from orthodox hands, by orthodox trusts, for orthodox uses; but it was retained, and is still retained, for heterodox purposes. So that the case here is the exact counterpart of the case in England! Men may, most conscientiously, change their opinions, and, as we may think, for the worse; but where is the conscience, where is the honor, of diverting property and place, which were never meant for them, from their known legitimate uses? Whatever may have been the errors or omissions of predecessors, surely it is time, for all who value principle more than profit, to wash their hands of such things!

Unitarianism is confidently said to be still increasing in this country. I am prepared to say, as confidently, that it is not: that it is declining, and declining rapidly. So far as Boston is concerned, the following account, with which I have been favored, will abundantly satisfy you. It is likewise so interesting in itself, and relates to so important a question, that I imagine you will be thankful for its insertion entire.

"PROGRESS OF TRUTH IN BOSTON.

"The present enlargement of the evangelical churches in Boston is so great, and the growth has been from such small beginnings, we think gratitude requires that they should not be concealed from the public.

"In the year 1803, religion had greatly declined from the principles and practices of our pilgrim fathers, in all the Congregational churches. All the Congregational ministers in Boston, except Dr. Eckley, of the Old South, had become Unitarians, though they did not openly avow it. There were no weekly lectures, no conference meetings, no church meetings, no foreign missions, education, tract, or Bible societies; no Sabbath schools, no monthly concert, no religious newspapers. The church appeared to be swallowed up in the world. But the Great Head of the church had yet reserved a few hidden ones, who had not departed from the faith. A small number of pious mothers in Israel had, for several years, attended a private meeting for prayer, where they mourned over the desolations of Zion, and besought the Lord to revive his work. Early in the year 1804, a few brethren of the Old South church, being grieved by the low state of religion, made an effort to have a public evening lecture established. The church agreed to the proposal; but the pew proprietors opposed it, and succeeded in preventing it. Finding they could not prevail in this measure, *eight* brethren held a meeting, in March of that year, and formed a "Society for Religious Improvement; not thinking it prudent to call it a *Conference Meeting*. Their state of feeling and inexperience, however, were such, that for several weeks, they *could not pray together*; but only read the Scriptures, and conversed on religious subjects. In about a month after their first meeting, they felt a freedom to unite in prayer; and finding their faith and strength increased, they prevailed on Dr. Eckley to establish a weekly lecture in a private house; but they continued their society meetings as before. They then resolved to give themselves to more earnest prayer. The Lord soon put it into their hearts to build a new house for public worship, where the gospel should be faithfully preached, without restriction. As soon as this determination was known, it was opposed by members of the Old South church, on the ground that it would injure their church. As opposition increased, so also friends and helpers were raised up; and after importunate prayer, continued for five years more, in February, 1809, the meeting was held, which resolved immediately to carry the plan into effect. Measures were taken to build a house for public worship in Park-street; and to organize a church which should guarantee the faithful dispensation of Divine truth. So low was the state of religious feeling, that even the Old South church refused to assist in the organization of the new church; but they 'went on building,' and the Lord prospered them. Park-street meeting-house was dedicated in January, 1810; and though heresy came in like a flood, the Lord enabled the little church of but twenty-six members, to maintain the standard of truth which they had erected. The 'Society for Religious Improvement,' discontinued their meetings, when Park-street church was formed.

"After a contest of nine years more, against error and misrepresentation, it was found that another house, for the pure worship of God, was necessary; and the Lord inclined a pious man, now almost ripe for heaven [since dead] to erect a meeting-house in Essex-street. In the meantime, the Old South church was favored with the faithful labors of Mr. Huntington, first as a colleague, afterwards as successor to Dr. Eckley. That church was increased in numbers, and in its attachment to the true gospel; and in the year 1822, a delegation of ten brethren was sent by Old South and Park-street churches, to strengthen the feeble church in Essex-street, now called Union Church.

"This first attempt at the system of colonizing churches was approved and blessed by their gracious Lord. In 1823 and 1824, the Lord poured out his Spirit on the three churches, and a powerful revival of religion was the means of adding to Park-street Church one hundred and twenty members; to the Old South, one hundred and one; and to Essex-street, sixty-two; total in Boston, two hundred and eighty-three. The work also extended to Mr. Fay's church in Charlestown, to which sixty-five were added.

"In 1825, a new meeting-house became necessary, to accommodate the friends of truth in South Boston, and was accordingly erected, with the aid of brethren in the above named churches; and another church was organized there, which maintains the truth as it is in Jesus.

"Encouraged by these successful efforts, the friends of Christ resolved to erect a meeting-house in Hanover-street, which was dedicated March 1, 1826, and a church, composed of thirty-seven delegates from the other churches, was planted there, and has since increased more than fourfold.

"The friends of the Rev. Dr. Jenks, who had been laboring in the city for several years as a missionary, resolved to erect a meeting-house for him, in Green-street. This was completed in October, 1826, and a church organized there, which has since been greatly increased.

"Another revival of religion has since been granted to the churches. It commenced in Essex-street church, in January, 1826; extended, within a few months, to the other churches, and still continues. In 1826, there were added to Essex-street church, fifty; Hanover-street, forty-five; Park-street, twenty-four; Old-South, fourteen. Total in 1826, one hundred and thirty-three. The additions in 1827, were, to Old South, ninety; Park-street, seventy-two; Essex-street, seventy-six; Hanover-street, one hundred and eighty-seven; Green-street, ninety-eight. Total in 1827, five hundred and twenty-three. The whole number added, during the present revival, is seven hundred and thirty-five. A portion of these were by letter from other churches in the country.

"The Lord having succeeded every attempt to enlarge his kingdom, a meeting was held on the 21st of March, 1827, to consider whether it was not expedient to erect another house for God. It being doubtful whether it was most needed at the north or south part of the city, it was resolved to erect *two;* one in Pine-street, and the other in Salem-street. These were completed about the 1st of January last, (1828,) and churches, principally composed of delegates from most of the other churches, now occupy these temples of the Most High, and maintain public worship.

"There are now nine commodious houses for public worship, with orthodox churches, embracing 1700 members; and all are favored with faithful devoted pastors.

"During this time the Lord has not confined his blessings to Boston, but has enabled his people to erect houses of worship, and organize churches, which have held up the light of divine truth amidst surrounding error, in Medford, Waltham, Cohassat, Concord, Walpole, Bridgewater, Cambridgeport, Brighton, and several other places in this part of the commonwealth.

"Since 1804, when those *eight* brethren assembled to inquire what the Lord would have them do, and had not strength of faith enough to pray together, *behold, what God hath wrought!* 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto his great name, be all the glory, for ever.'

"It should also be mentioned, as matter of praise and gratitude to God, that during the period of declension alluded to above, the two Baptist churches in this city, with their venerable pastors, Stillman and Baldwin, held fast the faith once delivered to the saints, and that they have established additional churches in commodious houses of worship in Charles-street, and in Federal-street, and in the adjoining town of Roxbury, and other places. They have also had considerable additions to their churches during the present revival."

This is evidence sufficient for Boston, and the same evidence might be given at length of churches spread over the state. In many instances where the minister has avowed himself, and yet resolved to retain the pulpit, a secession has occurred, and another place been built; so that he has been left without a congregation. In most places, there is some mixture of orthodoxy in the audience; and on this account the minister does not mostly insist on his peculiarities; for commonly the retirement of the orthodox is the ruin of the interest.

Every where they are going down. They still retain what endowments they held; and in Boston, they have the wealth and fashion of the place about them; and they have the honor of being considered as the friends of the elegancies and literature of more refined life; but, as a sect, holding certain peculiarities which distinguish them from others, they are impotent indeed. "Rich, but inefficient," as it has been used by one of their zealous champions to characterize that portion of their body in the father land, may be employed with equal significance here. Since they have avowed themselves, they have taken the field in their own defence. But, with perhaps a decided superiority in letters and in adroitness, they have been beaten from every post. They first took the ground of biblical criticism; and were driven back to the ground of rational religion. From this again they were forced; and then they ventured to rest the conflict on the tendencies of the systems. Did they not know that Fuller possessed this ground unquestioned? They have now come frankly to the question, Is the Bible an inspired book?

The summary, then, on the subject is, that this defection from the truth is of a limited nature, and is now in a state of retrocession. In Massachusetts, to which it is almost entirely confined, its churches, as compared with the orthodox congregations alone, are not more than as one to three. And yet by this test, they appear stronger than they are, for most of their churches are poorly attended; and many who do attend are attached to orthodoxy, and would leave if the preacher should venture on a plain announcement of his peculiarities. In Boston, there are, as we have seen, in the Congregational denomination, nine churches against thirteen; and the communicants of the fewer churches greatly exceed those of the major number. Besides these are to be reckoned the orthodox of the other persuasions; so that even here, on any question of interest which would unite the orthodox bodies against the heterodox, they have a decided majority. Boston only wants one man to arise, of

philosophical mind, fine taste, and eloquent parts, who shall have been redeemed from these errors, and who shall present the truth, with pious earnestness, to the understanding, by the aid of the imagination and affections, to expel this sophistical spirit from its last hold among the literary and the polite of society.

Of its general feebleness, two little incidents may assist you to a confirmed opinion. When this system was in its power and progress, it managed to get the Massachusetts Bible Society under its control. The consequence was, that the orthodox quietly retired, and formed a society for themselves. The original society, in the hands of the Unitarians, actually disposed, last year, of twenty-one Bibles!

The Unitarian Association, which has in trust the general propagation of their system, by preaching, the distribution of tracts, &c. &c., raises annually about 17,000 dollars! "Rich, but inefficient."

Having given the facts of this case, let us look into its philosophy. Many have found it extremely difficult to account for this defection; and some have appealed to it as a practical argument against the principles of Independency. After giving the best attention to the case, I am disposed to refer it chiefly to two causes. First, the increasing wealth and consequent worldliness of the people inclined them to it. Their fathers were truly pious; but the children, though brought up strictly, were coming under the influence of worldly prosperity, and were mostly strangers to the regenerating power of religion. They had a dislike to the strict and mortifying claims of a regenerated ministry, and yet they could not persuade themselves to abandon those forms of religion in which they had been rigidly educated. They sought a medium between infidelity and vital religion. Unitarianism offered one, and it succeeded. The worldly, if they have any, must have a worldly religion.

In the next place, it is most certain, that this evil arose principally from having made Congregationalism an established and State religion. What the Puritans did, they did most piously indeed, but not wisely. They were suffering for conscience' sake; yet they did not understand the rights of conscience, nor the genius of the New Testament.—The lust of power is so deeply rooted in the hearts of men, that these, perhaps, are among the last claims of our holy religion to be comprehended and exemplified. They resolved on the establishment of that religion for which they suffered all things, to the exclusion of every other form of faith and discipline. It was made "The Standing Order;" it was illustrated by creeds and confessions; and it was protected by Test and Corporation Acts, with penal sanctions. It was thus, in their judgment, placed above the reach of accident, and the corruption of time. This, however, was poor short-sightedness. The very means they had devised for its support were the means that humbled it to the dust.

It was provided, that none should dedicate their children by baptism, or hold civil offices in the State, except they were in church membership. But, in course of time, many were exceedingly desirous of claiming the religious privilege for their children, and of seeking the civil distinction for themselves, who were not at all prepared for fellowship with a spiritual body. This induced many to adopt a hypocritical profession; while it inclined others, as they derived confidence from numbers, to complain and resist. The Standing Order, already deteriorated by the action of its own safeguards, found itself in a critical state; and, rather than lose its influence, it proposed the memorable Half-way Covenant. This was, in fact, a sinful compromise with the world; and provided, that those who respected the outward means of religion, but who gave no evidence of its renewing power, should be admitted to membership. It prevented secession; but it spread worldliness and death over the whole church.

If I were giving a historical sketch of the period, it would gratify me to show how minor causes contributed, with this primary cause, to the bad consummation. But is not this sufficient to satisfy you, that the church had treacherously prepared herself for almost any corruption, and perhaps for none so fully as for Unitarianism? It would leave them in their worldliness, while it would not shock their morality; it would preserve to them the form of religion, while it would not trouble them with its power; it would flatter their reason; applaud their virtue; be satisfied with their compliances; explain away their difficulties; and leave them at ease in their possessions and pleasures!

These statements may well be considered to contain a most beneficial lesson for the churches; and surely, at the present time, it is a lesson that cannot be neglected! Let who will seek the benefits of a State establishment; but let all who would have a wise regard to the interests of true piety, and the nature of the kingdom of heaven, decline them with settled and calm determination.*

LETTER XXXIV.

My dear friend—I must now, with brevity, make some final references, under the head of Denominations. The Baptist is a large and thriving community. It reckons to have 3,397 clergy; 5,345 churches; 325,461 communicants; and this, exclusive of the Freewill Baptists, the Seventh-day Baptists, and the Six Principle Baptists. Its great strength lies in the West and South; and the number of its members is greatly swelled by the large accessions made from the slaves; while that of the ministers is increased by the easy terms on which the ministry may be entered. Indeed, in many parts, the line of separation between what is clerical and what is laical is faint indeed. Ignorance is the patron of ignorance; the people have been there, as they were extensively here, jealous of a learned and well trained ministry; and antinomianism, which favors ignorance, and is favored by it, has infected a considerable portion of the body. They want exceedingly an enlightened ministry, and they were beginning to awake to this necessity. They want also a sound exhibition of the whole truth, lest, in relaxing from antinomian opinion, where it has prevailed, they should fall back into the opposite extreme. Mainly this body is sound; and has continued sound, while others, have been corrupted; but it has never passed the ordeal of state patronage and endowment. It has contributed most honorably its share in overtaking the wants of an empire, which has been advancing with a giant's pace and power.

The Methodists are quite as numerous, and are more efficient. They show a less amount of ministers, but a much larger one of communicants: the one being 2,223, and the other 619,771. Like the Baptists, they have a large proportion of slaves in their communion; and, like them, they are beginning to take decided measures to secure an educated ministry. They are, in fact, exceedingly like their kindred body in our own country, both in their vir-

* Of course, these remarks are not meant, in any case, to affect a *question of property*. I merely seek to express a serious conviction as to the *religious efficacy* of two systems.

tues and failings. There is a considerable measure of ignorance and extravagance in that as there is in this; and they are certainly quite as sectarian. They have their own papers, their own books, their own tracts, their own psalmody, and, I believe I may say, are about to have their own version of the Bible. They depend here, as every where, rather on their method than the talent of their ministry, or the peculiarities of their faith; and this method has wonderful compactness and adaptation to its ends. They are a hive of bees, in which each one has his place, and each one his work to do; and where each, by the movement of all, is constrained to fulfil it; and thus the whole duty of the busy and happy community is completed. The perfect order and unity which reigns at home, prevents the loss of energy by domestic bickerings; and allows them to seek and cull their treasures from the wild and waste world around them. Whatever may have been their failings, they have done more, both in America and Canada, than any other body of Christians, to carry the means of instruction and worship to the most neglected and scattered portions of these regions, and have been most successful in their efforts of Christian philanthropy.

The Episcopal Church is by far the least of the five leading denominations. It numbers 650 ministers; its attendants are 244,125; and its communicants are considerably lower, I believe, than is usual in the other divisions of the church. Its forms are those of the Church of England, with trifling variations; but it has undergone essential alterations in the principles of its government. The people have a voice in the appointment of their pastors; and the bishops are elected in a convention of the pastors and lay delegates. They are, therefore, mostly men of approved character, and of much pastoral experience. Some are known to you as persons of exemplary piety.

The Episcopal church, like the Congregational, has been tried here as an establishment, and like it, it has failed. It was established in Virginia; and it became slothful and impure under its exclusive privileges, so as to have made itself despised by the people. It was years, after a change was made, before they could overcome the recollections of the past, and once more indulge their old aristocratic tastes. The church has now revived on the voluntary principle, and is blessed with a pious clergy and a thriving community. I shall recur to this, if I have time, hereafter.

This church, like its prototype, is divided within itself, into two parts. They are here denominated the Low Church and the High Church. To be favorable to evangelical truth and liberal principles is to be Low Church; and to oppose these is to be High Church. This difference seems to have come amongst them, from their disposition to sympathize with the mother church so entirely, as that they must reflect all her features, whether they are in or out of a fair and lovely proportion.

The High Church, of course, is very high. It has little communion with the other branch of itself, except under the pressure of circumstances; and it has less communion with others. It stands on its forms and prescriptions; and, not making spiritual regeneration a term and test of Christian character, it has considerable accessions from the worldly and fashionable. The cherished recollections of the mother country, too, as well as the recoil which many have from the plain, and sometimes indiscreet, dealing to which they may have been exposed elsewhere, contribute to the number of her followers.

The Low Church is in the situation of a suspected party, and though they have every reason to sympathize with those who hold evangelical opinions, are often slow to do so. There are, however, many who brave the hazard, and seek the fellowship. They are a considerable proportion of the entire body, and are so increasing as to carry a beneficial influence over the whole. That branch which is located in New York is, by endowment and the sale of improved lands, rich; and its funds are laudably employed in aiding the juvenile efforts of congregations, contending with the first difficulties of life and action. This portion of the clergy, with which I had the best means of becoming acquainted, appear to be intelligent, pains-taking, and devoted; some of them I have reason to regard with high esteem and admiration. As a minority, they are similarly circumstanced with those of their class here; and professionally their character and points of excellence have strong resemblance. They are formed on the school of Scott; the other portion of the body is formed on that of Tillotson and Blair.

Whatever may be the spirit of liberality which breathes in many of the presbyters and bishops of this church, the spirit of the ecclesiastical system is still exclusive and anti-Protestant. Placed in temporal and civil advantages on a level with every other religious body, it stands on the ground of the Divine right of episcopal ordination and apostolic succession. Now, it is certainly somewhat bold in the parent church to denounce some eight thousand ministers, at least equal to her own in pastoral ability and success, as in "*pretended* holy orders," that is, in a surreptitious use of the ministry; yet there is something of pomp, and privilege, and numbers, to uphold these pretensions. But really for such lofty pretensions to be insisted on by a church so situated as is that in America, and at this time of day, is painfully ridiculous. What! of the twelve thousand ministers who have labored for the regeneration of their country, and with eminent success, are the six hundred who have had the hand of the bishop on them, only to be deemed the true ministers of Christ? Are the ten thousand men who have been employed mainly in settling and sustaining the church in that land, to be denounced by an insignificant section of that church as falsely pretending to a character to which they have no lawful claim? Is there nothing in "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" nothing in the calling and approving testimony of a "congregation of faithful men;" nothing in the undoubted testimony of Heaven itself? Must these holy and useful men, who, above all things have sought the will of God; who have thought that they were acting under it; who would have trembled to commit themselves to such a ministry uncalled; and who have the seal of heaven on their labors, in the renewal of thousands and myriads of men; be told that they have run unsent, have held their offices surreptitiously, and are worthy, not of praise, but condemnation? And by whom?

The only way in which this may be truly lamented, is as it affects that portion of the church which incorporates in its system such assumptions. It wars against the spirit of union, and interferes greatly with its efficiency and success. It prevents the exchange and intercommunity of services; it is hostile to fraternal charity, since brethren can hardly associate with pleasure except on equal ground; and it places, by its exclusiveness, the Episcopal portion of the church at disadvantage, in all the great and general movements of the times. Surely the intelligent and holy and liberal should look to this. Let them prefer Episcopal ordination if they will; but let them not condemn and unchurch those who think they have found a more excellent way. There must be something wrong in this. Dying men have often strong and vivid impressions of the

right. Leigh Richmond, in his last illness, said to a friend and pastor of a dissenting church, "I esteem you as a minister of Christ, and you regard me as such, and yet I cannot preach for you, and you cannot preach for me. My brother, there must be something wrong in this!"

You, will have observed, that the terms, church, clergy, and bishop, though limited with us to one community, are used promiscuously in the churches of America. The Presbyterian church gives officially the style of bishops to her pastors; all ordained ministers are the clergy. Frequently you see a noble edifice, with its tall tower and spire, and from the power of association, you are ready to pronounce it Episcopal. No, it is a Baptist church. And though, in New England, there is some partiality to the old designation of meeting-house, the said meeting-house has all the large and lofty attributes of the church.

I was much interested in what I saw of the Dutch Reformed Church here; the more so, perhaps, as I brought with me my recollections of Holland. Alas! for that ancient stronghold of truth, godliness, and Protestantism. This Church has 197 churches, and 165 pastors; they are well trained, orthodox, and godly men. I had much pleasure in making the acquaintance of those who are settled in New-York. Their congregations are of good size, and composed of persons of sincere piety and much steadiness of character; a steadiness, perhaps, a little inclining to immobility and formal profession. They have only to commit themselves to the great religious efforts of the day, in co-operation with their brethren, to retain an honorable place amongst "the living in Jerusalem." Should the movement put them a little in contact with some things they may deem extravagant, they need not fear them, their temptation is not that way; and their presence will contribute to allay all real evil.

They are, I believe, wealthy; and have resources in their people. There are two services, especially, which they may render to the churches, and which they should consider intrusted to them by Divine Providence. The German settlers in Pennsylvania require to be resuscitated, by decided missionary exertions. The sympathy which the Germans would have with their church, and the authority they would have over them, seems to mark this as a field of most important labor, for which they are remarkably prepared, and which labor would be eminently blessed. Delegations of the wisest and most pious of their body, to the father land, might contribute most happily to revive the churches in Holland, in their cold and torpid state, and restore them to a true belief in their own faith, and a true practice of their own professions.

Much has been said on the influence and spread of Romanism in this country; and, at the time of our visit, great alarm was entertained on the subject. I must supply you with the means of judgment.

It should really seem that the Pope, in the fear of expulsion from Europe, is anxious to find a reversion in this new world. The crowned heads of the continent, having the same enmity to free political institutions, which his Holiness has to free religious institutions, willingly unite in the attempt to enthral this people. They have heard of the necessities of the West; they have the foresight to see that the West will become the heart of the country, and ultimately determine the character of the whole; and they have resolved to establish themselves there. Large, yea, princely grants have been made from the Leopold Society, and other sources, chiefly, though by no means exclusively, in favor of this portion of the empire that is to be. These sums are expended in erecting showy churches and colleges, and in sustaining priests and emissaries. Every thing is done to captivate, and to liberalize, in appearance, a system essentially despotic. The sagacity of the effort is discovered, in avoiding to attack and shock the prejudices of the adult, that they may direct the education of the young. They look to the future; and they really have great advantages in doing so. They send out teachers excellently qualified; superior, certainly, to the run of native teachers. Some value the European modes of education as the more excellent; others value them as the mark of fashion: the demand for instruction too, is always beyond the supply, so that they find little difficulty in obtaining the charge of Protestant children.* This, in my judgment, is the point of policy which should be especially regarded with jealousy; but the actual alarm has arisen from the disclosure of a correspondence which avows designs on the West, beyond what I have here set down. It is a curious affair, and is one other evidence, if evidence were needed, that Popery and Jesuitism are one.

There is, however, no possible cause for alarm, though there undoubtedly is for diligence. Romanism has increased positively, but not relatively. It has not advanced in proportion to the other denominations, nor in proportion to the population. Baltimore, the stronghold of Popery, was once almost wholly Catholic; it is now greatly outnumbered by Protestant sects. The Romanists do not number, as attendants, more than 550,000 persons; and the influx of Catholics from Germany and Ireland may answer for that amount. Of course, every liberal and Christian mind, would desire, that those of that faith, settling in these States, should be provided with the means of worship in agreement with their conscientious opinions; and had this been the intention of the efforts, they had been only laudable.

Nothing can be stronger evidence against the success of Romanism, than its actual position associated with the extraneous assistance afforded to it. With hundreds of thousands of dollars to back it, it has fallen short in the race with the other denominations; while they have wanted the unity of action which sustained it, and were thrown entirely on their native inward resources. Popery cannot flourish in this land, except every thing proper to it should first die out—liberty, conscience, independence, and prejudice. It is not indigenous—it is an exotic; and though fostered by fond hands, and protected by strong ones, it will languish, fade, and fall. It is a monstrous expectation; despondency alone could have suggested it. But the Pope must hope for no second life in this new world. It may be true, that he is immutable; happily he is not immortal.

Yet the occasion calls for diligence, and a diligence directed with sagacity as to means and distant results, equal to that of the adversary. If all were to sleep, while the enemy sowed his tares, there might indeed be a most rueful harvest. But here again the Romanists have made a bad choice. These people are the most wakeful of any known. They will certainly, when they see the evil, do their duty; the only fear is lest they should give the adversary some advantage by over doing it. Let them feel that they have to deal with a cautious foe, and treat him cautiously. They must not be content with a manful onset, such as they have lately made, and expect to demolish at a blow. Let them remember that they have to do with a foe, who rests his cause on time and perseverance; whose hand seeks to undermine rather than to storm; who can smile at a defeat if it put his opponent off his guard; and who, like the tiger-cat, can spring on his prey, when he seems to be moving away. It is manifest that success is to be expected

against such a foe, not by an occasional triumph, but by a careful observation of his devices, and a calm indomitable steadiness in resisting them.

You will, perhaps, be disappointed if I dismiss this subject without a reference to the state of Infidelity in this country. You are ready to think it assumes a more determined and evil aspect than with us. But let me ask, can any thing be worse than our Feet-street exhibitions and tracts? I will admit, however, that, though not worse, there is a more general expression of it where it really exists. The people here are altogether under less restraint; and you get the honest opinion quickly. If people profess religion they do it sincerely, and you know it at once, and without shame or reserve; and, for the same reason, if they reject religion, you are advised of it promptly, and without fear.

But infidelity is not advancing here; it has diminished, and is diminishing. Still, you must understand that it did prevail to an alarming extent. The Revolution brought infidel France into close connection with the people, and the people into a state of strong sympathy with France. Much evil arose, from this cause, to religion; and the leading men of the day were seduced, by the sophisms of Voltaire, Rousseau, and d'Alembert. The Revolution itself, unsettling men's minds, filling them with the care of the present, and making an attention to the means of religion almost impossible, contributed most extensively to the same issue. The settlement of the war was followed by an unexampled course of prosperity to America. England was committed to renewed and desperate conflict, while the carrying trade of the world was slipped into the hands of the States. This superinduced an extravagance of hope, and worldly desire, as fatal, perhaps, as either of the previous causes, to the interests of true and spiritual religion.

However, that dark and evil day is past. The infidelity of the period which had desolated France, and which threatened, like a wasting flood, to destroy every thing precious in this land and ours, has subsided. Infidelity still exists, and its blasphemous nature is not changed; but it is diminished and crest-fallen. Its stronghold is thought to be in New York; but what is found here of infidelity bears about the same proportion to New York, as Carlile's shop and the Rotunda do to London. I should think, decidedly, that there is not more open, and certainly less covert infidelity in this country than in ours. There would be a greater appearance of this evil in the West, but there would be less in the East; and the average, I believe is by no means greater.

The great sensible benefit to all these denominations is, that they are alike unknown to the government. They may have, as we have seen, differences within themselves, and unworthy jealousies of each other, but these differences are not imbittered by political strife. None are liable, on following out the convictions of their conscience towards God, to be thought less loyal to the government than others. None are exalted, and therefore none are abased; none have exclusive privileges, and, therefore, none can complain. The government troubles none, and they bring no trouble to the government. None by patronage are made haughty; and none are made uneasy. All agree to ask no favor, no grant, no tax; and all must be satisfied, while none is given. The government, in this particular, have understood their interests, and keep their engagements most nobly; and, by this means, they have made their yoke light and pleasant; they have taken from their duties half their difficulty, and more than half their responsibility.

In this single view of the case, it must be admitted, that there is great advantage; it remains for us to see whether the interests of religion really suffer by this non-interference.

LETTER XXXV.

My dear friend—I have now to speak of the Religious Economy of the churches. We have noticed the leading differences between the Episcopal church here and in the mother land, already. The agreement between the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, in the two countries, is so complete as to make discrimination needless. My allusions will, therefore, mostly be to the Congregational churches, when points of discipline are spoken of; while the statements on property and support will apply to all.

The remarks will relate to what is *spiritual*, or to what is *temporal*; and my design is not to report a system; but to illustrate the subjects on which there is a difference, leaving those on which we have entire or essential agreement in silence.

I have, I believe, already described the usual order of public worship; it is, in the four principal denominations, most pleasantly like our own. I have, nevertheless, something to observe on its manner. The singing, generally, and universally with the Congregationalists, is not congregational. It is a performance entrusted to a band of singers, more or less skilful; and, as such may sometimes afford one pleasure, but as an act of worship, it disappoints you greatly; at least, if you have been accustomed to the more excellent way. You have the sense of being a spectator and auditor; not of a participant; and this is destructive of the spirit of devotion. With its best execution, it is not half so fine as the concurrent voices of a thousand persons, pouring forth their grateful sentiments in holy psalmody; and, in its lowest estate, it is poor and chilling indeed. A good sermon is often made or marred by the hymn. I fear many a one has been sadly marred by it in New England.

I recollect, on one occasion, before sermon, that beautiful hymn of Watts', "Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove," &c. was sung. There were some seven hundred people present; but the hymn rested with six or seven persons in the gallery. The last line of each stanza was left to the female voices. At the line, "And our devotions die," to give the dying notes the more effect, it was left to one voice. The young woman kept her breath and diminished her tones as long as she could, and then turned round on her companions and smiled.

On another occasion, which was a special meeting of prayer and exhortation for the conversion of the world, I inquired of my brethren, uniting with me in the service, whether we could not close with the fine doxology, "From all that dwell below the skies," &c. and the Old Hundreth tune? "Most certainly," was the cheerful reply. It appeared, however, that there was another party to be consulted. Our wish was conveyed to the singers; and the singers sent their respects, saying, that they could not sing it, as they were prepared with another piece. The consequence was, that a solemn service was closed, and sadly cooled down, by a performance in which none could join, in which none were meant to join, and in which none cared to join.

Much laudable attention is now paid to the psalmody of the churches; and one may hope that it will lead to a preference of congregational singing, as finer in taste, and as essential to an expression of common worship. To be so, it must cease to be professional; for the professors will seek to exclude the people. It must be steadily considered as an act of worship, in which all should unite; and the

maxim must be—That display is not worship. I am persuaded the Congregational body suffers much, in comparison with others, from the want of this. Their music, when well executed, may be attractive, but it is not edifying: it may suit heterodoxy, and help it; but it is not a suitable medium for warm affections and universal praise. It is also a strange departure from the practices of their fathers. The Puritans and Presbyterians are renowned for a common delight in this exercise of worship; and many a hill-side rung with the solemn melody of their united praise.

Another evil that needs correction, and that, I think, is in course of correction, is, the reading of sermons. This practice obtains considerably in other denominations; it is universal, or nearly so, in the Congregational. It is thought, I believe, that the people have a prejudice in favor of it; but I have, from my own experience, no reason to think so. Meantime, it is undoubtedly prejudicial to the interests of the people, and also of the pastors. It is no argument for this method, that good has been done by it, and that some few may give to it great efficiency. It must rest on its general merits; and, tried on this principle, no one can hesitate in saying, whether, other things being equal, the read speech or the spoken speech is the most interesting and impressive. They feel this in their revivals; for then it is mostly laid aside; and one may hope that the frequent recurrence of the more interesting seasons, will superinduce on the rising ministry habits of more spontaneous utterance.

If there is a feeling any where in its favor, it arises from the impression that the read sermon will be marked with more correctness and careful study. I have not been unobservant on this subject; and I do not think so. He who is always writing is not the best composer. The pastor who tasks himself to write out at length not less than two sermons a week, must find nearly all his spare time occupied in a mere mechanical exercise. He can have no leisure to store his mind by good reading, or to digest his reading by sustained meditation. He cannot wait for his second thoughts; nor give his subject, however important, time to penetrate, and to make his mind and affections, for the period, part of itself. He has two sermons to write by Sabbath morning; if he does not make haste he will not get them done. This influence, kept up, forms a habit of loose thinking and common-place utterance. The pastor finds himself committed to a species of manual drudgery, to which there is no end; and the mind wearies and sleeps upon it.—What has been wearisome in the composition, is not likely to change its character in the delivery; and the preacher and the hearer slumber over it together.

This subject deserves further attention than I am authorized in bestowing on it in this connection. None can so mistake these passing remarks, as to suppose that they are meant to justify indolence, or the want of careful and anxious preparation. I would have the pastor write less, that he may study more; that he may present to his people better thoughts, with richer utterance and with greater power.

The administration of the positive ordinances has, I believe, been adequately illustrated in the Narrative. Let me preserve your attention for some passing notice of the services of marriage and burial, as observed here. In burials, the custom has been to give public notice of the party deceased, and to invite the friends at large, who may desire to show a mark of respect, to attend. This invitation, from the inconveniences arising on the existing mode, has been made select in the larger towns. It is still, however, open to all in less populous places. I have seen nearly two hundred persons, half the adults of a little town, following the remains of a child to the grave. The house is thrown open; and those who cannot find admission, remain about the door till the movement begins, when they fall in silently and without trouble.

No service, I believe, is ever performed in the burial-ground. This takes place in the dwelling of the deceased. It consists of exhortation and prayer; and sometimes these exercises are renewed on the return of the mourners and friends from the ground.

Marriage is regarded by the Government only as a civil contract, while its admitted importance may claim for it some religious service. It is valid, however, without any religious act, if the parties wish to avoid it. The provisions of the different States are various. Generally, it is provided that the agent shall be the ordained minister, or the justice of peace. In the State of New-York it requires no publicity; but the parties authorized to marry may do so on the instant. Usually public notification is considered expedient; and still the method varies. In some cases the pastor publishes it to the congregation; and he may marry the parties at any convenient time after this is done; but the prevailing practice requires that notice should be given by the minister to the parish clerk, who is a civil officer, and who is responsible for the publication. It may be made on the church, or court-house door, or otherwise. A fortnight after this notice, the minister is at liberty to marry. He is responsible for making a correct return to the clerk of the marriages he celebrates, quarterly or otherwise. The law provides a fee of not less than a dollar for the minister, and few content themselves with this small acknowledgment. This plan has been the most extensively used, and for the longest time; and, after very careful inquiry, I do not find that it is open to the least objection. Some of the States have thought that it asks for more safeguard than is needful; but none have thought it wanting in security. The legal profession allow that it works well.

So much for the civil portion of the subject. The religious exercises are simple and appropriate; and none but those who repudiate all religion, I believe, disregard them. The service is usually performed at the home of the contracting parties, and in the bosom of their families and immediate friends, and is, on this account, made much more interesting and less painful to all concerned. It is more frequently observed in the evening than at any other time of the day. The minister comes at an appointed hour; and the order of service rests with circumstances and his discretion. It consists of exhortation and prayer. Sometimes an address is given in explanation; then prayer is offered; then the consent of the parties is taken, and hands are joined; and, after this, short exhortation and prayer are renewed. At other times the exhortation is given; hands are joined, and prayer is then offered. The minister chosen for the service is he who is best known and loved by the parties; and, performed under such circumstances, it is both affecting and solemn.

The mystic ring is no necessary part of the ceremony; and it is frequently not used. The consequence is, that the married lady cannot be distinguished by this sign. I believe in no country is the marriage vow held more sacred than in this.

The government of the churches will lead us to regard them in their separate, and their associated capacity. The principles which regulate the particular church, whether Baptist, Presbyterian, or Congregational, have a strong resemblance. The officers also are similar, although they have differ-

ent names. In the Presbyterian, they are the pastor or bishop, the elders and the deacons. The elders being a council with the pastor; and the deacons being limited to the care of the poor, and the temporal affairs. In the Baptist, they are elder and deacon; the style of "elder" being given to the pastor here. In the Congregational body they are the pastor and deacons. In each case, the officers are chosen by the church, without any control, except that the minister must be recognized by the association. Every church has an absolute voice in the persons admitted to membership.

The affairs of the church are managed usually by a committee, to which they are officially entrusted. With the Presbyterians, the bishop and elders, under the name of the Session, are this committee; with the Congregationalists, the pastor and deacons compose it, if the church is small, but if large, some other members of the church are added to it. It is in these sessions that all preliminary business is prepared; and to it all difficult business referred. They see and examine candidates for fellowship, before they are propounded; and all matters of complaint and misconduct come under their notice. They are qualified to examine these, to act on them, and finally, to dispose of them; the party always having, if he thinks himself aggrieved, the right of appeal to the church, and still from the church itself to the council or presbytery. The title to membership is, I think, universally sought in the evidence of regeneration. Only the male members are allowed to vote. At the admission of members, all rise on the reading of a portion of the covenant, to express their consent, but it is not considered as a formal vote on the part of the females. Baptism is mostly limited to the children which have one parent in fellowship; and, consequently, a great many grow up unbaptized, and the pastors here have many more adult baptisms than we have. This custom has certainly contributed to enlarge the number of the Baptist community.

The choice of the pastor is frequently spoken of as resting with the parish. The term parish, however, does not now describe, as with us, geographical limits; it denotes those persons who compose the congregation, and subscribe to the support of its institutions. In some cases, the parish, or congregation, is allowed a confirmatory voice on the election of the church; this is not deemed desirable, but it is not found to produce any serious evil. The fact of the church having agreed in its election, and of its being generally a majority, as compared with those who are merely subscribers, renders a reversed decision nearly impossible.

Although the appointment, discipline, and removal of the pastor, is understood to rest essentially with the church, it is the practice to make a reference to council on these subjects; and the voluntary deference is so great as to place it in act, though not in principle, on an exact footing with the Presbytery.

The Congregational churches disclaim the principle of independency; and they have, therefore, a relative as well as a personal discipline. This associated control is exercised either by council or synod; the council being meant to respect the limited, and the synod the general interests of the church.

The council may be called, by letters missive, by one or more churches. The letters are addressed to the neighboring churches, requesting them to sit in council by their pastor and lay delegates, as representatives. They may be called on questions of prudence or of conscience, and then they are wholly advisory. Or they may be summoned for the purpose of ordination, and then their functions are mostly administrative. Their duty is to examine, and approve, and so ordain; but as the church has previously expressed itself, and as all the arrangements for ordination are fixed and made public, if the council are disposed to demur, they are placed in circumstances of such restraint, as to make it difficult to decline the service. And as the churches invited to send representatives to the council are selected by the church applying, or rather by the candidates for ordination, it does not in principle supply a better safeguard against undue intrusion into the ministry, than does the sanction given at our ordinations.

The council may be *mutual*. It is then summoned by the agreement of two parties, who consent to refer their difference or difficulty to it.—The cases on which this council is called to sit in judgment, are mostly those of difference between a church and a private member, or between a church and its pastor. Its power is merely advisory, but it is final. It is considered in theory to represent the whole body of the church, and there is, therefore, no higher appeal.

The council may be *consociated* or *permanent*. This is not created, like those I have noticed, by circumstances; but has a continued existence. It is, therefore, considered to have all the attributes of a mutual council; and, besides these, it is invested with an authoritative power, more congenial with the genius of Presbyterian than Congregational order. It is to take cognizance of all cases of scandal within its circuit, and afford its assistance on all ecclesiastical occasions; and those who decline to submit to its decisions, "they shall be reputed, after due patience, guilty of a scandalous contempt, and dealt with as the rule of God's word in such cases doth provide, and the sentence of noncommunion shall be declared against pastor and church."—*Saybrook Platform.*

The council may be *ex parte*. This can only exist where an aggrieved party desires a judgment, and the second party refuses to consent to a mutual council. The complainant has then the privilege of summoning a council from such churches as he chooses to examine his case. They give advice; they seek reconciliation; and if they attach no decided blame to the aggrieved party, and his church refuse to receive him, they commend him to another community.

The designation of this council is certainly somewhat forbidding. But it may unquestionably be a noble act of justice to justify an aggrieved party, before the church, when the offender declines to face him before an impartial tribunal, and he has no means of compelling him.

The council may be *general*, and then it falls under the denomination of a synod. In its elements it corresponds with the General Assembly; its powers are variously stated, and with some little contrariety. It is held to be advisory, and not authoritative; but it is "to debate and to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience; to clear from the word holy directions for the worship of God and good government of the church." "The directions and determinations of the synod, so far as consonant with the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word."—*Cambridge Platform.*

It is quite evident from these statements, on the associated government of the churches, that there has been some danger of the Congregational body losing its distinctive character in the Presbyterian models; but the period either of fear or hope, as parties may respect it, has passed away. Nothing is more certain than that the Congregationalists

are in practice becoming daily more jealous of every thing that is authoritative and judicial, while they are becoming more attached to those conferences and councils which are purely advisory.

Besides these arrangements, which concern the government of the church, there are Pastoral Associations to promote its edification and union.

The Pastoral Association, or Convention, is usually composed of the ministers of the county.—They assemble twice or oftener in the year, to promote, by prayer, preaching, and fraternal intercourse, their knowledge, zeal, and charity, and thus to qualify themselves to labor with greater advantage for the welfare of their churches. As might be expected, great good has arisen from these meetings; many of the best revivals have sprung from them. The State Association is the same species of meeting, and for the same purposes, on a larger scale. The Occasional Conferences are partly lay and partly clerical; and their design is to knit together the several members of the body, and to advance the great interests of religion in the land and in the world.

LETTER XXXVI.

My dear friend—Let me now proceed to remark on that portion of Religious Economy which may be denominated *temporal*. So far as it is needful to notice it, the subject may, perhaps, be comprised under the heads of *edifices—tenure of churches—means of general support.*

Of the churches, as edifices, I must say something, as they have been misreported. It has been said that they are smaller than ours; and that, therefore, the number of churches does not supply a comparative scale for the attendance. I have looked with some care at this statement; and so far as my best observations will carry me, I am prepared to say, that the average of size and accommodation is larger with them than with us. I know not that they have any places so large as a few of ours; but they have many of the extreme size, if seeing and hearing are to be consulted in the dimensions; and we have certainly, both in the church and with the dissent, many more smaller ones than they.

An objection has also been taken to them, as erected of frail and perishable materials. If this objection is meant to be unlimited, it is not true. America has certainly no St. Paul's; nor any instance, known to me, of an exorbitant expenditure of £80,000, or £100,000, on the erection of a single church: but, in all her principal cities, Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, there is an abundance of churches, which, for good accommodation, substantial construction, and respectable appearance, are as good as I would wish to see, and will compare at advantage with the average amongst us. As to the material of which the churches are constructed, when I say that the more durable takes the lead in them, as compared with the other erections, it is plain that the utmost is done that a reasonable mind can require. When all the erections of a young town in the midst of the forest are of timber, it would be absurd to expect other material for the church. So soon as brick begins to appear for domestic uses, it is sure to appear in the church; when stone supersedes brick, the first evidences of change are still to be seen in the church. In New-York, the inhabitants are beginning to ornament their brick dwellings with marble steps, architraves, and pediments; but they are carrying up, at the same time, in solid and beautiful marble, both a church and a university.

Then, if this objection is to receive a limited application, it is true, and it is highly beneficial. In the small town and young settlements, the church is built of wood; and I have satisfied myself that this is a decided advantage. When a settlement is just made, its numbers are few, and the place of worship bears, of course, a proportion to the numbers. If the original place were then built of stone, and not of timber, it would abide for ages, like many of our churches, with a capacity to accommodate some two hundred instead of some two thousand. But the first churches are erected of clapboard, frequently while the settlement is young; as paint is dearer than wood, it is not painted, and left to itself, it will perish in some twenty or thirty years. By this time every thing is changed in the little community; their numbers trebled; their means quadrupled; and they determine to build a more substantial place, with adequate accommodation; so that, in that new country, most of their original places have already been swept away by the besom of time, while ours remain to this day. And as objects of taste, and memorials of the past, one would have them remain for ever; but this is not now the question. It is a question of accommodation; and whether the accommodation respect comfort or space, the American places have the advantage.

I am now to refer you to the *tenure* of ecclesiastical property. You are to understand, that there are two bodies that are recognized by the law as holding, and claiming to hold, such property. They are, the church and the parish; and they are both *corporate* bodies. The church is precisely what it is with us. The parish denoted place as well as persons; it now, by the legal changes that have been effected, denotes persons rather than place. The persons in this relation, who are deemed the parish, are the subscribers; and the term, therefore, is nearly synonymous with our term congregation, as distinguished from church. The church has the right to choose the minister; but the parish have a veto on the choice. Commonly, the majority of the parish will be in membership with the church, so that there is little danger of conflict of opinion, except in gross mischoice. The fittings and property with the edifice are considered to belong to the church; but the edifice itself is held by the parish as a corporation. The law knows not a church in its religious, but in its civil capacity; and the evidence of the existence of a civil corporation must, of course, be found in enrolment and subscriptions. Pewholders are deemed to have a separate right of property; and they can bring their action against the parish, if that property is injured. This provision is necessary, from the common practice of selling the pews as the means of meeting the first expenses of erection. What would be regarded as a fair sum is given for the purchase; and, afterwards, they bear a yearly rate, that is adequate to sustain the minister, and lesser charges.

The law has been very different, as you will suppose, at different periods; and now it varies in the several States.

I have endeavored to express the spirit of the law; its form, under the modelling hand of time and circumstance, will not be less liberal, and will become more simple. It is certainly a great improvement in legislation on this subject. The high advantage consists in making the church, or congregation of subscribers, a body corporate. This gives them a legal being; allows them to sue, and be sued; and to uphold all their civil rights with facility. It is at once a great security in the tenure of fixed property, and a discharge from an immense standing expense, on the renewal of trusts or trust-deeds. While other interests are justly looked to, this ought not to be neglected in our own country.

The present state of the law, as it affects all the Dissenting bodies, is such, as not only to expose the property to serious hazard, but as to incur a charge on them of from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* per annum, without benefit to any one.

The final head of temporal economy relates to the *means of support*. It has great importance in itself, and it is enhanced by the position of the church at the present time. At home, we are hardly allowed to refer to this subject, even in other connections, without being overwhelmed with charges, which confound a good man, and make a calm and philosophical conclusion extremely difficult. However, I shall endeavor to treat the subject, without acrimony and without fear; and in the hope that it may contribute to the formation of a just opinion, and, consequently, to the advancement of true religion, without respect to sect or party.

You are aware that our fathers, when they braved the Atlantic, and sought a settlement in the New World, did so for conscience' sake. But, although they fled from the face of persecution, and certainly would have recoiled from the act of direct persecution, nevertheless, they understood so little the nature of religious liberty, that they established a system which would, under a change of circumstances, inevitably assume a persecuting character. In fact, this ignorance of the imprescriptible claims of conscience was not their fault in particular, it was the common fault of all, and of the time. Immunity on the one hand, and restriction or persecution on the other, were the only forms in which religion appeared: and although the principles of liberty were to be developed by the searching hand of intolerance, it was not to be expected that they should be appreciated, adopted, and matured, without a considerable lapse of time and experiment. The efforts made, in these youthful settlements, in favor of prescription and endowment, and the counter efforts peacefully made in favor of perfect religious freedom, supply evidence, which is so interesting, that it cannot be neglected; and so strong, that prejudice itself cannot put it down.

While, in every case, the results have been the same, the methods of reaching them have been various. This makes it somewhat difficult to treat them, but it necessarily increases the power of the testimony.

In Virginia, the Episcopal Church was established by law. The law was tried in both its forms; without the toleration, and afterwards with the toleration, of other sects. For nearly a century, it was the exclusive religion of the State; it was endowed, and all parties were compelled to contribute to its support. The consequence was any thing but what a good Episcopalian would desire. Unworthy and incompetent men, in search of respectability or emolument, made the church a prey. Having nothing to apprehend from the people, or the rivalry of sects, they became careless, and indolent, and frequently dissolute. The statements on this subject abound, and are most painful. The pastors generally neglected the people, and the people despised and forsook the pastors; so that the system was dead, even while it retained the visible forms of existence.

It was then tried with toleration. This alteration admitted the other sects to enter the State; and without direct hinderance, to labor for the instruction and salvation of the people. The privileged clergy, however, despised their rivals: and as all sects were still taxed for their benefit, it concerned them little by what name they were called; and they continued to repose on their supplies, in indolence and security. If they slept, the oppressed sectaries did not sleep. Their efforts were not in vain: and these, with the reckless negligence of the endowed party, and the changes effected by the Revolution, prepared the State for an improved method.

It was felt that all could no longer be made to support one; and it was proposed that all should be assessed for the benefit of all the denominations. This, however, was declined; the Dissenting bodies protesting most nobly against any participation in the benefit of such a tax. Finding them firm in the rejection of all State allowance, an act was passed in 1775, to relieve them from all contributions towards the support of the established religion; and, eventually, the whole question was disposed of, and the whole country satisfied, by placing all denominations on one footing; by knowing them only as civil corporations, and withholding all allowance.

As quickly after this as the circumstances would allow, the Episcopal church revived, and placed itself on equal terms with its compeers. To this time it has continued to advance. It has now fifty-five clergymen devoted to their work, who are superintending affectionate and thriving flocks: and it is spreading itself on every hand, having good report amongst the people.

That we may change the field of observation, let us pass into New England. Here, the church, or Standing Order, was founded on the principle of State interference. In Massachusetts, in 1631, the General Court passed a law that all should contribute in their parishes to uphold the Standing Order; and that none should be eligible for civil office, who were not in church membership. This was not only to make the people pay; but, having paid, it was to punish them by a Test Act, if they did not conform. This principle was afterwards modified, by allowing persons to divert their payment to some other body, on certifying that they belonged to it, still compelling them to pay to some religious society; and by the provisions of the Half-way Covenant. I think, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, I have shown how it affected the Congregational order, by the corruption of doctrine; it may be proper to remark, that it extensively promoted the interests of sectarianism. Under the milder form of the compulsory payment, the worldly were obliged to pay equally with the religious; and as the worldly will always have the strongest objection to pure and undefiled religion, the chances are decidedly for error, and against truth. The worldly misbeliever, if compelled to pay either to Universalism or Calvinism, would prefer Universalism as a species of quietism; but if left to his choice to pay or not, he would say, "I will pay to neither, for I love my money better than both." Has the true church of Christ a right to compel such a man; and if it has, will any benefit accrue?

In Vermont and New Hampshire there were not only State enactments, but provisions of land in favor of the same and similar objects. Each township had an original grant of three hundred acres. This estate was to benefit equally four parties; the church—the school—the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—and the *first* minister. The first minister was deemed a proprietor; and he could will his portion away to his family or friends. It was, in fact, a bonus to induce a person to encounter the first difficulty of settling; and it usually attracted the least worthy to the spot. The one fourth originally meant for the permanent uses of the church, with its other privileges, remained, and the church languished in the midst of its indulgences. It is remarkable that "the desolations" of these districts, which a Scotch writer has magnified, to illustrate the inefficiency of the voluntary principle, are the very desolations which were created by the compulsory and State methods on which I am animadverting.

The changes which have taken place have been

various and gradual, but they were all in favor of the voluntary principle; and in the year 1833, only two years since, the last fragments of the compulsory and endowed system were demolished by the power of improved opinion and religious principle. This was done in Connecticut about fifteen years since, and in Vermont and New Hampshire about the same time. It was in Massachusetts it lingered till 1833; and, by a striking coincidence with what is now happening in our own country, it was upheld to the last by Unitarianism. That you may be assisted to a correct opinion on this material subject, I will supply you, in the Appendix, with some extracts from the laws as they existed, were varied, and do now exist.

The voluntary principle, then, is the only one now for the support of these churches. It has been tried in some States to the exclusion of every other; it has been tried in other States, for different periods of time, where every other has failed; and what is the result? Deliberately, but without hesitation, I say, *the result is in every thing and every where most favorable to the voluntary, and against the compulsory principle.* Let us look at this, both as a matter of testimony, and as a matter of fact.

Testimony is universally in its favor. Let me not be mistaken. Some may carp at the term universal, and endeavor to muster some few voices in favor of the Standing Order. Such voices are doubtless to be heard; but it is truly marvellous that they are so few. Of course, the transition so lately effected from one system to the other, must have disturbed many interests, and have brought loss to some. It was to be expected that some, under the old system, would be incompetent; and these would naturally incline to an allowance from the state rather than from the people, who would be too wise to grant it. Some who had become gray and infirm under that system, might be supposed to cling to it, even though every advantage were with the change. Harvey showed his skill in metaphysics, as well as in physics, when he observed, that none of his profession above forty years of age received his theory, or were to be expected to receive it.

But, in truth, though every reasonable mind would be ready to make considerable allowances for the influence of such causes, it was never less necessary; and they are only referred to, to prevent captious and unfair objection. After having invited the most candid opinion on the subject; after having sincerely sought for the truth, whether favorable or unfavorable to the voluntary system; and, after having sought this in every quarter, and chiefly where state provisions had been enjoyed; I certainly did not find half a dozen men who would give their suffrages for the old method! The ministers, as a body, who might be supposed to have professionally strong preferences to a fixed and compulsory stipend, were united in their attachment to the voluntary principle. The brethren in Massachusetts, where the change had been so recently completed, rejoiced in it, and anticipated from it a decided advance in pure religion. Those of New-Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, with whom we had an opportunity of meeting and conferring, were unanimous in the same judgment, and referred gratefully the renovated state of their churches and of the ministry to its benign influence. The brethren of Connecticut, whom we met in large numbers, decidedly concurred in the same opinion.—The Episcopalian of Virginia, and the Congregationalist of New England, who had been indulged and protected to the utmost, were equally in favor of the new principle. Men of every denomination, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, the Reformed, the Lutheran, the Churchman, and the Independent, all deprecate state interference and state allowance. Men of every region, the East, the West, the North, the South, and who are most deeply concerned for the interests of religion, agree in coming to the same conclusion. Indeed, such unanimity of opinion on a practical question involving the interests of so many parties, and to be determined mostly by those whose habits and thoughts had been associated only with the old system, is what I never expected to find. It assured me of at least two things. 1. That the evil of this system must have been great, indeed, and visible to all. And, 2. That these devoted men had wisdom enough and piety enough at once to resolve, that what was injurious to religion could not be beneficial to them.

I know that a reference has been made, with confidence, to Dr. Dwight; and it has had my careful attention. I think you will judge it exceedingly confirmatory of the subject. In the first place, it is very little that Dr. Dwight asked; far less than would satisfy the thorough advocate of establishments. In the second instance, at the time when he formed his opinion, a great many ministers of eminence and standing, were of the same mind. The first important changes were then contemplated; infidelity united with the tolerated religious bodies in demanding them; the conflict was strong, and frequently connected with demonstrations of irreligious violence. This class of excellent men became apprehensive; they had fear of change; and when they saw the ungodly conspicuous in the assault—the ungodly, who had been fostered under the old system—they could not commit themselves to the untried issue.

Dr. Dwight has not survived, to look back calmly on the consequences of the change, and to revise his opinions; but many of his contemporaries have. I have sought them out; I have communed with them at large on the subject. In every instance, they have acknowledged that they were wrong; that their fears were groundless; that the transition has brought with it only good, and good in a degree for which they could not have hoped. This class of testimony may surely be graduated with that obtained from reluctant witnesses; and I will leave you to judge, from the weight it always receives in a court of justice, with what power it bears on the question.

Then, *Fact* is unanimously in its favor. This submits a wide field to us, and the difficulty is, still to condense observation. Let me dispose, first, of New England. It has undergone a most felicitous improvement since the alterations. I need not, I presume, enter into detail on this particular; for none will arise to contradict the assertion. The Standing Order could not have stood its ground as a State establishment. It was inert and inefficient; the Dissenting community on the one hand, and infidelity on the other, were prevailing against it; while, within itself, was engendered the worst forms of heresy. It is now placed on a level with its rivals, and it is equal to the best in the race of excellence. Every form of orthodoxy has made a surprising start, and is sustaining it as it was begun. The ministry has been supplied with better men; the men have been better maintained. Churches have been revived where they languished, and they have been created in abundance where they did not exist. The "desolations" of New England, which have been triumphantly cited from reports many years old, are rapidly disappearing under the voluntary principle, and never were the prospects on the future, for that favored land, so bright and hopeful as they are at the present time.

Although one writer has ventured to talk of the religious "desolations" of New England, general conviction is so completely against him, as to make

it useless to burden your attention on this subject. The slightest reference to the Statistical Tables will settle the question. But while it is commonly conceded that the New England States are better supplied with the means of religious worship than any other country in the world, the admission is not unfrequently made at the expense of the other States, and of the voluntary principle. Mr. Dawson, for instance, in a recent address to the electors of Plymouth, conceded, that these States were excellently supplied with religious means; and he then proceeded to maintain, that these means had grown up on the principle of State establishment, and that the other and newer States, which had discarded this principle and relied on its opposite, are, indeed, in the very state of desolation predicated. If this is correct, it is fatal to the new method; but let us look at it dispassionately.

I think I have already shown, with some clearness, *how much of her prosperity* New England owes to the principle of a Standing Order; I must now bring the means possessed by other States into comparison with those she is admitted to enjoy. Massachusetts, then, the principal State of New England, and the longest settled, has—

Population...	610,014	Churches.....	600
Ministers.....	704	Communicants.	73,264

New-York, which is the principal middle State, and which has advanced with more rapidity than any of the other States, and which, therefore, has had the greater difficulty in meeting the spiritual wants of the people, has—

Population.	1,913,508	Churches.....	1,800
Ministers...	1,750	Communicants,	184,583

Is this a sign of desolation?

Pennsylvania, the next middle State of consideration, has—

Population.	1,347,672	Churches.....	1,829
Ministers...	1,133	Communicants,	180,205

Is this a sign of desolation? If it is, what are we to say of the most favored divisions of our own country? Scotland is universally thought to be highly privileged in her religious means; but Scotland stands thus—

Population.	2,365,807	Churches.....	1,804
Ministers.....	1,765	Communicants,	uncer.

But it will be objected that these States are not either of the West or South, and are, therefore, not to be accepted in evidence on the wants of the more distant regions. I admit this; but, with this admission, I maintain that it is unjust to make the condition of the young States in the West, or the Slave States in the South, which are just colonizing, the test of the voluntary principle, as compared with New England; as unjust as it would be to try the compulsory principle in Great Britain, not by what it had wrought there, but by what it had done in Jamaica and in the Canadas. Having, in mere justice, protested against this mode of trial, I am not, on that account, unwilling to make the comparison. Tennessee has—

Population...	684,000	Churches.....	630
Ministers.....	458	Communicants .	60,000

Ohio, a Western State, which, in 1810, had only a population of 230,000, and forty years since, not more than five hundred persons settled, has now a population of 937,000, scattered over a surface of 40,000 square miles, nearly the size of England and Wales. With these disadvantages, the account stands thus—

Population...	937,000	Churches	802
Ministers	841	Communicants..	76,460

Indiana, which is further West, and is settling at this very time, has, while struggling with the first difficulties of the forest, found leisure and means to provide itself as follows:

Population...	341,000	Churches	440
Ministers.....	340	Communicants..	34,826

Is this, then, the desolation of the West? If so, what a moral desolation must Scotland be? In truth, are not these figures, in union with such circumstances, most astonishing? I confess to you, that I have looked at them once and again; and when I have assured myself that there is no cause to doubt their correctness, it still appears next to impossible for a people, settling in this new land, without aid from Government, and spread over so large a surface, to have achieved so great a work for their spiritual welfare.

I have travelled over a large portion of the West, and I can readily account for the impressions which have been received by strangers in those regions. The eye is disappointed at not seeing, amidst every little cluster of log cabins, the spire or tower of the village church; the people who do not profess religion, are not careful to save appearances, and you quickly see them as they are; the ministry as a distinct order, is far less apparent than in the East, for those who minister among the Methodists and Baptists are mostly without regular training. But it is evident, that he who is not prepared to revise and correct his impressions, under such circumstances, is not qualified to report concerning them. The ministers here are in advance of the people; they will still keep in advance of them; and it would be the desire of ambition, not of wisdom, that would place them so far in advance as to be out of reach, and out of sight. The little churches also in the scattered districts bear the same relation to the state of the people. They are frequently log cabins, and have no outward sign to designate their use; but as the log cabin yields to better accommodations in domestic life, so surely does the church receive an improved and visible form. In fact, the West is not New England. There are fewer means; they are of a lower character; and the people who do not profess are less under the influence of wholesome restraint and decorum. How can it be otherwise? There is, undoubtedly, much to be done for it. But, meantime, you will know how to judge of the reports made on its waste places, by remembering that, if its present means are fewer than those of New England, they are decidedly more than those of Scotland.

If we turn from the particular and comparative views, with which I have thus supplied you, to those which are more general, the American Institutions suffer nothing. The severest trial that can by possibility be made on this subject, is to take the ten States, on which we have any safe returns, which have been *last added* to the Commonwealth. These are, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, and Florida. These will give a return of persons spread over a surface of 480,670 square miles, about nine times the size of England and Wales, as follows:—

Population..	3,641,000	Churches.....	3,701
Ministers.....	2,690	Communicants	286,560

Need I say, how greatly this again exceeds Scotland!

If we take the principal towns of that country, and put them into comparison with those of ours, the advantage is entirely with them. For instance, Liverpool has—

Population....	210,000	Churches.....	57
Ministers	57	Communicants	18,000

but New-York, which is its counterpart, has—

Population....	220,000	Churches.....	132
Ministers	142	Communicants	31,337

Edinburgh has—

Population. .150,000	Churches.....65
Ministers 70	Communicants, uncer.

but Philadelphia has—

Population....200,000	Churches.....83
Ministers 137	Communicants, uncer.

Glasgow has—

Population....220,000	Churches.....74
Ministers.....76	Communicants, uncer.

but Boston has—

Population.....60,000	Churches.....55
Ministers 57	Communicants, uncer.

Nottingham has—

Population.....50,000	Churches.....23
Ministers 23	Communicants ..4,864

but Cincinnati, a city only forty years old, and in the forests, has—

Population.....30,000	Churches.....21
Ministers 22	Communicants ..8,555

After the statements already made, there can be no difficulty in concluding, that the general supply of the whole country, is in comparison with any other country, astonishingly great. The figures would stand thus—

Population..13,000,000	Churches.....12,580
Ministers.....11,450	Commun....1,550,890

This yields about one clergyman and one church to every thousand persons; while it gives about one in nine of the whole population, as in a state of communion; and as the returns do not include the communicants connected with the Episcopal, the Catholic, and some smaller sects, it is certainly not taken too high. Of England, if it is allowed that there are seven thousand working clergy in the Episcopal church, and five or six thousand clergy united to other divisions of the church, the amount of ministers will bear about the same proportion to the population as in America. But if this ministry is to be submitted to the two indispensable tests of its efficiency on the people, church accommodation and church communicants, it will fail most lamentably. The Bishop of London, in his evidence on this subject, states, that certainly *not one tenth* of the people are supplied with church room in the places of his diocese. I conclude, that no diocese can exceed that of London, and take the whole, therefore, at one tenth. If it is conceded, that the Dissenters supply as much as the Episcopal church, I suppose this is the utmost that may be asked. This, then, would supply both by the voluntary and compulsory system, only an accommodation for *one fifth of the people*.

Then look at the state of communion, which is, after all, the real test of strength and influence. It is shown by documents, which will not be disputed, that the Episcopal church, though hers is a *free* communion, has only 350,000 communicants. I think the communicants of the Dissenting bodies may be safely put down at 700,000; and I do not expect more will be allowed to them. This, however, will only give us 1,050,000; while America, at a low estimate, and with a universally *strict* communion, has 1,550,890; an increase on ours of more than one third!

All these results are most striking; and, in truth, if they are admitted, they are overwhelming in evidence. On this account, the Statistical Returns have recently been put into dispute, and have been taxed with the grossest exaggerations. That some exaggerated statements have been hastily made, I am ready to allow, for I have seen such. But I have given much attention to the approved documentary evidence, and have sought, in several cases, to verify or shake it; and the result is, that I am fully persuaded it deserves confidence. Great pains have, indeed, been taken with this class of evidence. All the denominations have more association and more system than are common with us. They make their yearly returns in their respective associations where they are known, and where serious error would be corrected. These are made again to conventions, or central bodies. General almanacs are prepared for public use, into which these statistics are introduced, and are subject to revision and amendment. One gentleman, with excellent capacities for the subject, and of unquestioned integrity, has devoted himself entirely to these important inquiries. All the annual and local returns have been searched and sifted by him; and they have appeared, in the amended form, in the *Quarterly Register*, a work which, for its research and fidelity, has acquired high repute in all the denominations; and it is the interest of each body to see, that no other body is allowed, at its expense, to pass with exaggerated numbers. I say not that these returns, after all the pains taken, are perfect; but I fearlessly say, that they are both honest and admirable. Certainly we have to this day no returns, dissenting or episcopal, ecclesiastical or civil, that can in any way be compared with them. With us, it is still a desideratum, which, I trust, some one will at length supply.

On the whole, then, the conclusion is, that whatever trivial errors may cleave to a subject which does not admit of perfect exactness, the general results remain indisputable. And with such results before us, shall we still, with blindness and prejudice, refuse the lessons they imperatively convey? While such evidence is developing itself in favor of the voluntary principle, where alone it has found an open and fair field of probation, should not the Dissenter be confirmed in his assurance of its power and efficiency; and be disposed to rest his cause on it with confidence and quiet? And should not the pious churchman, who regards an establishment only as it promotes the interests of religion amongst the people, be inclined, whatever may have been his original disinclination, to weigh such testimony with calm and dispassionate attention? At least, he should know, that he need not be withheld from the subject by apprehension and alarm. The Dissenter concerns not himself in the temporal estate of the church, except as it may affect his equality as a citizen, and as he devoutly desires that the Episcopal portion of the church may arrive at a condition most favorable to her honor, stability, and usefulness. Spoliation, not only is not, it never can be his object; for he can never profit by the spoil. Even the paltry grant, passing under the name of the Regium Donum, his principles, fairly carried out, compel him to decline. Whatever emoluments may be granted by the State to others, and whatever his opinion of them, he deems himself richer than they in having none; for the church and the world are to be renovated, not by patronage, but by principles. At all events, if the infirmities of our common nature should allow no more in the present period of excitement, this improved conviction might take from our discussions most of their bitterness while they continue, and conduct us the more quickly to peace when they terminate. How apposite and beautiful, at such a time, is the prayer of the excellent Venn, of Huddersfield:—"O, Prince of Peace, heal our divisions! Diffuse thy patient loving spirit! Give discernment to distinguish aright between what is essential and what is not, and (meekness) to bear with each other's differences, till the perfect day discovers all things in their true proportions."

LETTER XXXVII.

My dear friend—Although I have dwelt on the last subject at considerable length, I hope it has not been to weariness. I have now to solicit your attention to a kindred topic—the *Religious Societies*. My design is, not to present you with an almanac under this head; but merely to glance at the leading voluntary associations for religious purposes; and to connect, with a brief statement, such remarks as may appear to be opportune and important.

The *Bible Society* was not instituted till the year 1816. Its receipts, in the first year, were 19,218 dollars; but it met with such general sympathy, that it made rapid advances on that amount. The last year, its income was 88,600 dollars; making an increase on the previous year of 3,665 dollars. The amount of Testaments and Bibles printed during the year, is 149,375 copies; and since the formation it has issued 1,644,500 copies.

Its first attention was directed to the domestic claims. In May, 1829, the resolution following was unanimously adopted:—"That this society, with a humble reliance on Divine aid, will endeavor to supply all the destitute families of the United States, with the Holy Scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years, provided means be furnished by its auxiliaries and benevolent individuals, to enable the board of managers to carry this resolution into effect." This noble and patriotic resolution was carried out in the spirit which suggested it; and I have every reason to think, that so far as the nature of the pledge allowed, it has been redeemed. Certainly, the American people are the very people to deal with such a resolve.

One good purpose enacted, strengthens the mind to bring forth another. When the demands of home were, for the time, answered, the Christians looked round for another world to conquer. A proposition was made in 1833, to do, in concert with other societies, for the whole world, what had been done for the States. Such a proposal evidently required to be looked at with greater caution, in all its bearings, before a society could pledge itself with propriety or honor. It stood over. The sense of the sister society here was sought. I was the instrument of conveying it, and offering the needful explanations. The proposal was modified, and submitted to the meeting in the following terms:—

"In view of the Divine promise as to the ultimate spread of the gospel over the earth; of the signal success of the Bible cause during the present century; and of the numerous translations of the Scriptures already made; of the establishment of able and faithful missionaries in almost every Pagan and Mohammedan country; and of the wide extent of commerce and international communication; it is the serious conviction of this Society, and is therefore

"Resolved, That were the friends of the Bible in Christian countries to exercise that faith, to offer those fervent supplications, to make those efforts and sacrifices, which the present aspects of Providence and the word of God demand, but a short period need pass away before the families of all nations might be favored with the light of revealed truth.

"Resolved, That in consonance with the sentiment expressed in the preceding resolution, this Society will steadily aim, and, under the blessing of God, employ its best endeavors, in concert with similar institutions, towards effecting the distribution of the Bible among all the accessible population of the globe, within the shortest practicable period.

"Resolved, That the zealous and united prosecution of this grand object be affectionately and earnestly recommended to all the Bible Societies and friends of the Bible in this country and foreign lands."

This proposition, thus qualified, was unanimously accepted. There can surely exist no objection to it. It is, indeed, the expression of what we all desire; but the *expression* is useful. It awakens the sentiment where it is dormant; it presents a recognized and sublime object before the eye; and it creates sympathy with every other society in every quarter of the world, from the instant conviction, that it is only by the union of all, that it can be accomplished. I trust the resolutions will be responded, as with an angel's voice, from the father land.

The *American Board for Foreign Missions* was formed in the year 1810. It was first suggested at an association of ministers, by some young students, who were anxious to devote themselves to missionary labor. Its rapid growth is evidence sufficient, that it has laid firm hold on the convictions and affections of the churches. Its receipts, in the last year, are 145,844 dollars; being an increase on the former year, of 15,270 dollars. In the same period, forty-eight persons have been sent out; nineteen ordained missionaries; two physicians; two printers; other assistants, twenty-five; total, forty-eight. The present state of this prosperous society is as follows:—

Missionary Stations	56
Ordained Missionaries	85
Physicans, Printers, Teachers, and Assistants, male and female	181
Native Teachers and Assistants	56
Churches raised	39
Converts admitted	2,300

It is the intention of this Society to send out at least an equal number of missionaries this year. Its proceedings are reported in the *Missionary Herald*, a well conducted periodical, now commanding a sale of about 15,000 copies. It should be observed that it embraces only the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations; and not more than 2,500 churches are at present contributors.

The Home Missionary Society is a remarkable instance of sudden advancement towards maturity. It was constituted in 1826. It commenced by some previous movement with 104 missionaries; in the first year this amount was increased to 169; in the second to 201; in the third to 304; in the fourth to 392; in the fifth to 463; in the sixth to 509; in the seventh to 606; and in the eighth and last to 676. The income has risen in proportion to this demand. The receipts during the last year were, 78,911 dollars, which is an advance on the former year of 10,284 dollars. It has contributed to revive the domestic societies connected with the Presbyterian and Reformed church bodies; so that there are now about one thousand missionaries employed by these societies in the United States and the Canadas; and about fifteen hundred churches supported or assisted through their instrumentality. Apart from these, are to be computed the efforts put forth by the Methodist, the Baptist, and other religious bodies, for the same object.

Undoubtedly, the astonishing success of this society is to be referred chiefly to the deep sense of its need on the minds of the people; but no small proportion of it must be ascribed to the confidence which has been inspired by its management. It was my privilege, frequently, to plead its cause; to become acquainted with its detail; and to witness, in the West, its labors; and I have certainly never met with an institution under more excellent government. And this is the more remarkable, when the brevity of its existence and the rapidity of its growth is borne in mind.

There was danger that its sudden advancement,

and the crying claims made on it from the wilderness, might have betrayed it to hasty and unwise measures. On the contrary, while it moved with surprising energy, it has acted with equal prudence. It has started on the principle of employing *no one as a missionary who had not enjoyed a regular education for the ministry.* It has accepted no man for this service who would not have been deemed eligible to act as a Christian pastor. It has thus saved the ministry from degradation; it has inspired confidence in the congregations needing help; and by maintaining the character of the missionary in full equality with that of the pastor, it has secured his usefulness, and disposed the most respectable men to look to its service, as offering an inviting, as well as an important field of exertion. From the want of some such principles of action, so simple, and yet so wise, what mischief has been done, where there was, doubtless, a sincere desire to do only good!

The Education Society has for its object the preparation of young men of talent and piety for the Christian ministry, either for home or foreign service. It was formed in 1815; and although claiming priority of existence to the Home Mission Society, it has recently owed much of its success to the principle on which it has acted. They are admirably calculated to work in harmony, and to the highest issues.

This institution does not provide itself with the means of educating its beneficiaries; it merely sees them placed in the existing colleges, and meets the expenses which are consequent. The applicant is required to produce, from his pastor and others who know him, certificates of his talents, piety, need of pecuniary aid, and preparation to enter on a collegiate course of study; and if he is accepted, he is required also to enter into an engagement to refund the expenses of his education at a future time, should he be able, and should the society call on him so to do. The society have a discretional power to cancel the engagement under particular circumstances. This arrangement had been adopted subsequently to its formation, and is considered to work with advantage.

During the past year, 1834, it had—

113 Beneficiaries in	14 Theological Seminaries.
433 ditto.....	34 Colleges.
366 ditto.....	111 Academies and Schools.
912	159

The applicants, in the same time, had been two hundred and eighty.

The receipts of the institution, in the last year, were 57,818 dollars, being an increase on the year 1833, of 11,000 dollars. The expenditure has been 56,363 dollars. The beneficiaries have refunded, in the same period, 1,947 dollars.

About six hundred of its beneficiaries have completed their course of education, and are now actively employed in the ministration of the word of life. Forty are missionaries in foreign parts; and between two and three hundred are employed wholly, or in part, by the Home Missionary Society. About twenty are engaged as editors of literary and religious publications, and the remainder are settled as pastors, or are looking to such settlement. One sixth of all the ordinations and installations in the past year, throughout the States, were under the patronage of this society. During the last eight years, eleven thousand dollars have been repaid; and about one hundred thousand dollars have been earned by teaching schools, manual labor, and other services.

Besides this society, there is the Presbyterian Education Society, which, in the last year, had 436 beneficiaries, and had received 19,277 dollars; so that these societies, which embrace only the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies, have not less than fourteen hundred young men in training for the Christian ministry!

The Tract Society requires to be named here, for the extent and importance of its operations. It was formed only in 1825; but it has on its lists 737 works, which it has published. Of the tracts, it has printed 36,303,250 copies; and of the volumes, 33,669,918 copies. The receipts on the past year were 66,485 dollars; and the whole amount had been disbursed. No less than 20,000 dollars had been applied to *foreign* distribution; and a resolution is adopted to use 30,000 dollars in the present year for the same purpose!

Apart from many smaller societies, that at Boston deserves notice, as it is the parent of the one I have reported, and as its principle of action is equally general and comprehensive. It has upwards of 700 auxiliaries; its receipts, in 1832, were 12,606 dollars; and it issued 14,500,740 pages.

This society is conducted with much vigor, and equal prudence; its noble efforts in behalf of foreign objects deserve especial commendation.

The Sunday School Union is an important tributary in the great work of benevolence. It is catholic in its spirit, and is second to none in the ability and zeal with which it is conducted. This society was formed in 1824. Its committee is composed of religious men of different denominations; and no book is to be adopted until it has the sanction of each member. In the year 1832, the eighth of its existence, it had 790 auxiliaries; 9,187 schools were in connection; having 542,420 scholars, and 80,913 teachers. As many as 26,913 teachers and scholars are reported to have become pious in the same period. The expenditure for that year was 117,703 dollars; for the last year it was 136,855.

The more vigorous efforts of this Society have been directed most wisely to the Valley of the Mississippi. In 1830, it was resolved unanimously, "That, in reliance upon divine aid, they would, within two years, endeavor to establish a Sunday school in every destitute place, where it is practicable, throughout the Valley of the Mississippi;" that is, over a country which is 1,200 miles wide, and 2,400 in length! If this great work is not perfected, much has been done, and much is doing. There are thirty-six agents wholly employed in this service; and during the past year, they established five hundred schools, and revived a thousand.

I must not omit in this notice *The Temperance Society.* It was instituted in 1826, and has wrought an astonishing renovation amongst this people. From the circumstance that ardent spirits were to be had at about a shilling a gallon, the temptation became exceedingly great. As the demand for them rose, extensive orchards were planted, and fruits and grain were grown for the purpose of extracting spirit; till at length it threatened to become the beverage of the country. The serious attention of the benevolent was called to it. The subject was discussed and urged in all its importance on public notice. At last the principle of total abstinence from spirits as a drink, was adopted as the basis of the society. It had, of course, to contend every where with unreigned appetite and pampered vice; but every where it fought to conquer.

In the short space of its existence, upwards of seven thousand Temperance Societies have been formed; embracing more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand members. More than three thousand distilleries have been stopped; and more than seven thousand persons who dealt in spirits have declined the trade. Upwards of one thousand vessels have abandoned their use; and,

most marvellous of all! it is said that above ten thousand drunkards have been reclaimed from intoxication.

I really know of no one circumstance in the history of this people, or of any people, so exhilarating as this! It discovers that power of self-government, which is the leading element of all national greatness, in an unexampled degree.

It is my duty to convey my impressions with perfect candor; and I should therefore observe, that this society, and its noble cause, are suffering at the present time from slight, and I trust temporary, reaction. The cause of Temperance has often been pleaded intemperately, and the intemperance of the mind, as well as of the body, has its appropriate punishment. Many have sought to extend the pledge to wines and other things; and have thus destroyed its simplicity and its power. Uniformly it is found that the use of wine is diminished where abstinence from the use of spirits obtains; had the advocates of the great cause remained inflexible to demanding one simple object, they would have won both; the fear is, in insisting on both, they may be denied all. No people know better than the Americans how to bear with manly and united energy on any portentious evil of the day; they have only one fault—they know not when to stop. However, they have, as a whole, acted above all praise; they have labored and prayed, prayed and labored, and the plague is stayed, and the nation is saved.

These are the principal general Societies. The following table, with which I have been favored by Dr. Wisner, comprises the remainder of the same class, and it will interest you. Besides these, of course, there are numerous *local* Societies. The amount raised annually will be an index to their relative power, and will, perhaps, make further statement unnecessary.

Receipts of Benevolent Societies in the United States, in the year ending May, 1834.

	Dollars.	Cts.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,	155,002	24
American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions,	63,000	00
Western Foreign Mission Society, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,	16,296	46
Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society,	35,700	15
Protestant Episcopal Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society,	26,007	97
American Home Missionary Society,	78,911	24
Baptist Home Missionary Society,	11,448	28
Board of Missions of the Reformed Dutch Church, (Domestic)	5,572	97
Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (Domestic) estimated,	40,000	00
American Education Society,	57,122	20
Board of Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches,	38,000	00
Northern Baptist Education Society,	4,681	11
Board of Education of the Reformed Dutch Church,	1,270	20
American Bible Society,	88,600	82
American Sunday School Union,	136,855	58
General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union,	6,641	00
Baptist General Tract Society,	6,126	97
American Tract Society,	66,485	83
American Colonization Society,	48,939	17
Prison Discipline Society,	2,364	00
American Seaman's Friend Society,	16,064	00
American Temperance Society,	5,871	12
Total,	$910,961	31

I am inclined to think, that when your eye runs over these brief statements, and when you remember, that scarcely any one of these Societies is more than twenty years old, and most of them less than ten, you will be filled with surprise and admiration. But let us seek to profit by what we admire. Is not this an additional proof of the power and resources of the voluntary principle? Could so much have been done, in such a period of time, and amongst a people so circumstanced, by any other imaginable means?

Again, is it not presumptive evidence of the general good management of these Societies? I am fully aware that large sums of money may be raised, occasionally, where there is no proof of a wise and careful application; but a public institution will not have large accessions to its income, year after year, unless it gains increasingly on public confidence; and confidence does not usually rest long where it is misused. In fact, I may say, and say it advisedly, that the most popular of the Societies are excellently conducted. Were you to desire me to account for this, in one word, I should say—*they owe it to their agency*. The persons who are entrusted with the concerns of a great benevolent Society, rest under the deep conviction, that its claims and interests are paramount; and they resolve to commit the official superintendence to the highest and best hands. They look round in every direction for the best man, and it matters not where he is, or what he is doing, he is their man as far as purpose may go. They challenge him without hesitation; and they leave it with him to say whether he deems his present engagements to have superior demands upon him, to those proposed to him. The person so applied to, if sacrifices of pastoral attachment are to be made, is prepared to make them at the call of public duty; he has no feverish anxiety about his means; he does not seek more, he does not expect less; for these Societies are economical in things, and not in men, and that is true economy; and he is embarrassed by no fear that he shall suffer in the estimation of his brethren by compliance, for the best and the wisest will be his consociates. Hence it is, that you commonly find the very first men in the church, at the head of these Institutions. The particular churches sympathize with the church universal, and resign their pastor for such a service; and if he is careful to honor the choice, he finds himself not degraded, but advanced to higher esteem, as well as to wider usefulness.

I know of no one thing that has contributed to the success of these religious bodies equally with this; and simple as it is, it deserves to be made an indispensable principle of action. The opposite course is full of disaster. If, from a low estimate of the office, or from an unwillingness to incur charge, an inferior person is accepted to first rate appointments, you will soon find him surrounded only by men like or less than himself. He is officially the leader of the body; but if the weak lead the strong, there will be confusion and every evil work; and order will only be restored by the better men gradually disappearing. Incompetency propagates incompetency; and, at length, none but the weak aspire to a post which has been degraded in the eyes of men. Would I could say, that none of our Societies have suffered from such causes! But it is impossible to put some of them in comparison, as we were forced to do, with the corresponding ones in the younger country, without painfully feeling their inferiority in such respects. The interests at stake are great and overwhelming; and a remedy should be applied without delay.

Besides the primary agents, most of these Societies have a considerable number that are secondary.

They move among the associated churches in the different States, in a rotation adjusted with much precision and forethought, by their superiors.—Their duty is to impart information, awaken zeal, and open new resources in favor of their object. Such agency would be needful in an ordinary case; it is peculiarly requisite here. The cause is so new and comparatively unknown; and the persons to be interested and united in it, are scattered over such an amazing territory; that it could not be kept in vigor, if it were held in life, without such agency. I ascribe very much of the efficiency of the society in question to this cause.

Yet I will not scruple to avow, that I have considered, in some instances, the fair line of proportion, which it is mostly so difficult to discern, to have been overstepped. In one or two cases, so many agents are employed, as to make a fearful deduction on the gross receipts. But this is not the chief evil. I have reason to know that the subordinate agency is, as a whole, well chosen and efficient; still, it is evident, in proportion to the number demanded, is the risk of engaging the incompetent. Some of the deputies, therefore, are in capacity below the average of the pastors; and the average effect is then against the object to be promoted. If we have fallen below the mark, perhaps some of the transatlantic societies may have exceeded. Yet my objection would not be so much to the amount as to the quality; it cannot well be excessive, while it is excellent.

I must not dismiss this subject without remarking, that, while these societies are working nobly to their avowed end, they are exercising a collateral influence scarcely less important. They are insensibly dissolving the barriers which have kept good men asunder; and are teaching the churches of the faith that they are essentially one. They are the true ministers of revivals; and have worked, though perhaps unseen, more than every thing to that end. They have shown the preciousness of truth, and the worthlessness of error. They have called out the mazed attention from the metaphysical to the practical; and corrected practice has convinced men of the doctrine which is of God. They will consume, alike, Unitarianism on the one hand, and Antinomianism on the other. They are diffusing over the churches a heavenly piety; inspiring them with sublime expectations; and girding them for sublime devotedness. What is low, and little, and selfish, will die away before them; and, in the hour of their triumph, they will disclose to us the answer to the prayer which we have so often preferred—"Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth, even as it is in heaven!"

LETTER XXXVIII.

My dear friend—Having dwelt with some enlargement on the State of Religion in this country, both in its peculiar and ordinary manifestations, let me now impart what information I may on the kindred subject of *Education*. On no subject, perhaps, has attention been more fully or justly awakened; for we can only assume that the interests of religion amongst a people are sound and hopeful, as those of general instruction are imbued with these qualities.

Education is either collegiate or common. That which is collegiate will require our first consideration. The leading peculiarities of the colleges are, that some of them add to general learning that which is professional, and then they are eligible to be regarded as universities; others are strictly theological institutions, to prepare young men for the ministry; and others, it may be either theological or classical, are frequently denominated Manual Labor Institutions, from the circumstance of manual labor being extensively employed as a means of exercise and profit. If I refer you to a principal example in each class, you will be sufficiently informed on the subject; and will only have to make allowances for such variations as circumstances, for the time, may impose.

Yale College is certainly first of its class; and, for the number of its pupils, the variety of its schools, and its high reputation, it may challenge the name, equally with those which have it, of a university. It was established in 1700, at Saybrook. It derives its name from Elihu Yale, of London, its original benefactor. Bishop Berkeley also took an interest in its foundation; and presented it with one thousand volumes. It is composed of ten valuable erections; two of them of stone, and the rest of brick; another hall is about to be erected. The students at present in attendance are as follows:—

Theological,	55
Law,	39
Medical,	71
Seniors,	66
Juniors,	81
Sophomores,	103
Freshmen,	126
	541

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, are examined in Cicero's Select Orations, Virgil, Sallust, the Greek Testament, Dalzel's Collectanea Græca Minora, Adams' Latin Grammar, Goodrich's Greek Grammar, Latin Prosody, Writing Latin, Barnard's or Adams' Arithmetic, Murray's English Grammar, and Morse's, Worcester's, or Woodbridge's Geography, Jacobs' Greek Reader, and the Four Gospels, are admitted as a substitute for Græca Minora and the Greek Testament.

No one can be admitted to the Freshman Class, till he has completed his fourteenth year; nor to an advanced standing without a proportional increase of age.

Testimonials of good moral character are in all cases required; and those who are admitted from other colleges, must produce certificates of dismission in good standing. The students are not considered as regular members of the college, till, after a residence of at least six months, they have been admitted to matriculation, on satisfactory evidence of an unblemished moral character. Before this they are only students on probation.

The government and instruction of the students are committed to the Faculty, which consists of a president; a professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; a professor of the Latin language and literature; a professor of mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy; a professor of divinity; a professor of rhetoric and oratory; a professor of the Greek language and literature; and eight tutors.

The whole course of instruction occupies four years; and in each year there are three terms or sessions.

The three younger classes are divided, each into two or three parts; and each of the divisions is committed to the particular charge of a tutor, who, with the assistance of the professors, instructs it. The Senior Class is instructed by the president and professors. Each of the four classes attends three recitations or lectures in a day; except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when they have only two. The following scheme gives a general view of the authors recited each term:—

FRESHMAN CLASS.

I.

Folsom's Livy, from one half to two thirds.—Adams' Roman Antiquities.—Day's Algebra, begun.—Græca Majora, vol. i. begun.

II.

Folsom's Livy, finished.—Græca Majora, continued through the historical part, and Xenophon's Memorabilia.—Day's Algebra, finished.

III.

Horace, begun.—Græca Majora, vol. ii. begun.—Playfair's Euclid, five books.

SOPHOMORE CLASS.

I.

Horace, continued.—Græca Majora, continued.—Euclid, reviewed and finished.

II.

Horace, finished and reviewed.—Juvenal, Leverett's edition, begun.—Græca Majora, continued.—Day's Mathematics; Plane Trigonometry, Nature and Use of Logarithms, Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, and Isoperimetry; Mensuration of Heights and Distances, and Navigation.

III.

Græca Majora, continued.—Juvenal, finished.—Cicero de Oratore, begun.—Day's Mathematics; Surveying.—Bridge's Conic Sections.—Spherical Geometry and Trigonometry.—Jamieson's Rhetoric.

JUNIOR CLASS.

I.

Cicero de Oratore, finished.—Tacitus, begun.—Græca Majora, continued.—Olmsted's Natural Philosophy and Mechanics.

II.

Tacitus: the History; Manners of the Germans; and Agricola.—Græca Majora, continued.—Natural Philosophy, finished and reviewed.

III.

Astronomy.—Hedge's Logic.—Tytler's History.—Fluxions, Homer's Iliad, Hebrew, French, or Spanish, *at the option of the Student.*

SENIOR CLASS.

I.

Blair's Rhetoric.—Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind.—Brown's ditto.—Paley's Moral Philosophy.—Kent's Commentaries on American Law, vol. i.—Greek and Latin.

II.

Kent's Commentaries, vol. i. continued.—Paley's Natural Theology.—Evidences of Christianity.—Greek and Latin.

III.

Say's Political Economy.

In addition to the recitations in the books here specified, the classes receive lectures and occasional instruction from the professors of the Greek and Latin languages; the Junior Class attends a course of experimental lectures on natural philosophy; and the Senior Class, the course on chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and select subjects of natural philosophy and astronomy. The members of the several classes attend also the private exercises and lectures of the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. A course of lectures on the oration of Demosthenes for the crown, is delivered to members of the Senior Class. Specimens of English composition are exhibited daily, by one or more of each of the divisions of the Sophomore and Junior Classes. Written translations from Latin authors are presented by the Freshman Class. The lower classes are also instructed in Latin composition. The Senior and Junior Classes have forensic disputations once or twice a week, before their instructors. There are very frequent exercises in declamation, before the tutors, before the Professor of Oratory, and before the Faculty and students in the chapel.

Gentlemen, well qualified to teach the French and Spanish languages, are engaged by the Faculty, to give instruction in these branches, to those students who desire it, at their own expense.

Worship is observed in the college chapel, every morning and evening; when one of the faculty officiates, and all the students are required to be present. They are also required to attend public worship in the chapel, on the Sabbath, except such as have permission to attend the Episcopal, or other congregations in town.

The college expenses are made out by the treasurer and steward, three times a year, at the close of each term; and are presented to the students, who are required to present them to their parents, guardians, or patrons. He is not permitted to recite till the bills are paid.

The annual charges in the treasurer's bill are—

	Dolls.	Cts.
For instruction	33	00
For rent of chamber in college, from 6 to 12 dollars—average	9	00
For ordinary repairs and contingencies,	2	40
For general damages, sweeping, &c., about	3	30
For wood for recitation rooms, about .	1	30
	$49	00

Board is furnished in commons by the steward, at cost, about $1,87 a week; or $75 a year, not including vacations. It varies, however, with the price of provisions. Wood is procured by the corporation, and distributed to those students who apply for it, at cost and charges.

The following may be considered as a near estimate of the *necessary* expenses:—

	Dolls.	Dolls.
Treasurer's bill as above, ...	49 to	49
Board in commons, 40 weeks,	from 70 to	80
Fuel and light, ...	— 8 to	16
Use of books recited, and stationary	— 5 to	15
Use of furniture, bed, and bedding,	— 5 to	15
Washing, ...	— 8 to	18
Taxes in the classes, &c. . . .	— 5 to	7
Total,	$150 to	200

The tutors in these colleges hold, in some degree, a different place from those with us.

They are brought nearer to them; they reside amongst them; and they have charge of their moral conduct and obedience to the positive precepts of the college, as well as of their elementary instruction. This provision, it struck me, worked admirably.

The methods of education are all by lecture, by recitation, and by periodical examination; each method supplying the deficiencies of the others, and conferring an amount of benefit which is not to be found in the best use of any one alone. The best teachers appeared to be jealous of relying on much formal oral instruction; and very commonly allow the regular lecture to be dissected by the most searching inquiry and discussion.

From the arrangements which I have quoted, it is also evident, that the leading object is not so much to force superiority in one department, as to

supply competency to all. The powers of the students are not concentrated on one subject, but are exercised on several; and if this does not allow him to attain the highest knowledge in a given pursuit, his whole amount of knowledge may be as great; while his advancement in true wisdom may be much greater, since his education will have much more of proportion and of actual truth about it than would otherwise be possible. Undoubtedly, scholars of the first talent, and with the fixed determination of taste and habit to a particular study, should be encouraged to the utmost to consolidate their energies on that study, and to attain the heights of additional discovery. Such means, collegiate institutions will usually supply; and if not, true genius will create them; but, in discoursing of them as means of educating the people, their excellency will chiefly consist in calling up all the faculties of the mind, and in teaching them to master all those great elements of knowledge, which give acquaintance with life, symmetry to character, and the sagacity and efficiency of wisdom.

I should observe, that the younger colleges, as you may expect, are not commonly so well adjusted, or so vigorous in action, as Yale; but they are moving on to maturity with striking rapidity. A disadvantage to most of them is, that the majority of the students enter so late. In several instances, I found that the larger portion of undergraduates were nearer to thirty than twenty years of age. The usual course is four years. In many of the colleges there is no great strictness of examination for admission; but as the college rises in power, it imposes stricter terms.

I have now to notice the *Theological College*. Perhaps I cannot do better than to refer your attention to Andover, whose commencement I have already briefly described. It was established, as I have stated, in 1807, and is supported by private beneficence. It has not been affected, as some colleges have, by State patronage and enactment; and is the most prosperous of its fellows. Its faculty is composed of the President; a Professor of Sacred Literature; a Professor of Christian Theology; a Professor of Sacred Rhetoric; and a Professor of Ecclesiastical History. The number of students is usually above one hundred. To obtain admission, they must produce certificates of pious and moral character; and of collegiate education, or of an education equal to it.

The following quotation, from a writer who, I believe, graduated there, will furnish you with an outline of the studies, and the manner of pursuing them, sufficiently distinct:—

"There are three classes, called the Junior, Middle, and Senior. The first year, the Bible is studied in the original languages. All the aid which can be obtained from the learning of other commentators, without regard to their peculiar views, is eagerly sought. The Bible, however, is the text-book; and the Dictionary, with other philological helps, the principal expositor. As the class assembles in the lecture-room, there is free discussion of the meaning of the passage to which they are attending. Freedom of investigation is earnestly encouraged in connection with a humble and prayerful spirit. In the lecture-room, every mind is on the alert, and each individual is willing to express dissent from the opinion expressed by his fellow-student or the professor. The study of the Bible is thus prosecuted, during the year, with unwearied diligence.

"The second year is devoted to the investigation of Doctrinal Theology. The following is a list of the topics which engage attention, in the order in which they are taken up:—1. Natural Theology; 2. Evidences of Divine Revelation; 3. Inspiration of the Scriptures; 4. Christian Theology; 5. Divine Attributes; 6. Trinity in the Godhead; 7. Character of Christ; 8. Sonship of Christ; 9. Holy Spirit; 10. Divine Purposes; 11. Moral Agency; 12. Original Apostacy; 13. Character and State of Man since the Fall; 14. Atonement; 15. Regeneration; 16. Christian Virtue, or Holiness; 17. Particular Branches of Christian Virtue; 18. Justification; 19. Perseverance of the Saints; 20. Future State; 21. Future Punishment; 22. Positive Institutions; 23. Christian Church; 24. Infant Baptism; 25. Mode of Baptism; 26. Lord's Supper. These general topics, of course, admit of many subdivisions, which it is not necessary here to introduce.

"There is an outline of the course of study placed in the hands of each of the students, in which there is reference to all the important works in the library, which treat of the subject under investigation. The students become familiar with the reasonings of writers on both sides. They discuss the subjects with entire freedom with one another; and in the lecture-room, with the professor. No one hesitates to bring forward any objection which his reading or his meditations have suggested. Every student knows that in this land, where there is such unrestrained license of opinion, the clergyman must be continually meeting with the strongest arguments of subtle foes; they all know that it is necessary that they should be well armed for the conflict which awaits them. Another consequence is, that the cavils of the infidel are, perhaps, as thoroughly studied as the arguments of the Christian. The above outline certainly does not contain all the important topics in Christian Theology. It is intended merely as the foundation, deep and broad, upon which the student is to build in future years. It gives direction to his studies, and tells him what he wants.

"The third year is devoted to sacred rhetoric. The critical preparation of sermons, the study of church history, and pastoral duties. During the latter part of the year, the students occasionally preach in the chapel, and in the neighboring villages; and the demand for ministerial labor is so great, that but a few months elapse after they leave the seminary, before nearly all are settled. The demand for pastors is vastly greater than our seminaries can at present supply."

Let me now pass to those colleges which, for the sake of distinction, are called *Manual Labor Institutions*. The most interesting specimen which I have seen is that at Cincinnati. This institution is delightfully situated on the Walnut Hills, two miles from the city. It is known as the Lane Seminary, and derives its name from Messrs. E and W. Lane merchants of New Orleans, who were its first benefactors. Since then, other donations have been made; and amongst them, 20,000 dollars have been given by Arthur Tappan, Esq. to endow a professorship. It has erections competent to receive a hundred students, and about that number are now on the foundation. Dr. Beecher, whom I noticed as being in New England in September, was there on its interests; and he succeeded so well, as to procure 10,000 dollars for a library; 15,000 for a professorship; and 10,000 for a chapel. The present faculty consists of a President and Professor of Theology; a Professor of Church History; a Professor of Biblical Literature; a Professor of Languages; a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and a Superintendent.

By its prospectus, it proposes to act on a platform, equally elevated and expanded as that of the eastern establishments; but you would be deceived if you should conclude that all that was thus set forth is accomplished. It rather shows intention for the

future, than the image of the present deed; like many of the cities of this Western world, which look complete and magnificent in architectural drawing, but which have as yet scarcely disturbed the green sward of the forest. It is obliged for the present to accommodate itself to circumstances. This seminary is meant to be chiefly theological; but, because the young men, who seek its benefits, have not been able to make previous acquisition, it necessarily takes the form of a collegiate, and even of a grammar-school establishment. Its peculiarity, however, is, that it employs manual labor as an ingredient in its system. The following quotations from a well digested report may best illustrate this subject; and as it has recently excited inquiry, I presume that they will be read with interest:—

"Whatever may be the theoretical objections of good men, practically unacquainted with this system, to its practicability and importance, it is to the directors no longer a matter of experiment, but of sober fact, resulting from three or four years experience, that the connection of three hours daily labor, in some useful and interesting employment, with study, protects the health and constitution of our young men; greatly augments their physical energy; furnishes to a considerable extent, or entirely, the means of self-education; increases their power of intellectual acquisition; facilitates their actual progress in study; removes the temptations of idleness; confirms their habits of industry; gives them a practical acquaintance with the useful employments of life; fits them for the toils and responsibilities of a newly-settled country; and inspires them with the independence of character, and the originality of investigation, which belongs peculiarly to self-made and self-educated men.

"While the making of money was ever regarded by the friends of this system as one of its minor, and subsidiary results; and while its grand and leading object would be fully accomplished by its direct action in protecting the lives and health of our young men, and securing their intellectual elevation, irrespective of considerations of gain; yet the pecuniary aids thus secured for self-support, especially by such as are without means, are to be reckoned amongst the peculiar benefits of the manual labor system. The contiguity of our institution to the city of Cincinnati, affords peculiar facilities, such as are seldom enjoyed, for the successful operation and improvement of the manual labor department.

"During the early part of the last year, an arrangement was entered into by the committee with Messrs. Corey and Fairbank, booksellers, of Cincinnati, to furnish the students with several printing presses, and with stereotype plates for printing Webster's Spelling Book. This establishment has been in operation nearly a year, and now embraces six presses, furnishing work for twenty students.

"About 150,000 copies of the above-named work have been printed, and about 1000 copies per day are now issued from the presses; thus furnishing our young men with the privilege of scattering the light and benefits of rudimental education amongst more than 500,000 of the rising generation annually, while they have enjoyed the best kind of labor for the promotion of health, and been successfully engaged in procuring the means of self-support.

"Besides the common work of printing Webster's Spelling Book, and the Elementary Reader, the students have recently commenced the printing of an edition of Dr. Eberle's Treatise on the Diseases of Children, a valuable medical work, which requires fine paper, and the best workmanship; and it is believed that in all respects, the execution of the work is highly satisfactory to the employers.

	Dollars.	Cts.
The average amount earned by six printers in ten months, by working about three hours per day	120	00
Average amount earned at the same rate in a year	144	00
Amount now earned by twenty students per week	50	82
Average amount	2	54
Average amount earned by twenty students at the same rate as above, per year	132	08

In view of these results, and the small annual expense of this institution, it is hardly necessary to remark, that the students in this department have the high satisfaction of providing the means of their own education without aid from friends, or from the benefactions of the church.

"This arrangement is the more important for our young men, from the fact, that a knowledge of the business is easily acquired; several of the students having gained such an acquaintance with the employment in three or four weeks as to be able to earn forty-six cents per day, or two dollars and seventy-six cents per week, by working three hours per day.

"This operation is highly satisfactory to the committee, not only as furnishing a useful and advantageous employment to the students, but as it is unattended with any expense to the institution in furnishing presses, or in the printing and disposition of the books. From nearly a year's full experiment, the committee are fully persuaded that this branch of our manual labor has peculiar advantages in respect to its simplicity, its appropriate exercise, its general utility, and pecuniary results.

"At the commencement of the spring term, an arrangement was entered into by the committee with Messrs. Skinner and Tompkins, of Cincinnati, by which from twenty to thirty of our students have been furnished with cabinet-making employment.

"This branch of business is considered as one of the most desirable that can be introduced, as to its general utility, its vigorous exercise, the ready sale of furniture, and the reasonable compensation which it affords to the manufacturer. In this arrangement the employers have furnished all the materials, and paid the students the regular prices for their work by the piece; by which the institution has been freed from pecuniary responsibility, while the students have secured to themselves all the benefits of their labor, and received a reasonable compensation for their services.

"Several of the best workmen have earned from twelve and a half to fifteen cents per hour, and have received for their services during the time above specified from forty to sixty dollars each; while those who have recently commenced learning the business, have earned from ten to twenty dollars each.

"While the fact is here rendered obvious that a first rate mechanic is entirely independent in this institution, and can support himself by his three-hours labor without infringing at all upon his study hours; the committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that such results are secured only by young men of energetic, industrious, and economical habits; and that those of different character, and who have little or no knowledge of tools, ought not to rely, to any considerable extent, at least for the first year, upon their labor, as the means of paying the expenses of the institution.

"No small injury is threatened to manual labor institutions, and no small embarrassment has been felt by this seminary in common with others, in consequence of the erroneous impression too commonly prevalent, that no funds will be needed in a manual labor institution, even when the student has no trade, no knowledge of any kind of business, no

power of accomplishment, and little disposition to perform the labor offered him as the means of paying his expenses.

"The committee believe that much profitable labor can be performed on a farm of one hundred and ten acres, within two miles of the city, when our farm shall be raised to the highest state of cultivation; but as little of this kind of labor can be attended to, except for a small part of the year, it is evident that most of our young men must turn their attention, at least for a part of the year, to mechanical employments. Nor is this to be regretted, as such employments are generally more lucrative than those of agriculture, furnish the best exercise, and business for all seasons of the year; and a practical knowledge of some trade which may be highly useful in all subsequent life. The farmers who perform the labor of a man, are allowed their board for three hours labor per day.

"With a view to extend and equalize the advantages of education, the committee have used every effort to diminish the expenses of the seminary. The following statement will show that the term-bills are made so low, as by the aid of manual labor, to bring the advantages of this institution within the reach of all young men of worth, who wish to enjoy its benefits.

"Students in the theological department are at no expense for tuition. In the preparatory department, tuition is twenty dollars per annum. Board in commons, one dollar per week. Room rent, from three to five dollars per annum. Washing, fuel, lights, and incidental expenses generally, about twenty dollars per annum. The whole necessary expense, therefore, of a theological student, at this institution, may be safely estimated at about sixty dollars per annum, and of a student in the preparatory department at about eighty dollars per annum; while the avails of labor during term-time may be estimated for a farmer, at from thirty to forty dollars, and for a mechanic, at from fifty to one hundred dollars per annum, exclusive of what may be obtained by industry during the twelve weeks of vacation."

It will be seen from these statements, that labor has been applied to three departments, Printing, Cabinet-making, and Farming. The time demanded for manual occupation is three hours a day; and if the student is adroit and industrious, he may, after short practice, earn enough to make himself independent.

In the peculiarity referred to, the institutions of Illinois, Indiana, and Oneida, bear strong resemblance; except that Lane Seminary has made a longer experiment, and with more advantages.—The opinions of those who have had most to do with these institutions, is, on the whole, in their favor. Still it is not more than an experiment; and we must wait for the results. If too much reliance is placed on it, it may create disappointment.—Should it be thought that it may be adequate to self-support, it may draw off liberality and public interest from our colleges; and if what, under any circumstance, should be held as subordinate, should be made primary, the very ends of their existence will be neutralized. This arrangement has been suggested by the state of society; and as the state of society alters, it will lose its prominence; but why, in the most advanced condition of society, and of a college, those hours, which are now given by the student to childish sports, or walks without an object, should not be yielded to rural occupations, it would be difficult to conceive. Exercise is health, and occupation is morality; and if the farm and garden were made a necessary appendage to a college, both might be secured with the fullest advantage. What an amount of vice might have been prevented—and what character saved from wreck, by such a wise and pleasant arrangement! And how many a fair youth, of special promise and ardent temperament, had been spared to his friends and the world, if his young and excessive passion for letters had been qualified by healthful employment!

It is but justice to those who encourage and sustain the principle of manual labor in these colleges, to say, that it is not adopted from a depreciated estimate of the value of thorough mental cultivation. They consider that study must have its intervals; and these they desire to occupy at once to the advantage of the pupil, and the existing state of the Institution. His hours of relaxation they would employ for his physical education; and they consider that this would be subsidiary, in no slight degree, to his mental and moral education.

Before I offer any more general remarks, let me close this sketch of the collegiate establishments, by a list of the whole. It has been put into my hand by a friend; and by comparison and otherwise, I have reason to regard it as very accurate:—

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Students.
MAINE.	
Bangor Theo. Sem. at Bangor (Congreg.)	6
MASSACHUSETTS.	
Theological Sem. at Andover (Congr.)	145
Theo. School, at Cambridge (Con. Unit.)	31
Theo. Institution, at Newtown (Baptist)	40
CONNECTICUT.	
Theo. Dep. Yale Col. at New Haven (Congr.)	49
NEW YORK.	
Theo. Inst. Epis. Church, at New York (Epis.)	50
Theo. Sem. of Auburn, at Auburn (Presbyt.)	54
Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, at Hamilton (Baptist)	38
Hartwick Sem. at Hartwick (Lutheran)	9
NEW JERSEY.	
Theological Seminary Dutch Reformed Church, at New Brunswick	24
Theological Seminary at Princeton (Presbyt.)	136
PENNSYLVANIA.	
Seminary at Gettysburg (Evangel. Lutheran)	20
German Reformed, at York	20
Western Theo. Sem. Allegany T. (Presbyt.)	29
VIRGINIA.	
Epis. Theo. School, Fairfax County (Prot. Ep.)	70
Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward County (Presbyt.)	33
SOUTH CAROLINA.	
Southern Theo. Sem. at Columbia (Presbyt.)	21
Theological Sem. at Lexington (Lutheran)	—
Furman Theo. Sem. at High Hills (Baptist)	20
TENNESSEE.	
South West Theo. Sem. at Maryville (Presbyt.)	22
OHIO.	
Lane Seminary, at Cincinnati (Presbyterian)	100

There are Roman Catholic Theological Seminaries at Baltimore and near Emmitsburg, Maryland; at Charleston, South Carolina; near Bardstown, and in Washington County, Kentucky; and in Perry County, Missouri.

COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Students.
MAINE.	
1. Bowdoin College, at Brunswick (Congr.)	150
2. Waterville College, at Waterville (Baptist)	80

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Students.

3. Dartmouth College, at Hanover (Congr.) . 160

VERMONT.

4. Middlebury Col. at Middlebury (Congr.) . 130
5. Vermont Univer. at Burlington (Congr.) . 80

MASSACHUSETTS.

6. Harvard University, at Cambridge (Unit.) 210
7. Amherst College, at Amherst (Congr.) . . 230
8. Williams Col. at Williamstown (Congr.) . 130

RHODE ISLAND.

9. Brown University, at Providence (Baptist) 130

CONNECTICUT.

10. Yale College, at New Haven (Congr.) . . 500
11. Washington College, at Hartford (Epis.) . 70
12. Wesleyan Univer. at Middletown (Meth.) 80

NEW YORK.

13. New York University, at New York (no religious persuasion) 150
14. Columbia College, at New York (Epis.) . 150
15. Union College, at Schenectady (Presbyt.) . 210
16. Hamilton College, at Clinton (Presbyt.) . 100
17. Geneva College, at Geneva (Epis.) . . . 80

NEW JERSEY.

18. Rutgers Col. at New Brunswick (R. Dutch) 80
19. New Jersey Col. at Princeton (Presbyt.) . 180

PENNSYLVANIA.

20. Univer. of Pennsylvania, at Phila. (Epis.) 120
21. Lafayette College, at Easton (Presbyt.) . . 80
22. Bristol College, near Bristol (Epis.) . . . 80
23. Pennsylvania Col. at Gettysburg (Luth.) . 100
24. Dickinson College, at Carlisle (Methodist) 100
25. Jefferson College, at Canonsburg (Presbyt.) 230
26. Washington Col. at Washington (Presbyt.) 150
27. Western University of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg (Cov.) 85
28. Allegany College, at Meadville (Meth.) . 80
Girard College, building at Philadelphia, will cost in building 700,000 dollars; has a fund of 2,000,000 dollars for orphan boys.

DELAWARE.

29. Delaware College, at Newark (Presbyt.) . 50

MARYLAND.

30. St. Mary's College, at Baltimore (Catholic) 80
31. St. Mary's Col. at Emittsburg (Catholic) . 120
32. St. John's College, at Annapolis (Epis.) . 80

VIRGINIA.

33. William and Mary College, at Williamsburg (Episcopal) 75
34. University of Virginia, at Charlottesville . 180
35. Hampden-Sidney College, Prince Edward County (Episcopal) 80
36. Washington Col. at Lexington (Presbyt.) . 75
37. Randolph College, at Lexington (Meth.) . 80
38. Columbian College, at Washington (Bap.) 70
39. Columbian College, at Georgetown (Cath.) 120

NORTH CAROLINA.

40. North Carolina University, at Chapel Hill 120

SOUTH CAROLINA.

41. South Carolina University, at Columbia . 60
42. Charleston College, at Charleston (Epis.) . 120

GEORGIA.

43. Georgia University, at Athens (Presbyt.) . 120

ALABAMA.

44. Univer. of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa (Bap.) 70
45. La Grange College, at La Grange, in Alabama (Methodist) 100
46. Spring Hill College, Mobile (Catholic) . . 110
A new College is about to commence at Marion, by the Presbyterians.

LOUISIANA.

Students.

47. College of Louisiana, at Jackson (no religious influence) 80
48. College at Ibberville (Catholic) 100
A new College is about to be built in the Opelourus district, by the friends of education. Catholics are seeking its control.

MISSISSIPPI.

49. Jefferson College, at Washington (no religious persuasion 50
50. Oakhill Col. near Port Gibson (Presbyt.) . 70

TENNESSEE.

51. Nashville University, at Nashville (Presbyterian.) 90
52. College near Columbia (Presbyt.) . . . 80
53. East Tennessee Col. at Knoxville (Presbyt.) 30
54. Washington Col. near Jonesboro (Presbyt.) 30
55. Washington College, at —— (Presbyt.) . 30

KENTUCKY.

56. Transylvania Univer. at Lexington (Epis.) 70
57. Centre College, at Danville (Presbyt.) . . 90
58. Georgetown College, at Georgetown (Bap.) 40
59. Bardstown College, at Bardstown (Cath.) . 100
60. Bardstown Col. in Washington Co. (Cath.) 100
61. Cumberland College, at Princeton (Cumb. Presbyterian) 120
62. Augusta College, at Augusta (Methodist) . 110

OHIO.

63. Athenæum, at Cincinnati (Catholic) . . 90
64. Miami University, at Oxford (Presbyt.) . 160
65. Ohio University, at Athens (Presbyt.) . . 90
66. Franklin College, at New Athens (Presbyt.) 50
67. Kenyon College, at Gambier (Episcopal) . 150
68. Western Reserve College, at Hudson (Presbyterian.) 100
69. Ripley College, at Ripley 50

INDIANA.

70. Col. of Indiana, at Bloomington (Presbyt.) 60
71. South Hanover College, near Madison (Presbyterian.) 120

ILLINOIS.

72. Illinois College, at Jacksonville (Presbyt.) 90

MISSOURI.

73. Marion College, near Palmyra (Presbyt.) . 50
74. Missouri University, at St. Louis (Cath.) . 140
75. Bishop's College, at Barrens, Perry County. (Catholic.) 120

I think you will not be able to pass your eye over this list, and the previous statements, and connect them with the circumstances of the people, without being filled with surprise and admiration. Here are no less than TWENTY-ONE theological colleges, all of which have been instituted since the year 1808! and they contain 853 students, and have accumulated 57,000 volumes! Here are SEVENTY-FIVE colleges for general education, most of them with professional departments, and they have 8,136 students! and FORTY of these have been created since the year 1814! Altogether there are NINETY-SIX colleges, and no less than NINE THOUSAND AND THIRTY-TWO students! Some of these colleges are literally springing up in the desert, and are putting themselves in readiness to bless generations that shall be born! It is impossible not to feel that the influence they exert must be amazing in extent, and in the highest degree sanitory.

Besides the general influence which they must have, I wish to remark their effect on the ministry. In doing so, it must be candidly admitted that many persons composing the existing ministry have not graduated in any college, and therefore have, at

least, no *direct* benefit. The Methodists and Baptists, especially, have here, as they have with us, undervalued an educated ministry; and many who have entered a college have, from pious but indiscreet zeal, not kept terms. Of the 11,000 ministers reported, I should think 3,000 may be regarded as mostly self-taught; and of the 8,000 left, I should conclude that upwards of 2,000 had not regularly graduated in their respective colleges. Still this leaves nearly six thousand who have been fairly educated; and this amount does, in fact, give to the entire ministry as much the character of intelligence and cultivation, as shall any where be found.

Whatever may be the actual use of the means to be found in this country, certainly those means, as they contribute to supply the church with a well trained and efficient ministry, excel any thing which we have at home. The student for the sacred calling gets a better classical and general education, than he would get in our dissenting colleges, while his professional education is not inferior; and he gets a theological education unspeakably better than Oxford or Cambridge would afford him, though his classical advantages would be less. He derives a two-fold advantage from the arrangements at home, as compared with our colleges, and they relate to *method* and *time*. The general course of learning, and the professional course, are kept perfectly distinct; and the professional is made to follow the collegiate; and the certificate of excellence in the one course is requisite to commencement in the other. The *time* also is adequate; four years are allowed for what is preparatory, and three years for what is professional.

After these references you may be anxious to know, what would be my judgment as to the comparative practical efficiency of their ministry. So far as general statement can meet such a question, I would not withhold an impartial opinion, since just distinction on such a subject must be of the utmost importance. That the ministry of that country, whether educated or uneducated, must in itself be highly efficient, is placed beyond dispute, in every competent judgment, by the single and exhilarating fact—THAT IT IS A REGENERATED MINISTRY. Yes, as far as I could ascertain, the whole body of the orthodox ministers, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and mostly the Episcopalians, are truly regenerated men. Bringing the *whole* ministry there, and the *whole* ministry here, to this single and vital test, I leave you to say where the advantage rests.

There are other points of comparison that may not be without profit, and in which we shall not uniformly be the losers. If the ministers there have decidedly the best opportunities of preparing for their work, I think they usually avail themselves less of them afterwards, than is common with us. They have fewer books, and they read less; they seem to rely more on what the college has done for them; and they consume so much time in writing their own thoughts, as to allow them little for enlarged communion with those of other, and mostly better, men.

In many cases, they require to be more intellectual, but less metaphysical in their ministry; and to consult manner as well as intention. We have, undoubtedly, many men who equal them in earnest and powerful address to the conscience, but, as a body, they have decidedly more directness in their ministration. We look more at what is secondary, they at what is primary. They, in looking to the end, will often disregard the means by which they may best attain it; and we as often, in regarding the complicated means, may lose sight of the end for a season. They have less respect for the nicer feelings; and we have more difficulty, when our purpose is distinctly before us, of moving towards it. They have more promptness and decision, and move with sudden power to a given object; but if that object is to be obtained by patient and steady perseverance, we are rather more likely to be successful. In doing an evident and great good, they do not always consider whether they may not do a proportionate mischief; while we, frequently, from the fear of consequences, do almost nothing. They make the better evangelists; and we the better pastors.

Circumstances in either country have undoubtedly contributed to produce these differences; and the consideration both of cause and effect may be profitable to each party. One may readily see in this ministerial character a connection with the revivals, which have at various seasons been developed. How far the character may have caused the revivals, or the revivals created the character, though a curious, is by no means a useless inquiry. But I must recover myself from this digression.

LETTER XXXIX.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Let us now pass from the College to a class of institutions which falls under the appellation of *Common Schools*. It will be best, perhaps, to take an example from the Old States, and afterwards from the New; and to attend and follow these by such remarks, as may assist to complete your acquaintance with this department of education.

Of the Old States, Massachusetts has made the fullest experiment; and as the results are the riper, it may the better serve our purpose. The following extracts from a letter on this subject, are so clear and appropriate as to induce me to insert them:—

"You ask to be informed of our school system, the way in which money is raised, its amount, and its application.

"It has been alike the happiness and glory of the people of Massachusetts, from the earliest settlement of the colony, to have made ample provision for the education of children and youth; and what is truly remarkable, the mode which was first adopted for effecting this purpose, by public contributions, equally apportioned according to the ability of the country, and of the inhabitants respectively, has remained unchanged to the present time. In the year 1647, a law was passed, which required such townships as had fifty householders, to appoint some person within their towns, to teach children to write and to read; and towns which had one thousand householders to maintain a grammar school, in which youth might be fitted for the University, in the quaint language of the preamble to the Act—'It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, and to the end, that knowledge might not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors.' By subsequent statutes, as the country advanced in population and wealth, the number of schools to be supported by the towns, in the fulfilment of *corporate* obligations, was increased, the required qualifications of teachers raised, and the penalty for neglect in maintaining the schools, each year, which was at first five pounds, was advanced, from time to time, to thirty and forty pounds. To prevent incompetent and improper instructors from being employed, it was required that they should be subjected to an examination by the clergymen of the town, and approved by the select-men. Parents and masters were also enjoined to allow those under their care to improve the opportunities publicly afforded

for their instruction, and a species of literary and moral police, constituted of the ministers of religion, overseers and officers of the college, and civil magistrates, to see that neglect and breaches of the laws were duly noticed and punished.

"Such is a brief outline of the institution of common schools under the colonial and provincial charters. A review of the ancient statutes, presents much matter for interesting reflection, and shows with how great solicitude the support of their primary seminaries was regulated, and the care which was taken to prevent an evasion of the requirements of authority, on the part of the towns. After the formation of the State Constitution, the statutes were revised, and by a law of the commonwealth, passed in 1789, it was required of every town or district, containing fifty families or householders, to be provided with a schoolmaster, or schoolmasters, of good morals, *to teach children to read and write, and instruct them in the English language, as well as in arithmetic, orthography, and decent behavior, for such term of time as shall be equivalent to six months for one school in each year.* And any town or district, containing one hundred families or householders, was to be provided with such master or masters, *for such term of time as should be equivalent to one school for the whole year.* Additional schools, and of higher character, were to be maintained by towns of greater ability; and authority was given to towns to create and define school districts, within the limits of which school-houses were to be erected and schools kept, and to raise money for their support, by assessment of the polls and rateable estates of the inhabitants, to be collected in the manner of other taxes. Schoolmasters, before they were employed, were to be examined and approved, and all the obligations created by law were enforced by high pecuniary sanctions. In 1827, these laws were again revised, and *some improvement in the plan of regulating and teaching* the schools, which experience had suggested, were introduced.

"The more particular details of the system by which the common schools of Massachusetts have now, for two centuries, been effectually maintained, and made eminently successful in diffusing knowledge and the principles of virtue and piety among the people, are better gathered from the statute books, than from any abstract which may be offered of their various provisions. The practical operation of the laws has been, to secure, *in every district and village of the commonwealth*, the means of regular instruction to children in the elementary branches of learning, and where there was wealth and population to justify the occasion, the establishment and support of schools of competent character to prepare youth for admission to college, or to enter upon the active business of life. The towns are divided, by their own act, under the authority of the law, into convenient and distinct districts, with precise geographical limits, having regard to the dispersed or compact situation of the inhabitants. In each of these districts is a school-house, the erection and repairs of which may be caused by the town, or by the district themselves, which, for this purpose, have the powers of corporations in holding meetings and granting money. The money, to maintain the schools, is granted by the towns in their meetings, held in the month of March or April annually, and is afterwards assessed and collected with the other taxes for the year. It is usually distributed among the districts, by orders drawn by the select-men, or the treasurer, according to some proportion, either of the amount paid within the district, or the numbers of minors, or to each district an equal part; and in all instances, in conformity with a previous vote of the town. By the late law, a school committee, consisting of three, five, or seven, is required to be chosen annually, who have the general direction and oversight of the schools. It is made their duty to employ the instructors of the highest schools, and to examine into the character and qualifications of all the others. They are to visit the schools frequently, and to ascertain by their own observation, that they are faithfully taught. They have authority to prescribe the class-books which are to be used, and, in their discretion, to cause them to be purchased, at the expense of the town, and furnished to those who are destitute of them, to be assessed afterwards on the parents or guardians, who should have supplied them, unless from poverty they shall be excused by the assessors. A committee-man is also chosen for each district, for the management of the prudential concerns of the school within his district, whose particular duty it is to engage the instructor for the district, with the approbation of the school committee, to see that the school is accommodated with a suitable house, to provide fuel and proper conveniences, and to consult with, and give such information and aid to the committee of the town, as may enable them to discharge their assigned duties.

"As to the amount of money raised annually in the different towns of Massachusetts, for the support of public schools, it is obvious, from referring to the provisions of the law, that it varies with the situation and ability of the respective corporations. If in towns having fifty families, schools are maintained, at the public charge, for as great a proportion of the year, as would be equal to one school for six months; and in towns having one hundred families, for such terms of time as would be equivalent to one school for the whole year, and so on, according to the enactment; the law is satisfied. But it rarely happens that so little is done as would be limited by a strict compliance with legal requirements. It may be considered as a general remark, applicable alike to all the towns, that, in granting money for schools, the only inquiry is, how much benefit will the situation of the inhabitants admit of their deriving from opportunities for the instruction of their children; and the answer has a higher relation to their desire for the improvement of schools, than to the money which might be saved in the time of keeping them. The usual arrangement in country towns is to provide sufficient means for keeping a man's school for the three winter months, with a more particular reference to the instruction of boys and youth of some advance in years, and a woman's school for children, during the rest of the year, or at least through the summer months, in each district of the town, and scarcely less than this is done in any school district of the most inconsiderable towns. In many places much more is accomplished. But as the information, which has been requested, relates to schools enjoined by law, the maintenance of those supported by subscription, or kept by individuals on their own account, of the one or the other of which classes, there are some in the most populous towns, is not noticed.

"It will be seen, therefore, from the foregoing detail, that schools are established throughout Massachusetts by the authority of law;—that they are kept a portion of each year in such convenient districts in every town, as to afford opportunity to all the children and youth to attend them;—that the money raised by the town to defray the expense of all the schools, is distributed by some just and satisfactory rule of proportion among the districts;—that competent and suitable teachers are secured by the obligation to which they are subjected of an examination and approval by the school committee, and that fidelity, in the discharge of their duty, is

enforced by their responsibility to this committee, who are required frequently to visit the schools, prescribe the books to be used, and direct the course of instruction. As a system of public and general arrangement, it seems hardly possible it should be improved. The particular attention which was given to the whole subject upon the last revision of the law could suggest nothing better. It will be recollected, however, *that there is not, nor has there ever been, a public school fund in Massachusetts.* The support of the schools depends upon the requisition of law, and the force of public sentiment in their favor. It has been sometimes the suggestion of observant and wise men, that a greater interest is manifested in their proper improvement where this is the case, and when the inducement of a personal concern in the expense is added to a sense of duty in directing its appropriation. Certain it is, that there has never been any want of interest manifested here, either in raising a sufficient amount of money, or in attending to its most useful application. The result is every where seen in the degree of education and qualification for business, which is possessed by all classes of the people. Even in the humblest condition of society, a native citizen of Massachusetts will hardly be found, incapable of reading and writing, or ignorant of the rudiments of grammar and the elementary rules of arithmetic, while there are thousands, who through the instrumentality of the public schools alone, have acquired a classical education, and been eminently useful and distinguished in life."

From this statement you will observe that the primary school is the first to make its appearance; and that it does this when some fifty persons have settled in a district. Like every thing else in the young settlement, it is at first small; and, though valuable, insignificant. A mistress is the teacher, and she officiates perhaps only for half the year. A master is afterwards procured for the winter months, and the school is in constant action. As the inhabitants thicken, a grammar school is added; the children, at a given age, are translated to it, and it supplies them with a good English education.

In the large town, in Boston for instance, the system still develops itself, according to the demands made upon it. There is, 1. the *primary school*, which provides instruction, by a mistress, for children between four and seven years of age. It is a class of infant school, and prepares its little charge in the first rudiments of learning. 2. There is the *grammar school.* This school provides for the child from seven to fourteen years of age; and he enters by a certificate from the primary school. His education is still wholly English; he is thoroughly taught in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography; and these are deemed sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life. The schools are usually got up in three stories; they are of good dimensions, and exceedingly well arranged. It is usual for the classes to change the rooms in fulfilling different pursuits. Exactly the same provisions are made for the girls; and, while the assistants are of their own sex, the principal in each school is a master. I had opportunities of examining some classes in this order of school, and certainly I have never found boys to excel, or girls to equal them. It was not merely the memory that was trained and stored; all the faculties were educated.

Then there is springing out of these, and the wants of an advancing community, two other schools. The one is termed the *English High School.* Its object is to furnish young men who are not intended for a collegiate course of study, and who have enjoyed all the advantages of the other schools, with the means of completing a good English education, to fit them for active life, and to qualify them for eminence in private and public stations. This institution, therefore, provides instruction in the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, with their application to the sciences and arts; in grammar, rhetoric, and belles lettres; in moral philosophy; in history, natural, and civil; and in the French language. It is supplied with a valuable mathematical and philosophical apparatus for the purpose of experiment and illustration.

The other institution is the *Latin school.* This completes the system; and is designed for those who are about to pass to college. The Latin and Greek languages are taught here. Instruction is also given in mathematics, geography, history, elocution, and English composition.

The practical wisdom of this twofold arrangement, must, I think, commend itself to every one. It supplies alike to the young tradesman, and the young scholar, just what they want; and introduces them to their respective course of life with the greatest advantage. No time is wasted in useless pursuit; where the classical languages are needed they are supplied; where they are not, they are withheld. The education is not only good in itself; it is doubled in value by the principle of adaptation.

Although I have selected Massachusetts as most fruitful in results, it is not the most perfect in its general system. The States which have been settled later, especially Maine, have incorporated the modern improvements with more readiness, and have availed themselves of the experience of elder associates. This State has recently made many important variations; especially in adopting the monitorial methods.

Whatever may have been the variations, it is unquestionable that the system has operated most delightfully for New England. It was lately ascertained, by returns from 131 towns in Massachusetts, that the number of scholars was 12,393; that the number of persons in those towns, between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, who are unable to write, was fifty-eight; and that in one town there were only three persons who could not read and write, and these three were dumb!

In Connecticut it was found that 275,000 persons were in attendance on the free schools; and in New England generally it may be safely affirmed that the whole population are educated. The exceptions would not amount to more than two or three thousand; and these composed mostly of blacks and foreigners.

The provisions of the system are made, and ostensibly fulfilled by the government. In Connecticut the whole expense is met by an existing fund; in Massachusetts, and the other New England States, it is chiefly met by taxation. Taxation, however, in this connection, has been misunderstood. It is not the government who impose a general tax; but the people who meet, and impose the tax on themselves. True it is, that the government threatens penalties, in case its provisions are not executed; but such is the power of public sentiment in favor of education, that I could not find an instance in which coercion was necessary. The payment which they levy upon themselves also, is usually beyond what any provisions of law would require; so that the entire work may be regarded rather as the fruit of voluntary action than of any other principle. The wisdom of the legislature is shown to lie in the encouragement of the voluntary principle, not in superseding it; and it is generally admitted, that where it is excluded from the system, either by legal enactment, or, as in the case of Connecticut, by an adequate fund, the popular education is by no means so efficient.

Let us now turn for an example to the middle

States, which are of later settlement. New York is undoubtedly the best, and deserves our attentive consideration. The following statements from the pen of the Secretary of State, and the Superintendent of the Schools, is commended alike for its brevity and clearness:—

"The revenue arising from the school fund is apportioned, by the superintendent, to the several towns and cities in the state, in the ratio of the population in the cities, and in proportion to the children between five and sixteen in the towns. The amount of the apportionment for each county, is transmitted to the board of supervisors, which body is required annually to assess, upon the taxable inhabitants of each town, a sum equal to that which is apportioned to the town by the superintendent. Thus there is paid from the state treasury, to each town, a certain sum, on condition that the taxable inhabitants of the town raise a like sum, and the amount thus provided must be applied exclusively to the payment of teacher's wages, and of those duly qualified, according to the provision of the school law.

"The amount paid from the state treasury is transmitted to the treasury of each county, and by this officer paid to the school commissioners, three of whom are annually chosen in each town; the collector of the town pays the amount assessed upon the town for the use of schools, to the same commissioners; these commissioners apportion the money which comes into their hands to such districts as have complied with the conditions of the statute, and have made their returns to the commissioners accordingly.

"The trustees of each district are required to account for the expenditure of the money by an annual report to the commissioners of the town, embracing, also, the number of children, and the general condition of the district. If they fail to make the report, the school money is apportioned to such districts as do report. The town commissioners are also required to make an annual report, accounting for the money received for their town, giving the number of districts, and an abstract of the returns from the several districts. The reports of the commissioners are sent to the county clerk, who is required to transmit copies thereof to the superintendent of common schools. It is made the duty of the superintendent to present an annual report to the Legislature, containing an abstract of the reports received from the several towns, &c. Each town appoints annually three commissioners, whose duty it is to divide the town into a convenient number of school districts, to receive the school moneys for the town, and apportion them among the several districts, and to make an annual report to the superintendent. Each town clerk, is *ex officio*, clerk of the school commissioners, and is required to attend to all communications received from the superintendent, for the commissioners. There are also appointed by the town, annually, three inspectors of common schools, whose duty it is to examine all teachers for the town, and give certificates. They are also required to visit the schools at least once in each year. The taxable inhabitants of the district, by a majority, designate the site for the school-house, vote a tax for building the house, and appoint the district officers, consisting of three trustees, a clerk, and collector; the trustees assess the tax, have the custody of the school-house, and employ the teachers, and pay them the public money, and collect the residue of the teachers' wages from the patrons of the school.

"The county treasurers and the county clerks are the organs through which the money is transmitted to the towns, and the school reports received from them. There is an appeal to the town commissioners from certain acts of the trustees, &c.; and an appeal to the superintendent from certain acts of the commissioners, &c.

"This State distributes annually 100,000 dollars, which is about twenty-five cents to each scholar between five and sixteen. These twenty-five cents go out, coupled with such conditions as to ensure the application of at least three times its amount to the same object: that is, the town makes it fifty cents, and the necessary expenditures by the inhabitants of the district, if they restrict themselves to a bare compliance with the law, must be at least fifty cents more. It is thus seen that by this feature in our school system, 100,000 dollars apportioned from the state treasury, are made to perform the office, or at least, to ensure the application of 400,000 annually, to the use of common schools."

The fund referred to in this communication was begun in 1805, and is formed by the sale of land appropriated by the State to the uses of education. It amounts now to 1,700,000 dollars, and yields an income of more than 100,000 dollars per annum. By the provision of the constitution, all the unappropriated lands belonging to the State are granted to it; and these are computed to amount to upwards of 869,000 acres. While this fund was growing, the State made graduated votes annually, so as to have 100,000 dollars disposable for this object.

One great excellency of the plan is, that it does just enough to excite and encourage public effort. While the State employs 100,000 dollars, it is so employed as to ensure the application to the proposed object of no less than 400,000. Again, the 100,000 so applied is felt to be a public fund, in which every citizen has an equal interest; but if he does not do his part, he forfeits his share in this fund, and it goes to enrich some other township. Thus the indifference natural to many is overcome by pique on the one hand, and self-interest on the other. The various districts are not only impowered to tax themselves; they are tempted by the strongest inducements to do it.

Another equally wise arrangement for infusing and sustaining vigor throughout the whole economy is, that an annual and correct report is made imperative; so that, if in any year the school is not reported, it is not assisted. Of course, this insures the discharge of a duty which, in other circumstances, is usually found to fail. In Massachusetts the report is expected, but it is optional; and therefore the returns are very uncertain and imperfect; while in New York, out of 8,600 schools, returns were made on 8,164. Those who know from experience, that the great difficulty in working even a good plan is to sustain its original vigor, will at once appreciate this provision as adapted to master this difficulty.

Another principle equally wise, is, that the State never *begins* the work of erecting a school. It requires the citizens to do it, and it will lend them its aid. It gives them power, in the first place, to tax themselves for the purpose. Then, it requires that, before they can participate in the common fund, they shall have given evidence of their interest in the object, by having built a school-house, and having organized a school, under a legally authorized teacher, at least three months. This again shows great acquaintance with human nature. I need not remark on it. The bird we nurse is the bird we love. The masterly hand of De Witt Clinton must have assisted to mould these plans!

Now for the results. Notwithstanding the figures which I have already submitted to your observation, I think you will regard them as surprising. By the official returns for the year 1832, and which have unusual claims to accuracy, the following interesting particulars are obtained:—

DISTRICTS, CHILDREN, &c.

Cities, towns, and wards, in the fifty-five counties of New York	811
Organized school districts, computed at	9,600
Number of children from five to sixteen years of age, December 30, 1831	508,878
Number of children at school in the year 1832	494,959

Since the year 1827, returns have been made annually from every town; and in 1832, returns were made from 8,941 districts, in which schools were open, on an average, eight months in twelve; and the number of schools in operation was computed at 9,270.

EXPENDITURE FOR COMMON SCHOOLS IN 1832.

	Dolls.	Cts.
Sum paid out of the State Treasury (income of the Fund)	100,000	00
Sum raised by a tax on the people of the State	188,384	53
Sum derived from local funds	17,198	25
Total of public moneys distributed by Commissioners	305,582	78
Additional sum raised in the several districts	358,320	17
	663,902	95
Of this there was raised by a special tax for building school-houses in the city of New York, about	60,000	00
Total sum paid for teacher's wages	603,902	95

The amount paid for teachers' wages is computed at only about one half of the expense annually incurred for the support of common schools.

	Dolls.	Cts.
Estimated value of 9,270 school-houses (those in the city of New York being computed at 200,000 dollars) 2,040,000 dollars, the annual interest of which at six per cent. is	122,400	00
Fuel for 9,270 school-houses, at 10 dollars each	92,700	00
Expense of books for 494,959 scholars, at 50 cents each	247,479	50
Total	462,579	50
To this add (see above)	663,902	95
Total expenditure for common schools in 1832	1,126,482	45

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE RETURNS OF COMMON SCHOOLS,

FROM 1816 TO 1833.

The Year in which the Report was made to the Legislature.	No. of Towns from which the Returns were made.	Whole No. of School Districts in the said Towns.	No. of School Districts from which Returns were received.	Amount of Public Money received in said Towns. Dollars. Cts.	Amount paid for Teachers' wages in the Districts over and above Public Money. Dollars. Cts.	No. of Children taught in the School Districts making Returns.	No. of Children between five and fifteen or sixteen years of age, residing in those Districts.	Proportions of the No. of Children taught to the No. of Children reported, between the ages of five and fifteen or sixteen years.
1816	338	2,755	2,631	55,720 98	———	140,106	176,449	14 to 15
1817	355	3,713	2,873	64,834 88	———	170,385	198,440	6 to 7
1818	374	3,264	3,228	73,235 42	———	183,253	218,969	5 to 6
1819	402	4,614	3,844	93,010 54	———	210,316	235,871	8 to 9
1820	515	5,763	5,118	117,151 07	———	271,877	302,703	9 to 10
1821	545	6,332	5,489	146,418 08	———	304,559	317,633	24 to 25
1822	611	6,659	5,882	157,195 04	———	332,979	339,258	42 to 43
1823	649	7,051	6,255	173,420 60	———	351,173	357,029	44 to 45
1824	656	7,382	6,705	182,820 25	———	377,034	373,208	94 to 93
1825	698	7,642	6,876	182,741 61	———	402,940	383,500	101 to 96
1826	700	7,773	7,117	182,790 09	———	425,586	395,586	100 to 93
1827	721	8,114	7,550	185,720 46	———	431,601	411,256	21 to 20
1828	742	8,298	7,806	222,995 77	———	441,856	419,216	26 to 91
1829	757	8,609	8,164	232,343 21	———	468,205	449,113	25 to 24
1830	773	8,872	8,292	214,840 14	297,048 44	480,041	468,257	40 to 41
1831	785	9,063	8,631	238,641 36	346,807 20	499,424	497,503	250 to249
1832	703	9,339	8,841	244,998 85	374,001 54	507,105	509,967	
1833	811	9,600	8,941	305,582 78	358,320 17	494,959	508,878	

It appears, then, that in sixteen years, the number of organized school districts has increased from 2,755 to 9,600, making an addition, in sixteen years, of 6,845; while the scholars have advanced from 140,106 to 494,959, making an addition, in the same time, of 354,853! Take another view of these statements. The number of persons in the State between the age of five and sixteen is 508,878; but the number at school is 494,959; leaving only 13,919 of this age not actually at school; and at least this number may be embraced by those who are between fourteen and sixteen, and who may have left school for secular pursuits! Again, the entire population of this State, in 1830, was 1,918,608; so that we have ONE FOURTH of the people at school!

What are we to say to these facts? They are marvellous in themselves; but consider them in connection with a newly settled people, and spread over a vast territory, and what are they? Then compare them with States which have been settled for ages, and which boast of civilization, letters, and refinement, and what are they? New York has *one in four* of her whole population at school; but Scotland has only *one in ten;* England only *one in twelve;* Wales only *one in twenty.* While France, the very pink of refinement, has four millions of children untaught, and half her entire population unable to read, write, and cipher! Europe has nothing, except it be in Prussia, that will compare with the state of things we are now contemplating without injury. It may be well, if what she suffers by the comparison may induce her, though late, to ask for a remedy.

I have remarked, and would, in candor, repeat, that this is the best instance to be found in the middle states. Some of them have been backward in the race of improvement; but they are all now moving with accelerated steps; and the example of New York necessarily acts on them with great power. Pennsylvania, perhaps, for its extent and early advantages, is most overshadowed by popular ignorance. Good provision was made by the early settlers, as might be expected, for universal education; but this provision was not enlarged as the people multiplied and spread. The heart of the state was settled chiefly by Germans, who had little education, and little value for it; and the legislature did nothing to overcome their phlegm, till at length it was in danger of being disabled from doing any thing by the prevalence of cherished ignorance. Both people and government are now awake to the evil, and have arisen to wipe away the reproach. An act for the general education of the people, by common schools, was passed last year. To give effect to this act, they have a fund, which, by successive accumulations, now amounts to nearly two millions of dollars. The platform adopted resembles that of New York; and in ten years, the results may be as striking. It has, indeed, lost the start of New York by past negligence; but it may still have the honor of generously emulating a noble example.

But you are ready to inquire after the state of education in the West. Happily there is no difficulty in meeting this inquiry. The older states were left to act for themselves on this subject; and many of the first efforts arose from liberal donations on the part of individuals; of course, the movement was neither general nor simultaneous. But the Congress has interfered with the new States, and provided, at their settlement, for universal education. Every new township is to be divided into thirty-six sections; each section being a mile square, or 640 acres. One of these sections, that is, a thirty-sixth of the township, is appropriated to schools. So that the existence of a fund for education is identical with the settlement of every township; and as the town grows in consideration, so the fund rises in value. As soon as this fund reaches a given amount, it is employed; and it is made available for those parishes or townships which are willing to rate themselves to a required proportion of the total expenses. The system comes into action at a very early period of a settlement; and until it can, its resources are accumulating and condensing, in readiness for the future. Throughout the State of Ohio, for instance, which was a desert forty years ago, and is settling now, the school system is in full play; and it promises, in a few years, to equal any thing of which New York itself can boast. The land appropriated to the use of public schools, in the new States on the east of the Mississippi, amounts to 8,000,000 of acres, and the appropriations on the west of that river, on the same principle, will be far more prodigious!

Of course, these statements are to be understood to apply only to the *common schools.* They do not embrace, with the exception of Boston, which I introduced for the sake of illustration, the superior public school, nor the academy, which is usually of a private character, and which abounds as the States advance. Nor do they include the Sunday schools, which impart religious instruction to nearly a million of persons, as most of these get their general education at the common schools.

The extraordinary success which has attended this system may be ascribed to such causes as the following, and which may, perhaps, have partly suggested themselves already to the mind.

1. Usually, the Legislature has been taught not to interfere with the subject *more than is necessary.* The work should, at all events, be done; but the maxim of a wise government will be, *So that it is done, the more the people do, and the less it does, the better.* What it does, should be rather to *create public sentiment*, than any thing else; where that is, nothing more is required. There should be great jealousy of reliance on funds, where they exist; if danger for the future arise, it would be from this source.

2. All *sectarian distinctions* are annihilated, or rather they have never existed. Religious animosities and apprehensions, which have always been the great impediment to any system of general education, are unknown.

3. *Civil distinctions* are blended and harmonized. The common or public school is usually the very best of its kind that is accessible to the people of a district; and hence the more wealthy citizen covets its advantages for his child equally with the poorer; and the circumstance of his child attending it, and of his taking an interest in it, has again the tendency of preserving its character, and of raising it as society is rising around it. Nothing can be conceived to contribute more directly to the union and harmony of the several gradations of society, than an arrangement for thus bringing the richer and poorer together during the period of childhood. When it can be done without *injury*, it is always done with high advantage to the commonwealth.

4. Then, the *sense of civil equality*, which pervades all classes, undoubtedly is a great auxiliary to this success. Every man feels that, as a citizen, he is equal to every other man; but if he took no interest in the public school, he would forfeit some of his rights as a citizen; and if his child did not claim its benefits, he would not compare with the child of his neighbor; so that, personally and relatively, he would sink from his equality, and be ashamed to meet those who had become more to him than his fellows.

Certainly, in dismissing this head of observation, I might criticise the system; and, seizing on instances in which it is yet in perfect development, I might

adduce defect and fault as an abatement on its excellency. But, in fact, speaking of it as a whole, and judging it impartially, I know no fault of general importance, except it be, that the remuneration to the teachers has mostly been too low. There is, in every thing, a stubborn connection between price and quality; and where all sorts of ordinary labor find a liberal reward, it is indispensable that the teacher should be paid in proportion, or few will offer themselves for that important vocation; and those few will commonly be feeble and unfurnished. The public attention is directed to this subject; and, when fairly under notice, it will be dealt with in the manly and decided manner usual to this people.

If complaint and regret were to be blended with a subject so capable of inspiring admiration, it must arise from a reference to the Slave States. There, the whites have the means of education; but they are neither so plentiful nor so good as in the Free States. And here are two millions of human beings, who are shut out from the unutterable benefits of education; while their condition is made the darker and more rueful, by the light and intelligence which are all around them.

LETTER XL.

My dear friend—As you expressed an earnest desire to be fully informed on the subject of education, I have been more particular than I at first intended. For the same reason I will yet crave your attention to a few remarks, before it is finally dismissed.

The class of schools receiving usually the appellative of Academy, but sometimes the finer name of High School, Institute, and Gymnasium, is meant to supply an order of education superior to that of the common schools. They are nearly in every case the creation of individual or social effort; and are designed to finish the education of the schools, when more is sought than they supply; or to meet the wishes of such parents as, from various motives, choose wholly to decline the aid of the common school, in favor of more private and select tuition.

Such as are provided for the reception of male pupils bear so strong an affinity to the High School of Boston, which I have described, in their method and advantages, that it would not be desirable, perhaps, to multiply instances. But the female academies here are still so much of a peculiarity, and have excited so much notice at home, that it will doubtless be grateful to you to be informed of them with some distinction and certainty. I have seen many of them; and from what you know of my habits on this interesting subject, you will believe that I have not been inattentive to their economy. Let me furnish you with one or two references, as examples of the class.

The Ipswich Female Seminary, of which you have heard, is rather an academy for training teachers, than for lower purposes. It receives its pupils between the ages of fourteen and twenty. It was instituted in the year 1824, on the principle of subscriptions; and is managed by trustees. It owes most of its reputation to Mrs. Grant, the principal; a lady endowed, in an unusual degree, to take charge of such an institution with honor to herself, and the highest advantage to the community. The arrangements of study are as follows:—

PRIMARY STUDIES.

Vocal music, reading, linear drawing, composition, botany, geology, philosophy of natural history, modern geography, arithmetic through interest and proportion, first book in Euclid's Geometry, History of the United States, English Grammar, Watts on the Mind, Physiology of the Human System, Natural Philosophy, Government of Massachusetts, and of the United States.

STUDIES OF THE JUNIOR CLASS.

English Grammar, including analyzing and the study of poetry, arithmetic completed, modern and ancient geography, modern and ancient history, the second, third, and fourth books of Euclid's Geometry, mental philosophy, rhetoric, chemistry, and astronomy.

STUDIES OF THE SENIOR CLASS.

Mental philosophy and some other studies reviewed, algebra, ecclesiastical history, natural theology, analogy between natural and revealed religion, evidences of Christianity, composition and education.

Reading, composition, calisthenics, vocal music, the Bible, and several of the above branches of study, will receive attention through the course. Those who are deficient in spelling and writing, will have exercises in these branches, whatever may be their other attainments. It is desired, that, as far as practicable, young ladies before entering the seminary, should be skilful in both mental and written arithmetic, and thoroughly acquainted with geography and the history of the United States.

The efficacy of the system rests rather in the mind by which it is wrought, than in the materials of which it is composed. The persons taught are brought into close and friendly contact with the teachers; and the great effort of the instructer is not to educe right action, but to implant right and elevated principle. Every pupil is thrown back very much upon herself; she is taught to know herself; to measure her capacity, and to feel that the measure of her capacity is the measure of her duty; and that her duty has an immediate and constant relation to Him "with whom we have to do."—Thus self-respect is substituted for emulation; and the fear of God for worldly and worthless considerations.

Religion is thus made to run through all the avocations of this family; and each one is made to feel that it "is the principal thing." At the commencement of the term, the young people are invited to profess themselves under religious influence. If they do so, it is taken as their voluntary act; they know that they shall be expected to walk in harmony with the principles they profess; and they meet separately once in the week for the purpose of devotional reading, conversation, and prayer. Of course the very circumstance of their known retirement, with their teacher, for such an engagement, must have a salutary influence on the remainder. Besides this, those who profess are usually the elder of the school, and they are mostly the more successful scholars and the best examples, and this is not without its influence. Those who are younger, and have not acknowledged the power of religion, are placed under their special care; and they are exhorted to use their influence as friends for the highest welfare of their juniors. The results are as you would expect, very considerable. In the course of a term it is common, as an average, for ten or twelve pupils to adopt a profession, by soliciting to unite in the weekly devotional exercise.

When I visited this establishment there were 110 pupils; the number is commonly more, rather than less. They have, at present, no dwelling adequate to receive and board them. They are, therefore, accommodated with families in the village, two of them occupying one room. The principal is made responsible for this arrangement, and for the oversight and regulation of her charge at all times.

I took notes of one day's exercise; and you may, perhaps, desire to see it. It runs thus:—Rise a quarter before five. The chamber arranged. Half

an hour to each of the two pupils in retirement.—Half-past six, breakfast; recess of ten minutes; silent study till a quarter to eight. Eight, attend school; devotional exercises; recess, ten minutes; assemble; general instruction. Half-past nine, singing and gymnastics. Ten, recitations in classes. Eleven, singing and recess; recitations continued. Half-past twelve, dine; leisure till half-past one; study till a quarter past two.

At half-past two, re-assemble; general business. One hour reading and writing; recess, ten minutes; recitations till a quarter to five; sectional exercises in class-rooms half an hour; assemble; close in prayer. Half-past five, tea; recreation. Half-past seven, half an hour to each in room; study till nine; retire.

Of the female academies, for the ordinary period of education, there is perhaps none that so fully merits attention as the institution at Albany. It is in a flourishing condition, and has recently erected a noble edifice for its accommodation. This erection supplies sixteen apartments as class and lecture-rooms, and is faced by a beautiful portico of the Ionic order, copied from the temple on the *Ilissus*.

The Institution is divided into six departments, exclusive of the classes composed of those scholars from each of the higher departments, who are pursuing the study of the French and Spanish languages, natural history, chemistry, and botany.

In the Sixth Department, the rudiments of education are commenced. The books used are, Worcester's Primer of the English Language, Webster's Spelling Book, the Boston Class book, Leavitt's Easy Lessons, the New Testament, Parley's Geography, Olney's Geography, Emerson's First Part, and Colburn's First Lessons through the sixth section. This department is furnished with Holbrook's apparatus for primary schools.

In the Fifth Department, regular Instruction in writing commenced, Colburn's Lessons and Olney's Geography concluded, Smith's Intellectual and Practical Grammar, Irving's Catechisms of the History of various Nations, and Trimmer's Elements of Natural History. As an exercise in the definition and use of words, and the structure of language, the pupils are daily required to incorporate in sentences, to be written by them, words given to them by their teachers.

In the Fourth Department, the studies of the Fifth reviewed; the books used are, the Malte Brun Geography, by Goodrich, Worcester's General History and Chart, Shimeall's Scripture History and Biblical Literature and Chart. In this department, Colburn's Sequel commenced; exercises in composition in the journal and letter form.

In the Third Department, Colburn's Sequel and Worcester's General History concluded, and the other studies of the Fourth reviewed. The books used are, History of the United States, Ancient Geography, Goodrich's Histories of Greece and Rome. In this department, Blake's Natural Philosophy commenced, and composition continued in the journal, letter, and descriptive form.

In the Second Department, Goodrich's Histories of Greece and Rome, Ancient Geography, Blake's Natural Philosophy, concluded, and the other studies of the Third reviewed; Porter's Rhetorical Reader, Ancient and Modern Geography, with construction of Maps, Ryan's Astronomy, Robinson's History of England, Beck's Chemistry, Watts on the Mind, Newman's Rhetoric, Colburn's Algebra, and Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, composition in written essays.

In the First Department, the studies of the Second and Third continued as exercises; Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Alexander's Evidences of Christianity, Paley's Natural Theology, Arnott's Natural Philosophy, first and second volumes, Simpson's Euclid, Logic, Guy's Astronomy, Bigelow's Technology, Schlegel's History of Literature, Constitutional Law, Legendre's Geometry, select parts of the English Classics, Kames' Elements of Criticism, Butler's Analogy, first part, Payne's Elements of Mental and Moral Science, linear drawing. In this department, critical attention is paid to composition, in which there are frequent exercises.

In addition to the recitations in the books above specified, the scholars in each department are daily exercised in orthography, reading, parsing, and writing.

This course of instruction is administered by a principal and a male assistant, and eight female assistants. The French language is taught by a professor; and when sufficient classes can be formed, lectures are given in the winter terms, on experimental philosophy, in its various departments, by skilful professors. The institution is supplied with maps, charts, globes, a chemical and philosophical apparatus, and an extensive library.

There are two examinations in the year. At the close of the examination in February, the names of those who have distinguished themselves are announced; at the July examination, premiums are given, and gold medals are awarded to those who excel in mathematics and original composition.—Besides this, those who have gone through the whole course with approbation, are eligible to receive a diploma bearing the seal of the institution. This is its highest honor; and it is sought by those, especially, who are qualifying to become teachers.

The charges for tuition are as follows:—For the sixth or lowest department, three dollars per quarter; for the fifth, four; for the fourth, five; for the third, six; for the second, seven; and for the first, eight.

The success of this establishment has arisen from the excellency of its methods, and the efficiency and fidelity with which they have been executed. Excellent as the education is, it is evident that the useful is regarded much more than the ornamental. And it is this that chiefly tries the power and aptitudes of the teacher. A few accomplishments may be thrown over the character almost at any time, and at no price, (although with us they are, in a literal sense, dearly bought;) but to awaken the intellect, to teach the mind to think, the will to resolve, to nourish and train all the nascent faculties with their appropriate aliment, that is the labor, that is the difficulty.

The method of communication between the teacher and the pupil here, as in other cases, which I have noticed, is chiefly by recitation. Great care is taken not to use the text book as a thing to be stored away in the memory, but as a guide to direct inquiry and investigation. In the one case, the mind is called into vigorous and wholesome exercise; on the other, it is burdened with a weight that destroys its elasticity, and prevents its growth. Much as this simple principle commends itself to us in theory, it is seldom brought into practice. This is still the great deficiency in our schools. The ordinary teacher, as by far the easier task, will content himself with loading the memory; while the man who is truly qualified for his work, will seek to train and strengthen the superior faculties. It is due to America to say, that great watchfulness is employed against this evil, and that many examples are supplied of its having been overcome. Perhaps nothing will contribute more to this, with them and with us, than to erect the art of teaching into a *fourth profession*, and to begin the work of education systematically, with *teaching the teachers*.

I must finally observe, that this Institution, also,

owes much of its success to its decidedly religious character. Religion, without sectarian and denominational distinctions, pervades its instructions. The analysis of natural science and revealed science, conduct to one conclusion; and they are made to illustrate and support each other. If this is profitable to just attainment in knowledge, as it saves us from distorted and half-formed conceptions of the sublimer subjects, it is yet more beneficial to character, as it gives sobriety to the mind, and elevates the spirit with devout affections.

I must not omit to say, that this admirable establishment is raised and supported by subscription; and it corresponds exceedingly, with the single difference of sex, to our modern Proprietary or Grammar School. Why should not our daughters, equally with our sons, possess the advantages which these institutions, when well conducted, so readily supply?

I think you cannot fail, my dear friend, to survey this brief report on the subject of education, whether collegiate or common, with wonder and admiration. And yet we have been told, in the face of all this evidence, with petulance and pride, that the Americans have no literature, and are not a literary people. Not literary! and yet they have done more for letters than any people ever did in similar circumstances. Not literary! and yet they have made more extensive grants in favor of universal education than any other country. Not literary! and yet not only the common school, but the academy and the college, are travelling over the breadth of the land; and are sometimes found located in the desert, in anticipation of a race that shall be born. Not literary! and yet, in the more settled States, a fourth part of the people are at school; and in the State of New York alone, apart from all private seminaries, there are 9,600 schools, sustained at a yearly expense of 1,126,482 dollars! Not literary! and yet there are, in this new country, FIFTEEN UNIVERSITIES; FORTY-SIX COLLEGES; TWENTY-ONE medical schools; and TWENTY-ONE theological! Not literary! and yet they circulate SEVEN HUNDRED and FIFTY MILLIONS of NEWSPAPERS A YEAR, this is TWENTY-FIVE to our ONE; and all our best books commonly run through more and larger editions there than they do at home.

They have no literature, indeed! The fact is, they have all the literature that is possible to their age and circumstances; and as these advance, they will assuredly advance in the more abstruse and abstract sciences, till it shall be a bold thing for any to call themselves their peers. Their fidelity for the past is their security for the future. Meantime, are not Newton and Locke, Bacon and Shakspeare, as much theirs as they are ours? Would it be wisdom, on their part, to repudiate them, even if they had not an equal claim to them? Would it be wisdom in us to reproach them with tastes which do them honor, and to endeavor to separate them from community in our common republic of letters, which more than any thing may make two great nations, that are one in affinity, one in fact? For my own part, I know of nothing more truly sublime than to see this people in the very infancy of their national existence, put forth such Herculean energy for the diffusion of universal knowledge and universal virtue! But prejudice has neither eyes nor ears.

LETTER XLI.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I regret that I must now turn to other and very different subjects. In a general notice of this country, especially if that notice profess to be of a moral and religious character, it is impossible to pass in silence the condition of the Indian and the African. And it is just as impossible to notice the relative position of these two classes of the people, without strong, but just, disapprobation. But the claims of our common humanity are the highest earthly claims we know; and they must not be blinked, or disregarded.

Slavery is, at the present time, the question of questions in America. You will be glad to learn that it is so, since extended discussion cannot fail to humanize opinion, and to bring on a happy consummation. If I glance at the state of the slave, the means used in his favor, and the prospects of a successful issue in the use of such means, you will, perhaps, be sufficiently informed on this most interesting subject.

In referring to the condition of the slave in this country, it may be well to observe both on his *legal* and *actual* state. Although the different Slave States have various laws, they are essentially the same; and there is, therefore, not much difficulty in extracting the spirit and substance of the whole code of bondage. In the eye of the law, then—

Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants, to the latest posterity.

The labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labor, the amount of toil, and the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the "human brute;" and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.

The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts, or taxes, either of a living or deceased master. Sold at auction, "either individually, or in lots, to suit the purchaser," he may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends, belong, in point of law, to their masters.

Neither a slave, nor free colored person, can be a witness against any white or free man, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit; but they may give testimony against a fellow-slave or free colored man, even in cases affecting life.

The slave may be punished at his master's discretion—without trial—without any means of legal redress—whether his offence be real, or imaginary; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person or persons he may choose to appoint.

The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances; his only safety consists in the fact, that his owner may bring suit, and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labor.

Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

The slave is deemed unworthy of protection in his domestic relations.

The slave is denied the means of knowledge and improvement.

The slave is denied the justice awarded to the white.

There is a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in the white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished, in the slave, with death.

This, then, is the law, or rather the injustice of

the case, under legal sanctions. But the law may be a dead letter, and the people to whom it relates may be in the comparative enjoyment of liberty and happiness. I sincerely wish this could be predicated of this case; but, in many respects, the actual condition of the colored population is worse than the law contemplates; and severe and despotic as it is, it knows no relaxation, except what may spring from individual charity; and where slavery is found, charity does not often dwell. Every variation in the law itself has been against the slave, and the execution has been usually in excess rather than otherwise. The small remnant of social liberty which these people had, has been dreaded; and it has therefore been abridged. Education has been felt to be incompatible with slavery, and it has been refused. To the honor of religion, it has been open to the same objections; and the slaves must not meet to rest their griefs on God their Maker, unless a white man will condescend to be present and watch their conduct. One of the highest encomiums ever offered to religion, was pronounced by the West India planters, when they declared that Christianity and slavery could not exist together. The American planters are adopting the same declaration; and they are both right—indisputably right. But who could ever have supposed that men, with such an admission on their lips, should commit themselves to the dreadful alternative of sustaining slavery at the expense of Christianity?

Of course, where such law exists, and where there is a disposition to exceed rather than to relax, the daily and hourly enormities must be unspeakable. The domestic slaves, indeed, often meet with kind treatment, and they as often repay it by sincere attachment. I witnessed many such instances with unmixed pleasure, and was struck to perceive how capable the slave was of generous sentiment, where it had the least place for action. This was often pleaded in mitigation of the system there, as it has been here. It might be very well, if the subject were a mere matter of treatment; but it is not. It is a question of right and wrong, and not a question of more or less. The vice of the system is, that it gives to the white man a power which no man is competent to possess, and it deprives the slave of a right which makes him less than man to surrender. To plead that the slave is in better condition because I hold him in bonds, matches, in effrontery, though not in guilt, the man who justifies a robbery he has committed on your person, by maintaining that your property will be safer in his pocket than in your own!

So far as treatment has to do with the actual state of the African, I fear, on a large scale, little can be said in its favor, while much may be truly stated of a most appalling character. Many of the instances of kind management which fall under notice, are to be ascribed to persons who are decidedly unfriendly to slavery, and who gladly seek to lighten the chains which, for the present, they cannot break. Many more, again, arise from the consideration prudently given to them as property; they are, to the owner, a portion of his live stock, perhaps the whole of it; and he has the same reasons to preserve them that influence him in the care of his oxen or horses. But, too generally, prudential motive is insufficient to secure to the slave the attention which is shown by a merciful man to his cattle. The master does not fear his cattle, but he does fear his slave; and fear is always cruel. He is satisfied of his right of property in the one case; his conscience forbids that he should be wholly satisfied in the other; and the uneasiness which attends on conscious wrong, stings him, and converts him, however reluctantly, into an oppressor.

This feature, in the present condition of the slave, has become painfully prominent. Sixty years ago there were only about half a million of colored people in the States; now, there are two millions and a half; and they are increasing in a greater proportion than the whites, great as that is. They have, consequently, become an object of alarm and fear. Instead of meliorating their circumstances, and medicating their wounds, their bonds are drawn closer, and made well nigh insufferable.

The field slave, of course, is the more exposed to bad treatment; and though much protection is now brought to his aid by the force of public opinion, there is no doubt that he is mostly submitted to hardships which, if they are proper to brutes, disgrace alike the man who inflicts, and the man who suffers them. In the South, this is especially the case; and it arises naturally from the circumstances in which they are placed. They are bought and sold as cattle; they do the work of cattle; they are provided for as cattle till the overseer and owner come to think that they are cattle and no more. As far as thought is the parent of action, I am persuaded this is very commonly the case; and even where thought takes a more settled and philosophical form, instances will sometimes occur. I never thought it possible, that I should meet with a man of education and property, who would seriously argue that his slave, if not a brute, was, at least, not of the human species; but I have found such persons in this country, as, without doubt, I should in the West Indies, and who have invited me to formal discussion on the subject.

In harmony with this, I was told confidentially, and from excellent authority, that recently, at a meeting of planters in South Carolina, the question was seriously discussed, Whether the slave is more profitable to the owner, if well fed, well clothed, and worked lightly, or if made the most of at once, and exhausted in some eight years. The decision was in favor of the last alternative. That decision will perhaps make many shudder. But, to my mind, this is not the chief evil. The greater and original evil is considering the *slave as property;* if he is only property, and my property, then I have some right to ask, how I may make that property most available.

But the crying aggravation of slavery, in the United States, arises from the *internal traffic.* It is in the South, as you know, that cotton, rice, and sugar, are raised; and it is in this service that slave labor is found to be indispensable. Slaves are, therefore, accumulating in these parts, and a much higher price is given for them there than elsewhere. This, of course, is a great temptation to the cupidity of many; and the vilest means are eventually adopted to satisfy it. Slaves are regularly bred in some States, as cattle for the southern market. Besides this, the men who pursue this nefarious traffic have acquired wealth, and use it extensively to acquire more. They have secret agents spread over the States where the slave is less gainful, to avail themselves of all opportunities of accomplishing their ends. They seek to trepan the free colored man, and by throwing the proof of his freedom upon him, find him off his guard, and often succeed against him. They especially seek to buy up, as for local and domestic use, all the slaves that are at different places to be disposed of; and when the unhappy beings are once in their power, they disappear in the night, and are lost to their birth-place and connections for ever. Most of the sales and the kidnapping that arise have reference to the southern market; and are too commonly conducted on false and foul pretences. It is supposed that not less than ten thousand slaves are by these means procured for the demands of the South.

From the mysteriousness of these disappearances,

from the impossibility of hearing any more of the parties so abstracted from society, and from the known severity of the heat and labor in the South, this domestic slave-trade is the terror of the African, and it makes slavery, which would otherwise wear a milder aspect, twice cursed.

A case in illustration occurred in a certain town of Virginia, that I visited, which had created a sensation of pity and indignation through the whole western portion of that state. A gentleman sold a female slave. The party professing to buy not being prepared to make the necessary payments, the slave was to be resold. A concealed agent of the trade bought her and her two children, as for his own service, where her husband, also a slave in the town, might visit her and them. Both the husband and wife suspected that she would be privately sent away. The husband, in their common agony, offered to be sold, that he might go with her. This was declined. He resolved on the last effort, of assisting her to escape. That he might lay suspicion asleep, he went to take leave of her and his children, and appeared to resign himself to the event. This movement had its desired effect; suspicion was withdrawn both from him and his wife; and he succeeded in emancipating them. Still, what was to be done with his treasure, now he had obtained it? Flight was impossible; and nothing remained but concealment. And concealment seemed hopeless, for no place would be left unsearched, and punishment would fall on the party who should give them shelter. However, they were missing; and they were sought for diligently, but not found. Some months afterwards it was casually observed that the floor under a slave's bed (the sister of the man) looked dirty and greasy. A board was taken up; and there lay the mother and her children on the clay, and in an excavation of three feet by five! It is averred, that they had been there in a cold and enclosed space, hardly large enough for their coffin (buried alive there) for SIX MONTHS!

This is not all. The agent was *only provoked* by this circumstance! He demanded the woman; and though every one was clamorous to redeem her, and retain her to her husband, he would not sell! she was taken to his slave-pen, and has disappeared! The man—most miserable man!—still exists in the town.

Let us attend to other testimony on this subject, chiefly American, and I believe, of unquestioned truth.

"Dealing in slaves has become a large business. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws, gags, cow-skins, and other whips, oftentimes bloody. But the laws permit the traffic, and it is suffered."—*Niles' Register*, vol. xxxv. p. 4.

"Dr. Torrey says, whole families of free colored people have been attacked in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged, and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless captivity, leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds."—*Child's Appeal*, p. 31.

"Advertisements are very common, in which a mother and her children are offered either in a lot, or separately, as may suit the purchaser. In one of these advertisements, I observed it stated, that the youngest child was about a year old."—*Idem*, p. 33.

"The captives are driven by the whip, through toilsome journeys, under a burning sun; their limbs fettered; with nothing before them but the prospect of toil more severe than that to which they have been accustomed."—*Idem*, p. 33.

"The trade is still briskly carried on in Africa, and new slaves are smuggled into these States through the Spanish colonies. A very extensive internal slave trade is carried on in this country. The breeding of negroes for the markets, in other States (Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri,) is a very lucrative branch of business. Whole coffles of them, chained and manacled, are driven through our capital, on their way to auction."—*Idem*, p. 30.

"A slave being missing, several planters united in a negro hunt, as it is called. They set out with dogs, guns, and horses, as they would chase a tiger. The poor fellow, being discovered, took refuge in a tree, where he was deliberately shot by his pursuers."—*Idem*, p. 24.

"A planter had occasion to send a female slave some distance on an errand. She did not return so soon as he expected, and he grew angry. At last he gave orders that she should be severely whipped when she came back. When the poor creature arrived, she pleaded for mercy, saying she had been so very ill, that she was obliged to rest in the fields; but she was ordered to receive another dozen of lashes for having had the impudence to speak. She died at the whipping-post; nor did she perish alone; a new-born babe died with her."—*Idem*, p. 25.

"A few days since I attended a sale, which exhibited slavery in all its sickening deformity. The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table—the physical proportions examined—their defects and beauties noted. 'A prime lot; here they go!' There I saw the father looking with sullen contempt upon the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he dared not speak; and the mother pressing her infants closer to her bosom with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming, in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession, 'I can't leff my children! I won't leff my children!' but on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered for ever. On another stand I saw a man, apparently as white as myself, exposed for sale. I turned away from the humiliating spectacle.

"At another time I saw the concluding scene of this infernal drama. It was on the wharf. A slave ship for New Orleans was lying in the stream, and the poor negroes, handcuffed and pinioned, were hurried off in boats, eight at a time. Here I witnessed the last farewell—the heart-rending separation of every earthly tie. The mute and agonizing embrace of the husband and wife, and the convulsive grasp of the mother and the child, were alike torn asunder for ever! It was a living death; they never see or hear of each other more. Tears flowed fast, and mine with the rest."—*Stuart.*

Such are the evils consequent on slavery, and especially on a domestic slave trade. And these enormities are not put down invidiously. The worst evils are not proper to persons, so much as they are common to the *system.* Some, in dealing with it, may be severe, and some lenient; but the system is accursed, and only accursed; and if allowed to exist, would quickly produce the same results in England and France as it does in America, and did in the West Indies. If it finds man benevolent, it makes him cruel. It is, by a wise and righteous arrangement of Providence, a greater curse to the oppressor than to the oppressed; though we judge not so. We see the whip, we hear the lash, and we instantly give our tears to the man who is made less than human; but we are not so quick to perceive and stand aghast at that inward and moral desolation, which has spread itself over the prosperous oppressor, and has withered up the

sense of justice, compassion, and generosity. It is ordained, *that he who deals in man, shall become less than man.*

LETTER XLII.

My dear friend—It would be a libel on the people of America to say, that they, that is, the portion of the States best entitled, by numbers, intelligence, and wealth, to receive that denomination, have contentedly participated in this state of things, or have even remained indifferent to it. All the northern States have entirely washed their hands of slavery and the slave trade; and the middle States are either free, or will quickly be so. The religious of every name and every place are prepared to admit and deplore the evil of slavery in itself; and are expressing an anxious desire for any remedy that might be effectual. Many, very many, with whom I met, would willingly have released their slaves, but the law requires that in such case they should leave the State; and this would mostly be not to improve their condition, but to banish them from their home, and make them miserable outcasts. What they cannot for the present remove, they are studious to mitigate; and I have never seen kinder attentions paid to any domestics than by such persons to their slaves. In defiance of the infamous laws, making it criminal for the slave to be taught to read, and difficult to assemble for an act of worship, they are instructed, and they are assisted to worship God.

The more ostensible means for their relief, which have been created by the force of public opinion, are to be found in the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies. The Colonization Society is the elder of the two, and originated in a pure motive of compassion for the slave. It proposes to establish a free colony on the coast of Africa, and by this means to confer a benefit on a country which has been wasted by our crimes, and to open a channel to the slaveholder to give freedom to his slaves. Its founders hoped that the movement thus made, while it brought the direct blessing of liberty to many, would indirectly, and without stimulating the prejudices of the planter, familiarize the common mind with the inherent evils of slavery, and thus contribute to ultimate emancipation. For many years this was the best and the only remedy offered to public attention, and the benevolent, of course, took hold of it; and it has at present the concurrence of New England, and of the intelligent and influential in most places.

The Anti-Slavery Society is of later formation. Without hesitation or condition, it demands immediate and complete abolition; and in doing this, it does not scruple to pit itself against the older Society, and to denounce it as standing in its way, and as favorable to the perpetuation of slavery. This, as you may expect, has brought the two Societies into a state of violent collision. Neither party has kept its temper; much personal abuse, and bitter vituperation, have been emitted; and both, in the heat of party conflict, have been in danger of losing sight of the slave, and affording a humiliating, but acceptable spectacle to the slaveholder.

Apart from these animosities, you seek an unprejudiced judgment on these societies. You shall at least have an honest opinion. The Colonization Society may have been well as a harbinger of something better; but it was never equal to the object of emancipation, and is now below the spirit and demands of the day. 1. It does not lay hold sufficiently on the public mind. What it proposes to do is indirect, and indefinite, and complicate; and bears no proportion to the pressure and extent of the evil with which it professes to deal. 2. It has lost a great measure of public confidence. Its founders and original friends are of unimpeached integrity; but it has now many devoted slaveholders among its chief supporters, and this awakens suspicion. Some of its agents, acting in difficult circumstances, and wanting due discretion, to say the least, have commended it in the North, as an Anti-Slavery Society; while others, in the South, have labored to show, that it does not disturb slave property, and that its tendency is to secure and perpetuate it; and this has confirmed suspicion in distrust. The best friends of the Society and the slave, have protested against these conflicting and unworthy statements; but they have not been able to revive confidence. Then, 3. as a *remedy* for slavery, it must be placed amongst the grossest of all delusions. In fifteen years it has transported less than three thousand persons to the African coast; while the *increase* on their numbers, in the same period, is about seven hundred thousand! By all means let the Colonization Society exist, if it will, as a Missionary Society for the benefit of Africa; but, in the name of common honesty and common sense, let it disabuse the public mind, by avowing that it does not pretend to be a *remedy for slavery.* 4. If this society could accomplish its object, and transport all the slaves to a foreign shore, it would inflict on America herself a most deadly wound. She wants the colored people; she cannot do without them. She has hitherto depended, and does still depend, on the African or the Irish for every instance of consolidated labor; and she owes to the sweat of their brow a full moiety of her prosperity and wealth. If the Africans were removed to-morrow, one half of her territories would be a mere desolation. To wish to get rid of them is a mere prejudice—the most vulgar of all prejudices—the prejudice of color. Only make them white, and America would know how to value them!

It is quite evident, then, if benevolent opinion and effort, in its improved state, was to be concentrated in favor of the slave, that some other association was indispensable. It is only to be lamented that the Anti-Slavery has shot at once as much in advance of the public mind as the older Society fell below it. By saying this, however, I would not be understood to complain of the great principle it adopts, but of the methods by which it has sought to give it predominance. Had it calmly and firmly announced, on religious grounds, that all slavery is a sin against God, as well as an offence against society, and that as such requires without delay, to be abolished; and had it refused to come down from this high vantage ground, to deal in personal invective and exaggerated statement; it would have won its way, unresisted, over the whole portion of the religious and philanthropic of the community with surprising rapidity. But it has not done so. In looking to a noble issue, it has been impatient of means necessary to the end. In proposing to confer an inestimable good, it has not paused to ask, how it may be granted with the least alloy of evil. It has allowed nothing to prejudice; nothing to interest; nothing to time. It has borne on its front defiance, and not conciliation; and this not merely against slavery, but against the slaveholder. Means leading to the result, and remuneration consequent on it, instead of being considerately discussed, are peremptorily denounced. If there be any thing that has special power to shock existing prejudice, it has been called up, and placed in the foreground of the battle; it will demand amalgamation as well as emancipation. It has been resolved on getting the wedge in; but in fulfilling this resolution, it seems to have been careless, whether it should be by the butt end or the fine one.

As you might foresee, the effect has been, that mostly those who would have been its best friends, have been afraid of it; and those who were pledged, from the truest benevolence, to the Colonization Society, have received offence; while, in the slave States, its personality and want of prudence, apart from its devotion to a hated principle, has thrown back the cause for which it pleads to a lamentable distance.

However, most of these evils, I believe, have originated with a limited portion of its agency, and are, more or less, in course of correction. It has, under forbidding circumstances, made to itself a host of friends; and if even now it shall recover its backward steps, and move to its great and holy object with ordinary wisdom and temper, it will soon collect all that is liberal in mind and generous in affection in its favor.

Should its course be still repulsive and inauspicious, the cause will not be left in its hands. The public mind is in motion, and it will create some legitimate medium of action for itself. Meetings for such a purpose were held in Boston while I was there; and, subsequently, a public Convention has been held to organize a society, which shall look to the same object, but with more regard to the means by which it is to be successfully approached.

It is yet greatly to be desired, that the real friends of that object, instead of multiplying societies, could come to a common and good understanding.—Union is strength; and they will yet require to carry their object, the strength of the giant and the skill of the philosopher. If the Colonization Society would renounce its pretensions to emancipation, and content itself with the work of a Missionary to bless Africa by redeemed and pious Africans, there would be an end of all heart-burnings between the institutions. If those who benevolently joined this Society, as a means of emancipation, would unite with the wisest and best men in the Anti-Slavery Society in the cause of abolition, the religious and generous energies of the nation would find a focus, from which they would fuse and dissolve every chain of every slave, and the world would be free!

You will learn from this, that, on the whole, I think hopefully of the question; and you will desire to know more exactly the considerations that give this complexion to my opinions.

I am fully disposed to admit, that the subject is attended with peculiar difficulties. The evil was brought to this people by others, and has grown up with them and their institutions. The slaves are not, as they were with us, some thousands of miles away; they are at their doors, and in the midst of them, and both parties are continually exasperated by the presence of what is disagreeable to them.—The States are independent of each other, so that Massachusetts cannot control Carolina any more than France can England; and they are, in all internal affairs, independent of the General Government, so that it cannot control them. There is, therefore, no hope of legal influence in this case.—All that the Government, without the consent of the States, can do, is to afford the country the benefit of a good example; and this it should do without delay. It happens that the District of Columbia is a stronghold of slavery; but this district is under the exclusive legislation of Congress "in all cases whatsoever." This single circumstance involves the whole American people; and constitutes them, at this hour, a SLAVEHOLDING NATION. The representatives of the whole people enter the halls of Congress, and plead for the rights of man and of the world at the top of their voice; and the African lies manacled at their feet, and they have the power to declare him free, and they do not use it!

Add to this, that recently, when the supreme Government had the power, on the settlement of a new State, to determine whether it should be free or slaveholding, they resolved in favor of bondage, and the matter, it must be admitted, is somewhat discouraging.

But, although the Congress can do but little, and is backward to do what is within its orbit; and although the legal renovation of the slave State rests with itself, and it may defy extraneous dictation; there are, nevertheless, many cheering indications that America will cast away this foul reproach soon and for ever.

1. Much has already been done in this philanthropic work. New England was once deeply committed to the slave-trade, by far its worst part, if any can be worst where all is so bad; but now she abhors both it and slavery. Most of the States which are now free, were recently slaveholding; and some are still in the state of transition. What has been done, has been done with safety and advantage, and this is a powerful inducement to a just consideration of the subject. The same success and safety would attend it in every other State, if wise provisions were adopted, and the *slave-owners were willing*.—In their case, as in the parallel one of the West Indies, nothing is essentially wanting to the safety of the change, but the *decided good-will of the planters!*

2. There are several slave States that are prepared for emancipation. Of this class are, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. Maryland is resolved on it. The West of Virginia is also decided; and the East lingers only from the undue gain of the domestic trade. Kentucky is disposed to it. You will conclude, that some powerful causes are at work to produce this result. You are quite right. The most potent cause that can act on this case is working efficaciously—it is interest. Kentucky and Virginia compare themselves with Ohio; they were settled earlier, and are nearer the sources of emigration, but Ohio has left them far behind, in trade, in wealth, and in population. And the palpable reason is, that Ohio is free, and they are not. Many residents leave the slave State for the free, in apprehension or disgust; and the new settler, on every account, prefers the free State, so that all the advantage is with it and against its opposite. If a slave State hesitates for a time between the old and the new state of things, when it becomes a border State, the inconveniences are so great, and the comparison so striking, that it not only decides, but is impatient to be free; and in this way, liberty promises to travel on from State to State till they shall be all free.

3. The slaves themselves are preparing for this issue. They are so in *mind*. It is impossible for such excitement and discussion to exist in their behalf, without some vague report reaching them.—They are thus taught to know that they are feared, and that there is cause for fear; and that they have friends, and that change may be expected. The impression does not work the less because it is indefinite. The amount and force of it is to be gathered in signs rather than words. To me these are unequivocal signs. They abhor Liberia and the Colonization Society. They seek with growing eagerness instruction for themselves and children. They have strong desires to assemble for separate worship as a means of common sympathy; and they are supported, and are sometimes buoyant, by a conviction, that something will happen for their good.

They are so in *numbers*. Their increase is a most remarkable circumstance in their history. As it seems impossible to raise the Indian, so it appears impossible to diminish them. In their state of oppression and privation, to increase in a proportion greater than their oppressors, with all the aid of

emigration! It reminds one of the increase of Israel in Egypt; and where would be the wrong of supposing that Providence is strengthening them, as he did Israel, to forsake the house of bondage? And observe, it is not the mere amount that is to be reckoned here, as of ten millions against two: there is especially to be noted, the accumulation of these numbers in one portion of the empire. This accumulation of the black population in the South, is still going on; while that of the whites is diminishing. Evidently this is tending to a crisis; and, in terror of it, many have already fled from the vicinity. That crisis will come, if existing causes are allowed to produce their proper effects. What determination it shall take, must depend on many contingencies; but it can hardly find and leave the slave a slave.

4. Then, finally, public sentiment is ripening to this end. It has grown surprisingly within these few years. All discussion nurtures it. Daily observation strengthens it. If the proximity of the evil may create difficulties, which we could not know, it presses the subject on the mind and the senses incessantly, and demands relief. The clanking of their chains, the piercing cries of the oppressed, "Am I not a man and a brother?"—are at their doors and in their ears, and will not suffer compassion to slumber within them. The very struggles and animosities between the two societies for their relief, and the advance which the younger has made, in principle, beyond the elder, are evidence of the gathering power of opinion, and of its determination to make to itself suitable channels of action. And, above all, the feverish anxiety which possesses those who are unwilling to look at change, announces an inward consciousness that the change must come.

Nothing has accelerated this state of feeling so much as the recent deeds of England. When by the highest moral act our country ever performed, slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions, I could not help saying, that it was done, not merely for ourselves, but for the world. Slavery, indeed, lingers now in America; but it is impossible it should linger long. The example of Great Britain has acted on the whole people like a shock; and if no reverses attend the transition, and if their jealousies are not aroused by indiscreet interference and direct agencies from the parent land, it will continue so to act, till every free man shall resolve that every slave shall be free. And whatever may oppose the consummation, it can only retard, and not prevent it. It is a source of great alleviation to find, that, as our country first inflicted this evil on America, her late but noble example is acting with silent but amazing power for its annihilation.

Yes, the slave must go free! Slavery now has a legal existence only in America. But America is the very place, of all others, where it cannot, must not be tolerated. With her Declaration of Rights, with her love of liberty, with her sense of religion, with her professed deference for man as man, and with the example of the old world against her—which she has forsaken from its defective sense of freedom—to uphold slavery would be an act of such supreme iniquity, as, beside it, would make all common vice seem to brighten into virtue. Much evil may be; but this cannot be! What, slavery in the last home of liberty! The vilest despotism in the presence of boasted equality! The deepest oppression of man, where the rights of man are professedly most honored! No, this cannot continue. Slavery and Liberty cannot exist together; either slavery must die, or liberty must die. Even now, the existence of slavery is a violation of the Constitution of America; and so long as slavery remains, it exists in letter and not in fact!

The eyes of the world are now fixed on America. She will act worthy of herself, her high professions, and her distinguished privileges. She will show that the evil by which she suffers has been inflicted, and not adopted. She will repudiate it without delay; only asking the time and the means, which may secure to all parties the greatest good with the least evil. And kindred nations, and oppressed man, shall look on her from afar with admiration and delight, as to the new world of promise "wherein dwelleth righteousness!"

Besides this, there is another field of philanthropic service open to America. It is that of seeking the welfare of the aborigines of the country. They are far less thought of, at the present moment, than the oppressed African; but their claims are not inferior, nor scarcely are their wrongs. They amount to about five hundred thousand persons. They have the highest claim to the soil. It has been allowed such both by Britain and the United States; and America, by conciliation and justice, might confer the greatest good on these interesting people; and all the good done to them, would be so much benefit brought to herself.

Yet no people have suffered more. Advantage has been taken of their ignorance and generous confidence, at various times, in every possible way. While the invader has been weak, he has allowed their claims; as he gathered force, he doubted them; and when he was confident in his strength, he practically denied them. Very recently, some flagrant instances of oppression and plunder, under the form and sanction of law, have occurred; and it was only at the eleventh hour, that the Supreme Court of the States, by a signal act of justice, reversed the acts of local government and of Congress too, and saved the nation from being committed to deeds which must have been universally condemned as flagitious and infamous.

But to tell of their wrongs would be to write a volume; and that such a one as Ezekiel was once commissioned to inscribe. Many of them rest with former generations; and the reference, either to the present or the past, is only desirable, as it may awaken compassion and dispose to justice. At least, let the existing generation seek indemnity for the past by care for the future. If their fathers may have acted beneath the influence of fear and resentment, there is now no place for the action of such passions. These people commend themselves to protection, by their weakness as well as their manliness and generosity. It is high time that they should be allowed to live in peace and security, and in the inviolable possession of their lands, their laws, their liberty. If this may not be in the United States, where can it be? Is the most solemn "Declaration" of a whole people to be nullified a SECOND TIME, and pronounced a mere legal fiction? Justice, Truth, Mercy, Religion—Earth and Heaven, demand of America that she should assure the world she is what she professes to be, BY PRESERVING THE INDIAN, AND EMANCIPATING THE AFRICAN.

LETTER XLIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND—It is now time that I brought both my narrative and disquisitions to a close. The field, however, is so extensive, and so interesting, that only to glance at the various objects within the scope of this communication, and which demand observation, requires considerable space.

Although I have endeavored to convey my honest and first impressions as I have passed onward, you may desire that I should yet express the general

amount of these impressions, on a review of the entire subject of remark. This is certainly what I should like in my own case; and expecting that you will make reasonable allowances for the delicacy and difficulty of reducing so many subjects, and such multifarious impressions, to a common conclusion, I will not hesitate to meet your wishes. I shall have the more readiness in attempting this, because if that conclusion should need to be qualified in any degree, the previous statements will, I trust, amply supply you with the means of independent judgment, and salutary correction.

The impression, then, left on my own mind, as the result of combined observation, is that of satisfaction and hope. When I say this, however, you must bear in remembrance what was the state of mind with which I went out to this country. My expectations were certainly not so high as many might entertain; they were certainly not so low as those of many; they were, I think, moderate; and *they have been exceeded.* Allowing, as I did, for the difficulties of a newly settled country, and for the disadvantages of emigration, the state of education, morals, and religion, was decidedly better than I expected to find it. Indeed, I have never visited a country in which I have seen them equalled. England herself painfully suffers in the comparison.

There are, undoubtedly, some points in politics, in science, and in domestic life, in which the advantage may still be with the parent country; but on the subjects in question, and which are legitimate to this inquiry, the advantage is with America. Education with us, may, in certain cases, be more refined and recondite; but it is not spread over so large a surface, and is less in the sum total; and if, as Johnson says, the state of common life is the true state of a nation, the nation must be considered to be better educated.

In morals, too, you are constrained to receive the same impression. It is impossible to compare New York with Liverpool, or Boston with Bristol, and not to be struck with the difference. It was Sabbath evening when I landed at Liverpool, but I was grieved to admit, that at no time in New York, had open vice met my eye with such prominence, and to such a degree.

I know it has been said, as against the higher morality of this people, that their merchants are less honorable than ours. I have given some attention to this, as it is certainly an important allegation; and as I had found reason partly to give it my acquiescence. I suppose it will be easily admitted, that no mercantile interests were ever more honorably conducted than are those of Great Britain. But honor is conventional, and of slow growth; and when matured it has a tendency to self-preservation; so that a person finds with us, that he can scarcely be a merchant without being a man of honor.

To try the American merchant by such a test, may be sufficiently severe; yet he need not shrink from it. He is certainly less influenced by what is conventional; but he is, at least, equally effected by what is properly moral. I have every reason to think, that the regular and accredited merchant of the States, is as upright in his transactions, as steady to his contracts, and is governed by as high a sense of justice, as are the merchants of the old world. Still I am willing to admit, so far as it regards the New England character, that, with all its excellences, it is liable to temptation here. It participates, in some particulars, with the Scotch character, and, like it, may require watchfulness.—Those who pride themselves in their shrewdness in driving a "keen bargain," are commonly in danger of being "over keen."

Apart from this, it is allowed, that there is some cause for such an impression being hastily received in London; and it arises from the circumstances of the people. The fact is, that one half the men in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who announce themselves as merchants, are not known as such to the accredited merchants of those places. They are mostly men of desperate fortune, who have fled from their creditors in Europe, and who are seeking to establish themselves where they are not known.—Frequently they succeed; and in shaking off some of their necessities, free themselves from some of their vices; but surely it is not to be expected that they should be governed by any fine sense of honor. More commonly their bad propensities remain: and they play the rogue with more freedom, because they can do it on a larger field, and with greater safety and advantage. The very honor and integrity of which we are speaking, require that such distinctions should be allowed and appreciated.

Then the appearances in favor of religion are to their advantage. They have no law for the regulation or observance of the Sabbath, but public sentiment secures its sanctification better with them than with us. I have never seen that day observed in Bristol or Bath as it is in Boston and Philadelphia. In the large town, the people attend in larger numbers at their respective places of worship; there are more places for their accommodation; and the average size is greater with them than with us. The communicants in that country are far more numerous than in this; and you will regard this as important evidence on the subject, especially when it is known that the principle of strict communion prevails. The ministry, as a whole, is better adapted to the people and to usefulness. The spirit of regeneration animates it; and evangelical truth is more familiar to it. It is neither so rich nor so poor as with us, and is therefore more efficient. One portion of it is not degraded by the political elevation of other portions; but, as a body, it is entitled to common and equal respect, and it has decidedly more respect, and, therefore, more influence than with us.

With these visible signs in favor of religion, and with the knowledge that the Americans have far less reason to preserve appearances than ourselves, it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion already suggested.

These statements are to be understood to have a special though not an exclusive application to the leading States, which have been longest settled, and are the most populous. It would be most unreasonable to expect that the States in the far West and far South should equal them in privilege and attainment. They are rather, as a candid Episcopalian writer has allowed, to be compared with our colonies than with ourselves. Let me add, however, that we have no colonies that would not suffer by the comparison; and that their average means, as I have shown, will actually bear to be tried by what we most admire at home.

Still it is admitted that much remains to be done. All the States are capable of great improvement; and the rapid settlement taking place every where, seems to mock all past effort, and to demand that it shall be put forth on a continually expanded scale, even to exhaustion. The West especially, has almost overwhelming claims. If this empire shall retain its integrity, the West promises to become the seat of power; and whatever it ultimately becomes, the whole country will be. Every eye is fixed on it. The worldling looks to it as his paradise; the Papist looks to it as to another centre, where he may again elevate the crucifix, and assert the claims of St. Peter; and the infidel looks to it as a refuge

where he may shake off the trammels of religion, and be at peace.

Do I, then, regard these circumstances with apprehension? No, I look on them with hope—I regard the entire exigencies of this great country with the assurance of hope. If there was a time for apprehension, that time is now past. Had the church remained as dormant and secure as she was even ten years ago, there might have been cause for alarm; but she is awake, and the people are awake. The Home Mission, the Education, and the Sunday School Societies, which have arisen into such mighty and rapid action, are directing chiefly their energies to the West. Missionaries in the cause of religion and education are traversing all its regions; schools, and even colleges, are springing up amidst the stumps of the smouldering forest. The wants and claims of the West are made to ring and reverberate over the East, and the North and the South; and the common attention is not summoned in vain.

Then it is not merely that public attention is awakened to these growing exigencies; the people in the more settled States are strikingly prepared to benefit those that are settling. They are so by circumstances, and they are so by character. The circumstances of the New England people, for instance, remarkably dispose and fit them to aid the West. Their soil is comparatively sterile and ungrateful, and this inclines them to emigrate. They carry with them the very institutions which are wanted by the West; they are never contented with a settlement till it has its school and its church; and their force of character—their thrift, their energy, and their morals—gives them a controlling influence by which society around them is modelled. The hand of Providence seems conspicuous in this provision, and in making it so effectual. In the whole, about 21,000 persons were delivered from the mother country on these shores; their offspring are now spread over all the States, and amount to upwards of three millions of persons!

Not less does their character inspire hope. So far as it affects this subject, it may be said that they have remarkable versatility in adapting themselves to the occasion, and great earnestness in moving to their object. Their *versatility* and tact may possibly be greatly fostered by their circumstances—this is not material to a question purely practical: that it exists is without doubt. The difficulty which would be felt with us, of passing from an occupation which we had learnt, to one of which we were ignorant, is scarcely felt with them. They may not be over careful in selecting means, nor over steady in the use of them; but they certainly have a degree of French facility in falling on them, and in accommodating themselves to them. Many find no difficulty in becoming students at forty, if they should have been denied the opportunity before; and it is a common thing for those who do not succeed to their wishes in one avocation to apply to another, though years should be the price of acquisition. Forms in society, as well as personal habits, are far less fixed here; and where there is so much freedom to move, you may expect it to abound and vary in proportion. I knew of a gentleman who had been trained to mercantile pursuits; as a Christian, he thought he could be more useful by preaching; he renounced, therefore, his profitable merchandise, to employ himself in public teaching. After some pains and lengthened trial, he had reason to think he had miscalculated on his talent. Having made the experiment, he again became a merchant; remarking, that, as by merchandise he could afford to sustain five preachers better than himself, there could be no doubt that, as a merchant, he might best promote the cause of religion. He felt no difficulty in these transitions; and if he did not display the clearest judgment, he showed that he had no double or dubious motive.

It must be evident to a practised judgment, that this aptitude to become all things to all men, and all occasions, is a valuable qualification for real usefulness, in a country where the form and fashion of things, are continually varying under the influence of increasing civilization and refinement.—The free institutions of the people possess just the same pliancy. The *principle of adaptation*, the want of which, a high authority has lately admitted to be the great defect of an Establishment, is certainly the life and virtue of the voluntary system. Whatever may otherwise be its character, its adversaries cannot disallow the inherent power of adaptation; and if they did, America would confound them. The school-house and the church are seen to accommodate themselves precisely to the state of the people, never behind them, never too much in advance. Their very form and structure pass through the gradations of wood, brick, and stone, as do the residences of the people; and their lessons are dispensed by "line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little, and there much," as they can bear them.

Especially, the Americans have great *earnestness* of character; and as this is essential to all true greatness, so it is the very quality to inspire hope. I think I have never seen more of it in any people. It may not always express itself as you would desire; but its very presence and name is power.—Their character, like their climate, has great decision about it; it may be hot, it may be cold; but when it is cold it freezes, and when it is hot it burns. Only let them fully apprehend the importance of an object; and you will see them move to it with a directness of mind and a scorn of sacrifices, which would surprise weaker natures.

When this is associated with Christian principle it confers a striking power of self-devotion. Endless instances illustrate and confirm this. It is this quality, thus sanctified, that gives to their missionary his highest praise. It is this, through the form of the Temperance Societies, that has astonished the world with the noble example of a nation renovating itself. In smaller circles the principle is perpetually at work with equal power, though with less observation. I have been charmed and refreshed with it every where. It inspires private Christians to revolve great things, and to compass them by great means. I know of no country where there are more examples of beneficence and magnificence. The rich will act nobly out of their abundance; and the poor will act as nobly out of their penury. There are refreshing instances of individuals sustaining schools, professorships, missionaries, and evangelists. Ministers are repeatedly making movements in which it was evident, that every thing was to be sacrificed for usefulness. I have seen the pastor at sixty, beloved and happy in his people, give up all, and go forth into the wilderness, because he thought that his example, more than his labors, might bless the West; while the church has been as ready to relinquish him, though with tears, when she has been satisfied, that it was for the good of the church catholic. I have seen a band of students, careless of ease and reputation at home, forsake the college which they have passed with honor, and covenant together to go forth some two thousand miles, to rear a kindred institution in the desert; and I have seen the aged man kindle at their enthusiasm, and support them with his purse, when unable to be their companion. Does a neighborhood rapidly outrun the existing means of religious instruction? it immediately creates effort; and individuals in different churches

volunteer to give up their endeared privileges, and to go forth, as a little colony, to benefit that district.*

Woman, too, has at least an equal spirit of self-devotion here. I have never been more impressed with this. The females move less out of their own sphere than most; but in that sphere they are employing a thousand womanly appliances in favor of the good cause. They have a loftiness of character about them which requires that they should have some great object before them; and none know better than they, how truly little means are sanctified and ennobled by great ends. They band together for all sorts of benevolent and religious uses. The maternal societies are their own, and are at once a testimony to their well-regulated as well as exalted feeling; the mother is not forgotten in the Christian, nor home in the world. They work, or collect in company, for the support of a student or a missionary; they prepare linen and other garments for the poor scholar; and all their deeds are anointed by their prayers. We have seen the spirit of piety kept alive in a church, the Old South, through a long period of darkness and heresy, by the prayers of a few females. The Foreign Missionary Society is considered to have its origin in the prayers and exhortations of one sainted woman. I have known of three excellent matrons, who, when a church was afflicted by a worldly ministry, devoted themselves to secret prayer for its and the church's renovation, and who have lived to offer praise for an answer to prayer, of which none knew but themselves.

Who shall doubt of such a people? They are full of hope themselves, and they create hope in others. Every thing about them contributes to nourish it. They are born into national existence in the most auspicious times. All the lessons of wisdom which have been suggested through ages to other nations are at their command. They begin their course just where other empires have closed theirs. Their field of action is so vast, that they may put forth the mightiest energies, without exposure to hostile interests and barbarous warfare.—They need fear no foe, and therefore they need not embarrass themselves with alliances which might lead to conflict and bloodshed. They have the fairest opportunity of showing how little a Government may be felt as a burden, and how much as a blessing, silently diffusing life, liberty, and joy, over an immense community. The people are aware of this, and are ennobled by their circumstances.—They believe all things, and they will accomplish all things.

Yes, they will accomplish all things, with the single provision, that *they remain under the influence of religion.* Religion is requisite to the welfare of any people; but they have made it emphatically necessary, not only to their prosperity, but to their political existence. The evils to which their promising circumstances chiefly expose them, are worldliness and presumption; and these can be quelled only by religion. No approaches to the experiment they are now making on the liberty of the subject, have been made with success; and they can only succeed by making religion their best ally. Universal suffrage, whatever may be its abstract merits or demerits, is neither desirable nor possible, except the people are the subjects of universal education and universal piety. AMERICA WILL BE GREAT IF AMERICA IS GOOD. If not, her greatness will vanish away like a morning cloud.

* The case of Boston, already noticed, is proof of this; and that of New-York, referred to in the Appendix, is yet more striking.

LETTER XLIV.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Although I have written ostensibly of America, it has been always with a bearing on our own favored country; and, in conclusion, it may not be improper to refer to those mutual duties which seem to spring from their relationship, their place, and their privileges. This may, perhaps, be done under three or four such terms as—*union—intercourse—peace—and co-operation.*

There is every reason why the churches of the two countries, and the countries themselves, should be in a state of perfect amity and union. If kindred is a cause of union, we should be united; for our relationship is that of parent and child. Never were two people so homogeneous. If interest is a cause of union, we should be united; for just what we want, they have; and just what they want, we have. With us capital is in excess, with them it is deficient; we have too many hands, they have too few; we have mouths craving bread, they have corn craving mouths; we thrive as commerce thrives, they can consume all we can manufacture. If similarity is a source of union, then we should be united; for where shall we find such resemblances? Not to speak of foreign countries, in Wales, and in Scotland the Englishman will find stronger differences from what is familiarized to him, than he will find in America. I certainly never felt myself, at once, so far from home, and so much at home, in separation from my native land. Whatever is found with us, has its counterpart there. In habit, in literature, in language, and religion, we are one; and in government are much closer than is usually thought, or than is found between ourselves and any other country. Theirs is, under other names, an elective and limited monarchy, and ours a hereditary limited monarchy; and our reformations incline us to them, and theirs to us. Why should not such nations be one in affection and in fact?

On the part of the people generally, and of the churches in particular, I can truly assert that they are prepared for this exercise of amity and confidence. While I rejoiced that the churches at home were showing the strength of right and noble feeling, by sending forth a Deputation with their affectionate overtures of communion; I was uncertain whether it would be duly returned. On first landing on the shores of a distant and foreign country, I felt all the chilling force of this incertitude. But it lasted not a day; and the longer we remained, the more we saw, the stronger was the conviction, that this Christian overture was not made too soon, it was made too late. Had it been earlier, it had been better. We could not have been more disposed to send out delegates on a mission of fraternal affection, than they were to receive them, by universal kindness and excess of love.

And this feeling is not limited to the churches, it is common to the people. The exasperation beneath which they have frequently acted, and even felt, is as nothing compared with the strong and steady under current of mother feeling, which speaks to them of common blood and common origin. They desire to express love and esteem; but they require, before they do so, to know that they shall not be despised for it. The fault, then, will be ours, if our pride shall stand in the way of our established union and fellowship.

Intercourse is at once the means and the end of union; this, therefore, should have our considerate attention. Such intercourse, I am persuaded, is of high value to the churches on either side the Atlantic; and to the interests of religion generally. It might, for instance, besides nourishing Christian affection, prevent interference in our plans of ge-

neral usefulness, and it might, by mutual conference, impart to them decided improvement. It might likewise promote a still greater resemblance between churches already so assimilated in form and discipline. Why should we not, for instance, have one Psalmody, as well as one Bible? and one *method*, as well as one faith? and this not by enacting a platform, but by the assimilating power of affectionate intercourse. Such fruits of intercourse would evidently give to the universal church assurance, and before the world, power.

This intercourse may be sustained in many ways. That of delegation, as we have already adopted it, need hardly be named. Only let us see that as we have opened the door, we are at least as eager as any to keep it open. It is pleasing to observe that, on our side, the Baptist community are sending forth their deputation; and that, on the part of America, we have at the present time delegates from the two great religious bodies of that country, with the promise of others. I am by no means, however, pleading for annual missions. At present we could not commit ourselves to this if we would; and if we could, I should not think it desirable. They would lose much of their significance and power, if they were too often repeated; and, from incurring considerable charge with small benefit, they would drop into desuetude. What we shall want is, when the novelty has worn away, still to look steadily to the object; and to act upon it as frequently as a Christian, and not a mercenary, motive shall suggest.

Literary communication is another mode of intercourse commending itself to notice, because it may be always in exercise, and is attended with small expense. The churches there know very little of the state of religion with us; and we know still less of them. Great advantage would arise to both by a free and enlarged communication. Nothing can be more interesting to us than the state of religion in that land, placed as it is in new and untried circumstances; yet, up to the present time, nothing of value, or nothing that may be relied on, has been reported to us. Churches that are in all essential points one, have nevertheless been so absorbed in their own estate, and so little animated by the spirit of their Founder, as to remain not only without fellowship, but almost without the privity of each other's existence.

To sustain this intercourse with the best effect, we want accredited organs and agents. There should be, in both countries, some one periodical instrument, known and approved, by which every thing important to one body may be readily imparted to the other. With us, the Congregational Magazine, with decided arrangements to that end, might perhaps be made to answer for this duty; but in America there is at present nothing that meets this case. They have papers, and religious papers in abundance; but, because they are so abundant, they are limited in circulation. If, for instance, we desired to make a communication to the churches of New England, there is at present no recognised organ by which it could at once be done. On this account, a letter addressed to them generally, and not to the churches associated in a particular State, was actually passed from association to association, each one expecting the other to answer it, and no one deeming itself qualified to that end. According to existing provisions, it would require that a communication should be made to at least six different parties, to secure its circulation in the several States. If the like intercourse is sought with the Presbyterian churches, not less than four instruments must be employed; and, after all, it loses much of the power which might be derived from an accredited medium. This is an evil that will, I hope, soon find, in the zeal and practical tact of our transatlantic friends, an adequate remedy.

Then there is evidently wanted to correspond with such provisions, a suitable and recognised agency. This is of great importance. From what I have seen the last twelvemonth, there is quite enough to engage the hands and talents of one of our best men; and were the churches ripe for these more enlarged methods of usefulness and union, they could not do better service to the church universal than to devote a person to such engagements. At present, perhaps, there can hardly be hope of this; and in the want of it, the best should be done that circumstances may allow. Care should be had, that the agency should be such as is generally known and approved, rather than self-created; it should not be such as may be provided by private and pecuniary interests; and it should be decidedly such as will assuredly promote by the wisdom, temper, and piety of its communications, the knowledge, benevolence, and fellowship of the churches.

Why should not more than this be done? Is it not time that the churches created an agency by which they might hold communion and communication with kindred churches of whatever name, or whatever place? Why should not the churches of the European continent, for instance, which are reviving from papal oppression, or a dormant Protestantism, find some common centre where they might enjoy the sympathy and fellowship of all other Christian churches? Why should not the whole church become conscious of its essential oneness, by its sympathy with all the parts? and why should not the parts gather vigor and assurance by their felt connection with the whole? And why, as this intercourse advanced, should it not lead to personal conference and fellowship? Why might there not be a triennial or quinquennial convention, by delegates of the leading religious bodies in America, and of the reformed churches in England, Holland, France, and Germany, for the purposes of promoting a community of faith, harmony, and love, and of energetic and combined service for the redemption of the world? I can see no greater difficulties in the way, than those which have been overcome in the existing intercourse with America. I can see the highest advantages accruing to the interests of true religion, by its direct influence on the church, and by its indirect influence on the world. Without precisely determining method, the times call for movements of this comprehensive order. Romanism is one; Mohamedism is one; and Paganism is one; but we are not one. And until we become *one* in a different and better sense, the world will never be convinced, the Redeemer will never be acknowledged, and the subtle combinations of heresy and sin will never be destroyed.*

To enjoy the intercourse we seek, *peace* must be maintained. The native of either country cannot possibly visit, and become associated with, the inhabitants of the other, without deep lamentations that ever war should have existed between them. The resemblances are so great, the connections are so close, the interests so much in common, as to give to conflict all the horrors of civil war. If, in an ordinary case, war, not sustained by the plea of extreme necessity, is homicide; in this case it is *fratricide*.

Another impression I could not help receiving while in this country. It is, that if the religious community here, and the religious community there,

* On the subject of intercourse with America, some facilities might be granted by the Government. It is painful to find that the transmission of letters and books meets with so little obstruction on one side of the ocean, and so much on the other.

were to adopt just views of the subject, and to express themselves in union and with decision on it, the Government would not be able, but in a case of self-preservation, which is not likely to occur, to prosecute a war. The accumulating feeling and determination of New England almost prevented the last war; and it is likely it would have been prevented altogether, but for the untoward provocation of firing their capital.

I believe this view of the subject has not been fairly taken by the churches; and, so far, they have failed in their duty. In America, the very evils of the last short and unnecessary war, have had the good effect of awakening many generous minds in the cause of peace; and considerable advances have been made, by prizes, addresses, and sermons, to correct and arouse religious feeling especially on the subject. With us, the Peace Society has been too hastily regarded as a Quaker, and not a Christian Institution; and because it began by asking too much, nothing has been granted to it, and nothing has been done apart from it. But we must not deceive ourselves. The churches, in both lands, if united on this subject, possess within themselves a moral power, which, as it can destroy slavery, so it may make war all but impossible. This power it is not only legitimate to use, it is obligatory; and they are responsible for all the misery and carnage which arise from its not being used.

There is yet another view to be taken of this interesting and momentous topic. If the religious communities, by a due exercise of their influence, could make war between the two countries, in almost any supposable case, nearly impossible; the two countries, remaining in peace, might secure peace to the whole world. If those very nations, which have the least to fear from war, should be the first to keep the peace, what would be the silent influence on all other nations! And if they should actually employ their advice and influence against angry dispute swelling into deliberate murder, how soon would war become a stranger, if not an exile, from our world!

Not only by power, but even by situation, they seem remarkably fitted to set this example, and to arbitrate these differences, till the troubled nations shall have rest. They are so far from each other, that they are freed from those irritations which too commonly originate serious conflict; so that, if disposed to peace, they can scarcely go to war; while their reciprocal interests may continually strengthen their bonds of union and amity. And they are so placed, in relation to other nations, the one by a boundless territory, and the other by her insular situation, as that necessity can hardly occur for them to participate in the quarrels of others. By station and by power, they are prepared to act, not as parties, but as arbiters.

Here, then, is a field of service, worthy of the church—worthy of angels! And it can scarcely be considered as saying too much to state, as I deliberately do, that it is a field the church has not yet occupied. And still, it may be asked in reply, "Why should she occupy it? What has she to do with the ambition of the world and the 'strife of the potsherds?'" As a mere question of policy or expediency, I would say, nothing—just nothing. But the cause of peace can never be established amongst men on the principles of expediency and political advantage; and if it could, then it is rather the work of the citizen than of the Christian. Here has been the great error. It may be well and wise to refer to secondary considerations as dissuasives from war; and, with Burke, we may attempt to horrify the imagination, by calculating that it has destroyed as much life and property as are to be found, at the present time, on the globe, fourteen times told. Yet these representations are short of the mark, and show a feeble and imperfect conception of the monstrous evil. The only effectual argument against war is, that WAR IS SIN. This will lay hold on the conscience; this will justify the Christian in interfering; and this will not allow the church to slumber, while, for the purposes of vulgar ambition, one hundred thousand men are commanded to massacre another hundred thousand men, and to hurry them away into an awful eternity, uncalled, in their sins and in their blood.

It is not to be supposed that, in thus glancing at the subject, I should discuss all captious objection. But I would crave to have it observed, that it is no part of my intention to place the principle of peace in opposition to the principle of self-preservation. I can conceive of a case, whether of an individual or of a nation, in which resistance may be a virtue; though I am persuaded that this supposable case has been used to justify a thousand actual cases, which have no resemblance; and in which resistance is not a virtue, but a crime.

And as civilization and religion advance, why should not the barbarous and brutal practice of appealing to power, rather than to justice, be superseded by wiser and more humane methods? As in a community, the persons composing it are brought to commit their persons, property, and honor, to the provisions of that community; so, in the family of civilized mankind, composed of a number of nations, why should there not be a common and recognised authority, which should arbitrate the differences, and protect the interests of each and of all; bringing to the weak power, and to the injured righteousness? If any thing is characterizing the times in which it is our privilege to live, it is, that right is taking the place of might; or, in other words, that moral power is supplanting physical power. And nothing can be more favorable to the subject we are contemplating. Right is the harbinger of Peace; while force is the very sinews, and soul, and inspiration of the demon War.

But this appeal, if worthy of the name, is to the churches. This subject has not been duly considered by them; let them now consider it. Let them remember that they are "children of peace," that they obey the "Prince of Peace;" and that their religion breathes peace, not only on a nation, but on the world. Let them not condemn the evil in the abstract, and plead for it in the detail; nor deplore its soul-harrowing consequences, while they connive at its plausible pretences. Let them strip the demon of all his pomp and circumstance and glory; and let him appear, in all his naked and horrible deformity, that men may confess him to be a fiend of the lower, and not a resident of the present, world. Let them glorify their religion by banding together as an army of pacificators; and when the crisis for action arrives, let them raise their voice, and make it to be heard above all the clamor for war, distinctly, calmly, one. Nothing would be more worthy of them; nothing would contribute more to general civilization; nothing would so efficiently promote the advancement of religion and virtue; and nothing would so forcibly place the future, which would be the history of benevolence and peace, in contrast with the past, which is the history of bloodshedding and murder.

So far as America and England are concerned, peace, intercourse, and union, should be employed and sanctified as means of energetic *co-operation* for the conversion of the world. This is the end to which we should be steadfastly looking in all our intercourse; and, great as this end is, it may be thus contemplated without despondency. These nations are singularly prepared by Providence for

this high service; so much so, indeed, as to indicate that it is consigned to their hands. Where shall we find two nations placed so advantageously on the surface of the globe to this end? Where shall we find them in possession of so much of the world's commerce, which is a direct means to this end? Where shall we find a people whose civil and religious institutions are so prepared to bless mankind? And where shall we find any people who are so ready, by desire and effort, as these, to bestow whatever makes them distinguished and happy upon all other nations? Blot out England and America from the map of the world, and you destroy all those great institutions which almost exclusively promise the world's renovation; but, unite England and America in energetic and resolved cooperation for the world's salvation, and the world is saved.

It is not only important that they should render these services; they should render them in union. It should be felt, that what the one does, the other virtually does also; and the very names, indicating the two people, should be a sort of synonyme, which might be applied to the same works. The service is arduous; the difficulties are great; and the adversary of liberty, light, and religion, should be suffered to gain neither advantage nor confidence, by regarding us as separable. We shall have more relative and more real power, by acting together. In this connection, one and one make more than two; they exert a triple force against every opposing obstacle.

Here, then, is the province of these two great countries. They are to consult, act, and labor in union for the conversion and blessedness of the world. For this they are made a people; for this they are evangelized; for this they are privileged, and blessed themselves. Theirs is no common destiny; and theirs should be no common ambition. They are to find their greatness, not in the degradation of other nations, but in raising them to an elevation of being which they have not known. They should rise from the patriot into the philanthropist, and express love to man from love to his Maker. Great as they then would be, their greatness would not create fear, but admiration and confidence; and He who made them great would not withhold his approbation.

Let them look to this! Let no one "take their crown." Let the man that would enkindle strife between them, be deemed an enemy alike to both countries. Let them turn away from the trivial and the temporary; and look on the great, the good, the abiding. Let them faithfully accomplish their high commission, and theirs will be a glory such as Greece, with all her Platonic imaginings, never sought; and such as Rome, with all her real triumphs, never found.

NARRATIVE

OF A

VISIT TO CANADA AND PENNSYLVANIA.

LETTER I.

My dear friend—Having decided to visit the Canadas, at the request of ministers and friends who sent deputations to us at New York, we left Boston on the 5th of June, and arrived at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, on the evening of the 7th. We there embarked in a steamboat, and reached St. John's, in Lower Canada, early on the morning of the 8th. This frontier town is a poor uncomfortable place; and much as I wished to cherish suitable feelings in once more entering the British dominions, I could find nothing pleasant either in the place, the people, or the surrounding scenery. The weather was hot; the dust was lying six or eight inches deep in the street; and the millions of flies which covered the walls and windows, could only be compared to one of the plagues of Egypt. The very atmosphere was so clouded with these troublesome insects, that one could not breathe or move without destroying life. And the number of those that were lying dead, appeared equal to that of the living; the duration of their ephemeral existence seemed, indeed, to be limited to a day.

It was the Sabbath. At the hour of worship we proceeded to the Episcopal church, a small building, and thinly attended. Glad should we have been to hear within its walls, the great doctrines of the Church of England faithfully and simply proclaimed. An opportunity of listening to these truths in such a place, would have been as "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." The sermon, however, was not calculated to afford either comfort or instruction. The text was Job xlii. 5. The preacher's main design was to apply the passage to the *season* of *spring*, and to show that its return was calculated to inspire the feelings which Job expressed. There was not one allusion to the confession of the following verse, as resulting from enlightened views of the Divine character and law; nor the least reference to the way of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ. Seneca or Plato could have made a better discourse. It was unsuccessful even in the sentimentalism at which it aimed.

I visited the Sunday school, which was conducted in the church during the interval of public worship. A young minister has been chosen by the people, to assist the old missionary, and is supported by them; and this school has been revived by his exertions. There were about fifty children in attendance.—The teachers appeared anxious to do good; but they are much discouraged by the indifference of the parents to the religious instruction of their children; as well as by the jealousy and opposition of the Roman Catholics.

We attended the afternoon service, and heard the junior minister. His sermon was quite in contrast with that of the morning. His theology was correct, and it was evidently his desire to be useful. If there was any deficiency in the discourse, it was in the want of adaptation to the circumstances of the congregation. It was suited to the edification of real Christians; but it related more to their experience than was likely to benefit those who had been used for twenty years to the preaching of the senior minister. There was no religious service in the evening. Upon inquiry, I found that no room nor place could be found in which we could hold a meeting. The mass of the people are Canadian French. It was distressing to see a large proportion of them spending the evening in idleness and pleasure. No such scene had been presented to us in the United States; and the contrast with what we had recently witnessed in towns of similar size, was very painful. Much of this Sabbath profanation may of course be attributed to French manners and Roman Catholic influence; but it indicates a gloomy state of moral desolation, and renders the plain and powerful preaching of the gospel peculiarly necessary. Protestants, in such a situation, should feel that zeal and consistency on their part are especially called for. The influence of an evil example, however, seems stronger than that of an opposite kind. This was the least satisfactory Sabbath we had spent in the New World.

On Monday we left St. John's for La Prairie (eighteen miles.) There was little to give interest to the journey. We had abundant opportunity to observe the pernicious effects of cheap ardent spirits. The public houses were thronged with people, and the work of demoralization was evidently going on. This day, as on former days, we met great numbers of Irish, proceeding to different parts of the United States. Many of them appeared to be in a wretched plight. When we reached La Prairie, we found that the steam ferry-boat had just arrived from Montreal, with three hundred Irish emigrants. Seldom have I witnessed such a scene of confusion, or such a motley company. Every variety of age, of appearance, and of character, was to be seen. Some were encumbered with boxes and trunks; others seemed to possess nothing but the rags which covered them. A few of those who had luggage, had obtained vehicles for conveying it; and in these they had already placed it, together with their wives and little ones. They were hastening onwards, not knowing what might await them in a land of strangers; while others, uniting in little bands, were slowly following on foot. A long voyage, and its privations, had given an appearance of wretchedness to many of the emigrants. But while the looks of some bespoke distress, and fear, and anxiety, others looked perfectly unconcerned, and reckless of consequences. In this way tens of thousands of these destitute beings are thrown into the midst of American society. What nation could receive such numbers of wretched, and too often demoralized, individuals, without sustaining deep injury? That the United States have been morally injured by this cause, I have no doubt.—Their bearing up against this evil as they have done, proves the elasticity of their national character, and the powerful influence of religious habits. I very much question whether, in our larger towns, we have succeeded so well in restraining the evil consequences of Irish and Roman Catholic emigration.

While waiting the departure of the boat, and surveying, with mingled emotions, the scene I have described, a poor creature came up to me, with a torn slip of paper, which she asked me to read for her. It had once contained the address of some person, but it was now so mutilated as to be unintelli-

gible. The State was New York, but the name of the town I could not make out. This piece of paper was all she had brought from Ireland, to direct her to the habitation of her sister, who had previously crossed the Atlantic. I was sorry for her; but the only advice I could give her was to continue with those who had accompanied her from Ireland, till she reached the State of New York, and the settlements of her countrymen, and then to make inquiry. We crossed the magnificent St. Lawrence to Montreal; the distance, in an oblique direction, is about nine miles. The view of the town from the river was singular. The roofs of many of the houses being covered with tin, and glittering in the bright sunshine, presented a brilliant appearance. Our moist atmosphere would soon corrode and destroy such roofs; but there the air is so dry that they last for a number of years.

It is not my province to enter into a particular description of the city, even though I possessed ability to do so. Its peculiar aspect attracted my attention. The language, dress, and manners of many whom we met, might have led us to imagine we were in France. Many French names, too, met our eye on the doors of shops and dwelling-houses; but intermingled with these, there is a large proportion which plainly bespeak a Scottish or Gaelic origin. I read the names of Mackintosh, M'Gregor, and M'Donald, with an interest which, perhaps, I might not have felt if nearer home.

We found that the ministers and missionaries whom we expected to meet us at Montreal, had not arrived, though written to some days before. As it was likely two or three days more would still elapse, before they did come, we decided on going to Quebec. We embarked on Tuesday, at two P. M. From Montreal downwards for seventy miles, we had most magnificent views of the mighty river. It was the most splendid sight I have yet seen in the New World; and, indeed, I should think, cannot be surpassed in any part of our globe. Before us lay an immense body of water, extending onward as far as the eye could reach; pursuing its course in a channel two or three miles wide, and this channel filled almost to overflowing. It looked like a lake of molten glass, so clear, and placid, and full. The banks are thickly studded with cottages, generally built of wood, which give an air of life and cheerfulness to the scene. We had ample time to admire it, as our progress was somewhat impeded by having three vessels in tow. Night, for a little time, threw a veil over the objects at which we gazed; but it was followed by a lovely morning.—Vegetation here, at this season, wears all the freshness of spring. The foliage of the trees is but just making its appearance, bursting, as if with conscious delight, from its winter prison.

The distance from Montreal to Quebec is 180 miles; and the cottages of the Canadians continue to appear at thirty or forty yards distance from each other, all the way down. I was informed by a person on board, that they are equally numerous for ninety or a hundred miles below Quebec. It gives one the idea of a dense population; but I understand that the settled parts do not extend into the interior, more than nine or ten miles from the banks of the river. Near Quebec, the country becomes more elevated, and mountains appear in the distance. As we proceeded down the river, we observed canoes lying opposite to almost every cottage. Stone crosses occur frequently, and churches at every eight or nine miles. There were many rafts of wood on the river, proceeding to Quebec, to supply the British market. Some of these were of great extent, and of considerable value. Those which were navigated by Indians, had wigwams made of bark erected on them. Other navigators (chiefly Canadians) had sheds, formed of the materials they were conveying to the vessels. We passed one large raft, which was navigated by twelve or fifteen men. The owner of it was on board our steamer. He estimated the value of it at a thousand pounds sterling. He remarked that the trade was a great speculation, as the wind sometimes arises with such violence, as to separate the rafts entirely. In this case, the oak trees sink; trees of lighter wood can sometimes be drawn ashore and secured. But it not unfrequently happens that, in an hour or two, the hopes of the speculator are altogether destroyed.—As we approached near the end of the voyage, we saw the rafts taken into little bays, on both sides of the river, to which places some of the vessels come up to receive their cargoes. The approach to Quebec is very magnificent: the craggy rocks of Cape Diamond, crowned with the almost impregnable fortress, stand out in fine relief against the sky. Numerous vessels were lying at anchor, a short distance below the citadel; and in the back-ground is a range of blue hills, which form a striking contrast with the level and cultivated country before them.

We had not been many minutes in the town, before we had a visit from the Rev. Mr. Hicks, who was known to Mr. Reed. He had heard we were coming down, and soon received an intimation of our arrival. We spent the afternoon and evening with him. Our conversation related chiefly to the state of religion in the Canadas, where he has been for eighteen or twenty years, and was closed with devotional exercises.*

Next day we visited the Fort—the heights of Abraham—saw the field of battle, and the place where Wolfe received his mortal wound. A considerable part of the battle-field is built upon, so that the space now appears contracted. The ravine, by which Wolfe approached during the night, and gained possession of the heights, was pointed out to us, as well as a road to the right, leading from the suburbs of La Roche, by which the French troops marched to attack him. But I forbear description. We also went about nine miles, accompanied by some friends, to visit the Falls of Montmorenci.—With these I was much delighted. The principal fall is about a hundred and fifty feet in height, and thirty or forty in width. At a distance, it was like an immense sheet of the purest snow. The road to the Falls is tolerably good. The farming here is superior to what we had seen before. The owners of the land are chiefly English farmers. I noticed the backwardness of vegetation, and consequently of agricultural operations, compared with England, or even with the United States. My pear trees were showing blossom on the 12th of March, before I left home. In New Jersey, and around Baltimore, the blossom of the peach and pear trees was fully out on the 16th of April; at New York, on the 1st of May; at Boston, the 26th; and at Quebec, the 12th of June. Here, too, the simple and fragrant hawthorn is now displaying its richest bloom. The farmers are busy planting their potatoes. The soil appears to be good; and here there are few unsightly stumps presented to the eye. The views of Quebec, which we had, in going to, and returning from, the Falls, were very fine; as we could perfectly command both the lower and upper town, and the Fort crowning the whole.

We remained in Quebec for a short time after our return, in order to consult with friends, and obtain some information respecting the state of religion in the Lower Province. After communicating

* This excellent and useful man is now no more. A few weeks after we saw him at Quebec, the cholera, which was committing fearful ravages in the town, seized him, and he also became one of its victims.

all they knew on this subject, "they accompanied us to the ship," and we sailed in the evening for Montreal. There were immense crowds of people; and in port, or a little way up the river, there must have been nearly three hundred sail of vessels waiting for cargoes. Our steam-packet had to receive a shipment of emigrants, from a Hull vessel, which had just arrived. They had such quantities of luggage to remove, that we were detained an hour or two beyond the time fixed for sailing. We had also nearly twenty Roman Catholic priests on board.—They were polite and obliging, but only one of them could speak English, and that in a very broken way. Most of them landed at the different places where they reside, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, before we reached this place, which we did yesterday afternoon.

On Saturday we had a meeting with a number of ministers and other friends. We had with us, ministers of the Wesleyan, Scotch and American Presbyterian, Baptist, and Independent denominations. They seemed desirous to give us all the information they could, respecting the state of religion in the Colonies. The substance of their replies to our inquiries, together with the religious statistics of both provinces, which we obtained, will be given in this report. On Sabbath, the members of the deputation preached in the Presbyterian and Methodist places of worship, where collections were made to assist in the erection of a new chapel for the Congregationalists, their present place of meeting being small and inconveniently situated. It was gratifying to us, to find this cordiality among the Christians of different denominations; who, forgetting for a while their peculiarities, were willing to assist another section of the church, holding the same essential truths of Christianity with themselves. It ought also to be stated, that the Baptist chapel was closed in the evening, to allow the congregation to attend the Presbyterian church, where the collection was to be made. By this time, some other friends, missionaries and agents of different religious institutions, had arrived. We had two lengthened interviews with them, and received a variety of information respecting the eastern townships, and some of the newly settled districts of Lower Canada.—We deeply feel the responsibility of our present engagements, and anxiously desire that our coming may be for good to this neglected country.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR FRIEND—While at Montreal, I met with a Christian family from Greenock, related to the late Mr. Hercus, for so many years the esteemed pastor of the church there. A good man was visiting them, who has been a number of years in this country, but who was formerly a member of one of the Congregational churches in the Highlands of Scotland. He had come to Montreal, a distance of thirty miles from his residence, it the interior, in the hope of obtaining a missionary to labor for a few weeks in his township, where the people anxiously desire the preaching of the gospel. But, as they require one who can preach in the Gaelic language, I fear there was no probability of his being successful. He himself, however, has been indefatigable in using such means as were in his power. He has held prayer meetings, established five Sunday schools, and tried, in a variety of ways, to do good.

We left Montreal on Monday, the 16th, and arrived, on Tuesday afternoon, at Brockville, about 152 miles farther up the river. We travelled by stages the first thirty-seven miles, in order to avoid the Rapids; and then got on board a steamboat for the rest of the way. The views on the river are very fine, especially from Cornwall to Brockville. The islands are numerous, and the indentations of the shore present a continual variety.

The friends at Brockville gave us a very kind reception. We found several ministers, who had come from a considerable distance, in order to further the object of our mission. Here there are persons from various parts of the old country, some of whom we had met before they quitted its shores. To renew the intercourse so far from home was delightful.—The people in this place are anxious for additional means of religious instruction, and would willingly exert themselves to secure it. They had written to their friends at home, to send out a suitable minister, but had received no reply. In expectation of our arrival, notice had been given, that there would be a religious service in the Court-house, the place usually occupied on such occasions. Both Mr. Reed and myself preached.

The morning of the 18th was spent with the ministers from a distance, and Christian friends on the spot. Their communications were highly valuable and important. In the afternoon, we set off for Kingston, and arrived early on Thursday morning. Mr. Reed remained there, according to arrangement, while I went forward, in another steamboat, to Coburgh, about one hundred and twenty miles farther. The voyage up the Bay of Quinte was very delightful. It is about eighty miles in length, and four in breadth. One of the missionaries, who met with us at Brockville, accompanied me about half way up the bay, to his station. We passed an Indian village, inhabited by about four hundred of the Mohawk tribe. An Episcopal missionary, who takes care of their religious instruction, was also my fellow-passenger. He preaches once on the Sabbath in English. The church is a frame-building; and when the time of service arrives, instead of a bell, a flag is hoisted, to summon the people. Those of the inhabitants whom we saw at the village landing-place were miserable looking objects. I had a good deal of conversation with one of their tribe, who came on board. He knew English tolerably well, and very readily answered my questions. The boat arrived at the "Carrying-Place" late at night. It was a wretched spot, the stage-house poor and uncomfortable, and a long way from the water's edge. I was glad to leave it by the stage, at four o'clock on Friday morning, though the journey was far from being agreeable, on a swampy, muddy, corduroy road. The first part of it has been but newly made through the forest. I had particularly wished to see the superintendent of the Indian missions, who resides not far from Coburgh; but finding him from home, I proceeded at once to the town. It is an increasing, rising place, and promises to be an important settlement.

I was now within eight or ten miles of a family whom I had known in England, and whom I had promised to visit, if in my power. Having some hours to spare, I hired a vehicle, and a young Irishman (of whom there are many here) drove me to their farm, which is in Hamilton township. After we had proceeded a mile or two from the lake, we entered on the forest, and travelled more slowly.—Some parts of the road were newly cut, and it required considerable skill to drive with safety. A few farms had been cleared, others were but just undergoing that process. Some settlers were only clearing a few acres, immediately around their log huts. It must require a stout heart and strong hands to begin such a work. Many of the trees were fine majestic specimens of the fir tribe.

You may imagine the joy of ———'s family on seeing me, and hearing from me of their friends in

England. Valuable as letters are in a distant land, it is still more valuable to hear from the living voice, answers to the numerous and anxious inquiries which rapidly succeed each other. When I looked around me, and saw the dwelling, the scenery, and all the external circumstances in which the family are placed, I was much affected with the contrast presented to their former situation. A crowd of recollections rushed upon my mind; and I thought it must be a very plain case of duty, which can justify such persons in leaving their native land thus to dwell in the wilderness. I recollected my visits to this family about fourteen years ago. You know the beautiful situation of the farm which they occupied, the fine scenery and cultivated appearance of the valley in which it lies. The house and offices were new and commodious; every thing wore the appearance of comfort, and they were surrounded with friends and religious privileges. They had only to cross one of their own fields to reach the highway, and then they were close to the market-town. I remember considering it one of the finest specimens of an English farmer's *onstead* that I had ever seen. The interior of the house was suitably and respectably furnished, and the farm well stocked.

But what is their situation now? They have a log hut for a dwelling; and the only out-house is a smaller hut, of the same kind. There is but one apartment for the whole family, consisting of nine individuals; a ladder, it is true, leads to an upper room; but, judging from the height of the building, this must be a very low and inconvenient chamber. One of our meanest cottages at home affords conveniences, which this family do not possess in theirs. I saw neither cupboard nor closet, and I wondered much where the provisions and culinary vessels were kept. Before I left, however, I found they had a sort of cellar underneath, which they reached by removing one or two deals from the floor.—How different from the cool and spacious dairies, and neatly arranged closets, of English housewifery!

The mother, as might be expected, feels their privations most. The daughters, of whom there are five at home, appear more willing to be reconciled to their new circumstances. Of actual fatigue and hardship, the father has had the largest share. He spent nearly all his capital in the purchase of a farm, and cannot afford to hire laborers. The great burden of all the field labor has, therefore, fallen on himself, his sons being too young to be of much use to him. The farm consists of about one hundred acres, seventy of which were cleared when he bought it. He paid £500 for it, besides purchasing the crop on the ground; and then the farm was to be stocked. This exhausted his resources, and left but little to procure those articles of furniture which were almost essential to their comfort. While it is thus plain, that the family have been much tried by the change they have made, and perhaps have endured more severe privations than they expected, yet I was pleased to find, after the first burst of feeling had spent itself, that they spoke of the future with hope. They seemed aware that the first year or two was the period of trial; and that if they overcame that, the prospect would brighten, and they might begin to gather around them the comforts and conveniences of their early home. They have the necessaries of life already; their provisions are substantial, though served in a homely way. And they need have no anxiety about quarter-day, tithes, or taxes. The property is all their own; and, happily for new settlers, the provincial rates are too small to be worth naming. While in their own country, they had been every year losing part of the little fund they possessed; so that the parents were unable to make any provision for the children, or to establish them in business. It did seem a duty to save what yet remained; and though the parents will have to struggle while they live, they do so under the conviction, that, when they are removed by death, they will not leave their children destitute, or without a home.

But while, as I have said, they cherished resignation and hope, there is one circumstance in their lot which occasions unmingled sorrow, and that is—their religious destitution. The mother feels as a Christian parent ought to feel in such circumstances; and it seemed quite a relief to her to tell me all her sorrows. She described the blank presented to them on the Sabbath; no place of worship nearer than Coburgh; no conveyance to carry them there; and if they even could reach it, no instruction suitable for themselves or their children. She looked at them, and her heart sickened at the prospect of their growing up without religious ordinances, and without a sanctuary. They meet, it is true, with a few neighbors on the Sabbath, in a little log hut not far off, for singing and prayer, and reading the Scriptures but she felt that this was far less likely to engage the attention, and impress the minds of young people, than the preaching of a faithful and affectionate minister of Christ would be. She trembled lest her children should become indifferent, and perhaps opposed to sacred institutions, and forget the good old way in which their fathers had walked. Fixing her streaming eyes on me, she addressed me with the most moving earnestness:—"O, if the Christians of England only knew our situation, and that of thousands around us, they would not rest satisfied till they sent men of God to preach the gospel to us. If they only knew a mother's grief at seeing her children growing up without the means of grace, would they not feel for us, would they not send us help? Do tell them of our case, and that of many around us, who would willingly attend the preaching of good men of any denomination. Only let such men come, and we will show them all the kindness in our power." I need hardly say, I promised to let her request be known at home, and to do all I could to help them.

I was deeply moved by her appeal; and never did the possession of wealth seem more desirable than at that moment, as affording the means of sending forth laborers into such a sphere of usefulness. I thought how little our good people at home prize their religious advantages, compared with their real value; and how delighted many here would be to possess a tithe of what they enjoy. We had a solemn parting, not expecting to meet again on earth. The mother was the last to speak, and her words were an urgent entreaty—"Do not forget us; do tell the good people at home how much we need their sympathy and their prayers." And surely her request will find a response in every Christian parent's bosom, and plead more strongly than any arguments I could employ. This good woman's father was a venerable minister of Christ; and such having been the privilege of her youth, no wonder that now, in her old age, with all a mother's anxieties, she is so importunate for gospel ordinances. I did not see the father, as he had gone to the saw-mill. My thoughts will often revert to the scenes of that day in the midst of the forest.

LETTER III.

My dear friend—On the morning of the twenty-first, the steamboat from Kingston called at Coburgh. Mr. Reed was on board. And here he had a short but pleasing interview with two former pupils of the London Orphan Asylum. I had previ-

ously given them notice of his coming; and though it was about four o'clock in the morning when the boat came in, they were waiting, eager to see one whom they had been accustomed to consider one of their best friends. Their master was with them, and expressed his satisfaction with their conduct. These orphan lads are doing well; and they are indebted for their present situation, and their prospects of future support, to the institution which protected their youth, and provided suitable instruction for them. It must have been peculiarly gratifying to my colleague, to meet with instances, like these, of good resulting from a plan of benevolence, in which he takes so lively an interest.

From Coburgh we proceeded to Toronto, where we arrived about three P. M. This is a most important place, and likely to be very soon the largest and most influential city in either province. It is easy of access from the United States, and furnishes a convenient resting place for persons intending to settle in the farther West. Indeed, it forms a centre to an immense extent of country on the east, west, and north. The number of new houses built last year is five hundred, most of them substantial brick buildings. This year, in consequence of the derangement of commerce with the United States, only two hundred and fifty have been erected.—There are the outlines of an immense city. When these are filled up, and the proposed plan completed, it will certainly deserve the title "magnificent," which the good people are even already disposed to give it. The streets are making rapid encroachments on the forest. There is a daily struggle going on between the progress of civilization, and the scenes of savage life; the results of artificial culture, and the primitive wildness of nature, border closely upon each other. Large stumps of trees adorn some of the gardens in the centre of the city; and even the burying-ground, probably one of the oldest inhabited spots, contains a few such monuments of these noble trees. The population is about twelve thousand, and every year is adding thousands to it. There are six places of worship, capable of containg five thousand people; but not one half of that number attend on religious ordinances.

We secured quarters for the night at the Ontario House, and were almost immediately visited by some of those friends who had been expecting us, and who expressed great pleasure on our arrival. In consequence of a communication previously received from us, they had made arrangements for bringing together as many as possible of the persons most interested in the object of our mission, and who are desirous to secure for themselves a greater amount of religious privileges than they at present enjoy. Here also, as in other Canadian towns, several persons, whom we had known in Europe, or with whose friends we were acquainted, introduced themselves to us, eager to obtain all the information we could give them respecting their own country.

We were anxious to visit the settlement of Chippeway Indians on Credit river, about twenty miles from Toronto. The missionary stationed there, is Peter Jones, known to his own tribe by the name of Kahkewaquonaby, who visited England two or three years ago. We had heard various accounts of the condition of the settlement, and wished to judge for ourselves. The missionary has also become somewhat better known, both in our country and his own, in consequence of his marrying an English lady, who has exchanged a residence in London for his abode in the midst of the woods. We fixed Sunday, the 22d, for our excursion to the place, as a day on which we could worship with them, and ascertain more easily their moral and religious condition.

The roads were exceedingly rough, and our progress was slow and fatiguing. Our path lay chiefly through the forest. The morning was delightful: the scenery, the day, and the occasion of our journey, all furnished materials for reflection. We met very few persons on the road; and passed no place of worship, though one or two hamlets were in sight. The beauty of the birds, though without song, and the variety and brilliancy of the insect tribes flitting around us, gave life and animation to the scene. Nature was here undisturbed. No sound met the ear, in the depth of the forest, but the tapping of the woodpeckers, numbers of which were to be seen flying about. The farther we advanced, the more closely did the forest circumscribe our path; till we came to a part that seemed newly formed, the stumps of the trees remaining close to the edge of it. Still no settlement appeared, nor any indication of a human abode being near. On a sudden we heard the sound of a conch, or horn; it was repeated at intervals, as we supposed, to announce that the time for worship had arrived.—After this, we soon came in sight of the village and of the people—red men and white—hastening to the place of meeting, the largest building that we saw.

We arrived just in time to speak to Peter Jones before he entered. He received us kindly, but without much apparent feeling. I was somewhat curious to see his congregation, and to hear his mode of instructing them. The chapel would contain about two hundred and fifty persons. One half of the number present were Indians; and the other half, respectable white settlers, from the neighboring farms, with their families. I was pleased to see the "middle wall of partition," between white and colored men, broken down; and that they could meet, on an equal footing, to worship Him who hath made them both one blood.

Mr. Jones began the service by reading a hymn in English; he then read the same in the Chippeway language; and it was sung. In prayer and in preaching, he adopted the same method. My friend addressed a few words to the people. I confess I was rather disappointed in the appearance of the congregation. Perhaps I had gone with expectations too highly raised. But I was particularly struck with the dull and heavy countenances of the Indians. I was not surprised to see them appear uninterested when their minister was addressing them in English; but I did expect their looks would brighten when the gospel was proclaimed in their own tongue. I did not perceive any difference: nothing that was said seemed to arouse them. I am aware that it is a peculiarity in the character of the Indians, not to *manifest* emotion, though they may really feel it. But I had imagined that, when they had felt the love of Christ, it would considerably alter them in this respect. It was, however, gratifying to see so many wild men of the forest brought together, to be instructed concerning that "Great Spirit," who was to their fathers an "unknown God." The missionary was very mild in his address, and gave his hearers a simple statement of the gospel. He spoke English correctly, and with less of a foreign accent than might have been expected. It was pleasant to hear "the joyful sound," in the depths of a Canadian forest, from the lips of a native Indian, who, not many years ago, was in a savage state, ignorant of letters and of the true God. He and his brother, a fine-looking young man, are striking instances of the power of Divine grace. They have translated the New Testament, as well as one or two smaller books, into the Chippeway language.

We accompanied the missionary to his cottage, one of the neatest and best constructed in the settlement. We found the interior, also, furnished in a style of elegance and comfort, which formed a striking contrast to the rude and unfinished appearance of the village in general. Of course, this is easily accounted for from Mr. Jones's connection with England. He entertained us in the kindest and most unostentatious manner. He appears to be a humble, modest man; though few Indians have had stronger temptations to cherish vanity. Considering the notice into which he has been brought, and the attentions paid to him in England, it is matter of congratulation, that he has hitherto worn well, and seems disposed to continue his labors among his countrymen.

He accompanied me to visit some of the cottages of the natives, and here I did enjoy the pleasure of seeing some expression of feeling. The entrance of their teacher brought a smile over their countenances, and gave a degree of animation to their looks, which I had not seen produced by any thing else. Their huts were not very commodious; and there was sometimes a singular mixture of articles, belonging to civilized and to savage life. But though our peasants would consider them deficient in many things essential to domestic comfort, yet the change for the better, from the former state of their inhabitants, must be very great. Living in scattered wigwams; indebted for support to their success in hunting, without the resources of agriculture; they must often have been in want and distress.* Yet there was considerable difficulty in collecting these people together, and were it not for the influence of religion, some of them would be off to the woods again. As it is, they so much love their former rambling mode of life, that once a year, if the season is favorable, they pay a visit of some weeks to their old hunting-ground. They take their children with them, and encamp in true Indian style, while they try to secure some provisions for the winter. At the same time, they are extending the means of support nearer home, by clearing more land. There was a grant of three thousand acres made to them by the Government, and it was made inalienable, so that no white man can tempt them to sell it. This forms a strong inducement to remain in fixed habitations. And though the whole settlement bears marks of recent origin, and much remains to be done in the way of adding to their external comfort, yet we may consider it as a successful attempt to reduce wandering savages to social order, and to the habits of a well-regulated community. It likewise proves the power of religion to produce these results; for there is no reason to suppose, that any other means than religious instruction, with the influence of a zealous and affectionate teacher, could have induced them to relinquish ancient customs, and powerful habits. In all such cases, Christianity must *precede* civilization. When once the purifying and elevating influence of religion is experienced, the chief difficulty is removed. There are then principles to work upon, which can overcome evil propensities; and motives to appeal to, which are as powerful with a converted Indian, as a converted Englishman. In this point of view, the change effected appears doubly important. They were formerly sunk into the most debased and abject condition; given up to excesses of every kind—intemperate and unclean—grossly ignorant, and having no wish to learn. But God has blessed the labors of their teacher, whom they know and respect as a chief of their own tribe. There are ninety of them united in church fellowship, who maintain a walk and conversation becoming the gospel. There is a Temperance Society established in the place, which has produced so great a change, that only two or three of the Indians continue the use of ardent spirits. And the people have among them the elements of progressive improvement. They have the Scriptures in their own language. Beside a Sunday school, attended by all the children, there is also a week-day school, where they are receiving such instruction as will fit them for the intercourse of civilized life. The habits of their fathers will be gradually forgotten or forsaken; and, as they become sensible of new wants and desires, these will stimulate them to increasing industry. The respectable character of the white settlers around them, is also likely to have a beneficial effect on their character. The population of the settlement is about two hundred in all.

Looking at the chapel, and the means used for the instruction of the people, it was gratifying to be informed, that English zeal and money had greatly promoted the good work. When Mr. Jones was in England, two or three years ago, he collected nearly one thousand pounds for this particular mission. But he does not entirely confine his labors to this place. He has lately travelled some hundred miles, to visit other portions of the Chippeway tribe, on Lake Superior.

As each of our party had to preach at Toronto in the evening, we were obliged to return thither, without attending the afternoon service at the settlement. On that evening, and next morning, we met with a number of Christian friends, of different denominations, with whom we consulted, on the subject which has hitherto occupied the chief part of our attention. Some of the most influential of these persons are anxious to obtain the services of a respectable and acceptable minister, who might act as an adviser and friend to missionaries sent to this part of Canada. They wished us to make suitable arrangements, and to prevail, if possible, on such a minister to come to them. We engaged to do so, and they promised to wait till such an individual came. We experienced great kindness at Toronto. I have especial reason to mention the valuable assistance of Dr. Rolph, a physician. Finding that I was unwell, he took me to his house, and treated me like a brother. His kind attention was most beneficial to me; and though we may not meet again on earth, I shall ever remember him with the most grateful feelings.

This is a country growing in importance every day. Of immense extent, and possessing a fertile soil, it is capable of sustaining a large population. Its commercial advantages are great; and the exemption from taxes, enjoyed by the favor of our Government, affords important facilities to all classes of the inhabitants, which they all are ready to acknowledge. The subject of emigration has excited so much interest at home, that I cannot altogether pass it over in silence. Canada certainly offers an asylum to many of those who find all their efforts vain, to provide comfortably for their families or themselves in their own country. But this can only be said of those who are *steady* and industrious. Let not the idle or the dissolute delude themselves with the idea of finding here that prosperity which is incompatible with the indulgence of their propensities elsewhere. The inspired adage is most peculiarly applicable to the state of these colonies, that, "if any man will not work, neither shall he eat;" while habits of dissipation are doubly dangerous, on account of the low prices at which ardent spirits may be obtained. Instances have been related to me, in which a whole township has

* Whatever encomiums Rosseau may have bestowed on savage life, it is a sorry and miserable state of existence among the Canadian woods.

been ruined by this circumstance; and persons habitually prone to intemperance, generally come to a premature and wretched end, within a few years of their arrival. But here it is also emphatically true, "that the hand of the diligent maketh rich;" even to them, however, this is "the land of hope," not of immediate ease and comfort. And to industry must be added, patient perseverance—a disposition cheerfully to endure hardships and inconveniences unknown before, for a few years at least; and perhaps, also, solitude, and almost entire seclusion from society. It is obvious also, that the exercise of these virtues must depend, in a great measure, on the possession of physical strength and elasticity of spirits. Persons of sedentary habits, of melancholy temper, or feeble constitution, are likely to suffer severe disappointment. A strong arm and a small capital are indispensably necessary to those who wish to become at once the owners of land. If a man has sons able to work, he may, of course, beneficially employ them; but the price of labor is so high, as to render it impossible, with moderate means, to hire assistance in the laborious occupation of clearing a new farm. Even all must be done by individual exertion; the bare necessaries of life may, in a year or two, be raised; but these are all that can be expected for a length of time; and it need scarcely be said, that the settler must have money to purchase provisions *until* he can raise them for himself.

To those who are able and willing to labor hard, but who are destitute of capital, the best advice that can be given is, to hire themselves as laborers for the first few years. There is a class of settlers who can afford to give employment to such persons. I refer to gentlemen who have bought cleared land, and are engaged in farming on an extensive scale. The common rate of wages will enable a careful man, in a few years, to purchase and clear land for himself. If life and health are continued, labor and privation are sure to be ultimately rewarded with competence and comfort. But it must be confessed, that the present state of these Colonies affords encouragement chiefly to the worldly and the irreligious portion of the community. The man who counts all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ—who values divine ordinances himself, and wishes to see his children cast in their lot with the people of God—will hesitate and tremble before he determines to go where the stated services of the sanctuary are not yet to be found; and where even the enjoyment of private Christian fellowship may be altogether unattainable. If it were practicable for the members of a church to emigrate in a body, taking their pastor with them, these disadvantages might be obviated. Or even, if a small company of Christian people, accustomed to agricultural pursuits, could unite and settle near each other, they would find it beneficial to their spiritual interests. But many difficulties would attend such a scheme, arising from the variety of interests and of temper to be met with, even among real Christians. No consistent disciple of Christ can reside any where without shedding a hallowed influence around him; and though such individuals must sacrifice much of their own comfort and edification, the increase of their numbers would, undoubtedly, be a great blessing to the Colonies. If, in coming here, they conscientiously follow the path of duty, as far as mature deliberation can enable them to ascertain it, they may be assured that "the great Shepherd of the sheep" will not overlook or forget them. Though poverty and hardship may, for a while, prevent their making those efforts for the establishment of his cause, which they would wish to employ, yet, sooner or later, their prayers shall come in remembrance before God; "the forest shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be counted as a forest."

REPORT RESPECTING CANADA.

When we left England, it was not our intention to visit the British Colonies. The mission that we had to accomplish in the United States has already come before the reader. The claims made upon us were exceedingly numerous, and the time allotted to the discharge of our duties was so limited, that it was hardly possible to add to the services which we had already undertaken, without lengthening our visit to America, and putting ourselves to considerable inconvenience. Two deputations, however, from the Canadas, visited us at New York in May. They expressed their strong desire that, before we left the United States, we should visit them, and obtain in the Colonies themselves information respecting their present religious condition. They also stated their conviction, that the present circumstances of the two provinces had produced a crisis in their religious affairs; and required, on that account, especial attention from the friends of religion in England. In addition to the urgent requests of the brethren who called on us, they brought with them communications from ministers, missionaries, members of churches, and others, pressing us to visit the Canadas. All that we could do at that time was, to promise to attend to their requests, if in our power.

The object proposed by such a visit we viewed as most important. We felt for our countrymen, and wished, if possible, to do them good. We had frequently heard, from unquestionable authority, of the religious destitution of the Colonies. We were within a few hundred miles of them, and might by personal inquiry obtain information; and by conveying this to Christians in England, perhaps furnish additional reasons for attending to their pressing necessities. These claims, united with others, we could not resist. Accordingly, by postponing to the autumn some previously-formed arrangements, and lengthening our visit by two or three weeks, we succeeded in devoting to the Canadas the greater part of the month of June. It was, of course, impracticable for us to see much of the interior, or newly-settled districts; but we decided on visiting the principal towns, for the purpose of meeting with ministers and missionaries who preached in the interior, in order to obtain from them statistical and other information likely to guide us in our estimate of the religious condition of the provinces. To secure this important aid, we forwarded letters to Montreal and Toronto, before we left New England, requesting our friends in those places to bring together as many of those laborious men who were engaged in the newly-settled districts as could be conveniently assembled.

We visited Quebec, Montreal, Brockville, Kingston, and Toronto. In all these places we met with ministers and others. And having no other object in view but to ascertain the truth, we were ready to receive information from every quarter where it was likely to be found.

Every where we were received with Christian kindness and frank hospitality. The friends who had invited us received us gladly. Various circumstances which have since transpired, have led us to believe that we were providentially directed as to the time of our visit; and that, while we were put in possession of many facts relative to the Canadas, we in some measure gratified our Christian friends, who were glad to see two brethren from the land of their fathers. We rejoiced also in having had the opportunity of meeting with so many Christians of

different denominations, who appeared desirous of promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom in the two provinces, of consulting with them freely and fully, as to the best methods of supplying the numerous districts of the country, still destitute of the preaching of the gospel, with the means of grace. We now proceed to arrange the information which we received, and to state the conclusion to which it has brought us.

In doing this, it is desirable to commence by giving, as far as could be ascertained, the Religious Statistics of the Canadas. The population of the Lower Province is now estimated at 600,000 souls. Of that number 460,000 are considered Roman Catholics. The remaining 140,000 are Protestants of different religious denominations. The number of religious teachers belonging to each class is as follows:—

LOWER CANADA.—Population 600,000.

460,000 Roman Catholics have 150 Priests.
140,000 Protestants have 68 Ministers, belonging to the following denominations:—

		Clergy.
Episcopalians	1 Bishop	28
Scottish Church		12
Other Presbyterians		5
Methodists		9
Baptists		4
Congregationalists		4
Missionaries of different sects, as far as could be found out		6
Total Ministers		68

Besides the above ministers, there are, in the eastern townships, where there is now a population of forty or fifty thousand persons, several small Baptist congregations, called "Freewill Baptists." But among them are to be found only two or three regular preachers.

The above enumeration gives less than one minister to every two thousand souls. But this calculation by no means affords a correct view of the real state of the Colony. More than one half of the whole number of preachers is to be found in the cities and towns. In such places, the proportion may be more than one minister for two thousand Protestants, but this leaves a still smaller number for the townships newly settled. When it is also considered that the population of these districts is widely scattered, and that, in addition to this, the roads are exceedingly imperfect, we cannot but perceive that, with such a small number of preachers, the religious destitution of the people must be very great. There are thousands, indeed, who never hear a sermon. The testimony of an agent of the American Sunday School Union was to this effect:—that his visits had extended to twenty-five townships in the eastern districts; only ten of which, however, had been particularly examined by him, and Sunday schools formed in them by his exertions. Each township is ten miles square, or a hundred square miles. In the ten which he had especially investigated, he found three ministers laboring among the people, and they could not furnish much instruction in such an extensive country, where the settlers were so widely separated. In some places which these ministers occasionally visit, the people do not hear a sermon for six months, others for a much longer time. Indeed there is one township which has been settled five years, where no sermon has ever yet been preached; and in another, which has been settled a much longer time, there has been no preaching for seven years!

One missionary stated to us, that he labored in six stations—a considerable distance from each other, and that he deeply regretted his inability to extend his exertions further into the new townships, which were, in an especial manner, destitute of instruction. They were without schools, without ministers, and without the ordinances of Christianity. The consequences were what might have been expected. The people were becoming depraved and disorderly, and, in some quarters, almost degenerating into a state of barbarism.

All these facts refer to the nominally Protestant part of the population. We have named the number of ministers. If we consider that one minister or missionary to about 500 souls in such a scattered population is not more than sufficient, then it may be said, that there is hardly one sixth of the supply that should be provided for the religious instruction of the people, for there is not in those districts one regular minister or missionary to 3000 souls. We have not, in our estimate of this religious destitution, taken into account the non-efficiency of some of those who are included in our list of ministers, and who are supported by the government grant. It is enough to say, that if zealous, faithful, self-denying, and devoted men, are needed for such a peculiar field of labor, then *these* men are not suitable. If Lower Canada had been left to depend on them for religious instruction, it would have been in a far worse condition than it is at present. Those faithful men, of different denominations, who have been supported by individuals and societies in this country, have been the chief agents in keeping the inland districts from entire moral desolation.

But there is another view to take of the religious condition of the Lower Province, still more distressing than even the one which we have just given. Inadequate as the means of instruction are among the Protestants, still there is some scriptural knowledge, and opportunities of improvement.—There can also be found, in the habitations of those who seldom hear a sermon, Bibles and useful books, which point out to men the way of salvation. But it is well known that scriptural instruction is entirely kept back from more than 400,000 Roman Catholics. The great object of their priests is, to retain them in the errors and superstitions of Popery. The peasantry are in general a quiet and contented race; but grossly ignorant, not only of the great doctrines of Christianity, but even of the first rudiments of knowledge, very few of them being able to read. They are entirely under the spiritual domination of man, blindly attached to the worst corruptions of Christianity. No ray of scriptural light has yet penetrated the thick darkness that surrounds that part of the population. The Scriptures are excluded, and Protestant teachers are not allowed to instruct the ignorant, if the priests can prevent it; and their power over the minds of the people is almost omnipotent. Some years ago a French Protestant, acting as a missionary under the patronage of the Methodist denomination, made an attempt to instruct them; but he was repulsed in such a manner, by the efforts of the priests, that he did not remain long among them.

With the above exception, this vast multitude of human beings—our fellow-subjects—are left completely in the power of a debasing and destructive system of superstition, without any effort being made to free them from this spiritual thraldom; one generation after another passing away, without those great doctrines of the Reformation being proclaimed among them, which we deem essential to human happiness.

Upper Canada is estimated to contain at this time about 320,000 inhabitants, of which number very few are Roman Catholics. The number of minis-

ters of different Protestant denominations, as far as can be ascertained, is as follows:

	Clergy.
Episcopalians	40
Methodists	50
Presbyterians of different Sects	34
Baptists	30
Congregationalists	6
Total ministers to 320,000 souls	160

The above number gives nominally one minister to 2,000 souls. The remark, however, which applies to Lower Canada, does so with peculiar force to the Upper Province. Three fourths, or at least one half, of the above number of ministers, are fixed in the larger and smaller towns, while the old and new townships, with a scattered population, have only the services of the remainder. The denomination which acts systematically on the plan of itinerancy, is the Methodist. The Baptists and Congregationalists do so partially. When the latter sects employ missionaries, their labors are more extended, each one embracing as his preaching station a large district of country. One of these good men pointed out on the map eight townships, containing a rapidly increasing population, without religious instruction, except the preaching of a Methodist itinerant now and then. He had been an active laborer in the work of village preaching in Scotland, but he described his present fatigues and privations as being much greater than any he had before experienced. He seemed to feel much interested in his field of labor; but it was so vast, that his heart almost sunk within him at the prospect before him, for he found his strength utterly unable to answer the numerous calls made upon him for assistance. He had visited a good many townships occasionally, besides those in which he regularly preached, and his conviction was, that imperfect as the services of the Methodists necessarily were, the province was indebted for much of the religious profession that now existed in it to these exertions.

But even with these exertions, and the zeal of others, the Upper Province presents a melancholy picture of religious destitution. The population is rapidly increasing by emigration, and no means are used to meet this increase, by providing additional religious teachers. The evil, therefore, becomes greater every year. At this time it is sufficiently great to excite the sympathy, and call for the immediate aid of British Christians. In some of the new settlements on Lake Ontario, and in those formed by the Canadian Land Company, places of worship have been built, and Episcopalian or Presbyterian ministers have been settled. All these, however, are included in the number we have already mentioned. But it is to the back settlements, some of them far in the interior, that our most compassionate regards should be directed. Their population is thinly scattered, but this very circumstance places them beyond the reach of the few missionaries who would help them if they could. Their peculiar privations, too, would make religious ordinances the more valuable to them. The effects produced are the same as in other places where the gospel is not preached—irreligion, vice, and intemperance prevail. Many of the settlers in the more distant townships seem almost to have forgotten that there is a Sabbath, or, if the day is remembered, it is not as a day of rest, or of holy convocation.

Another consequence of this religious destitution is, the neglect of the education of their children. The Colonial Legislature engages to give twenty pounds a year, to assist in the support of a schoolmaster, if the settlers collect twenty children, and procure a teacher. But as many of the parents do not much value education, and the labor of their children, especially if they are sons, is so much needed on their farms, applications for the government grant are comparatively few. And in cases where aid is sought and given, the children only attend school a few months in the year. There is also a great difficulty in obtaining suitable teachers. The sum allowed by the government is small; and any thing that may be furnished in addition by the parents, comes in the shape of board and lodging, and not of money. Even when schoolmasters are obtained, it cannot be expected that, in a country where land is so cheap, and manual labor is so valuable, that they will continue teachers, when the remuneration for their labors is so trifling, and they can, as common farm servants, succeed better in securing a suitable income. In consequence of this circumstance, there is a great deficiency of instructers in the common branches of education. The Legislature, as we have seen, offers to assist. Besides this pecuniary aid, school-houses are built, in convenient situations, in the new townships. The intentions of the government are, however, rendered useless, in many instances, by the indifference of the parents, and the impracticability of procuring suitable men as teachers. No government can well remove these, in a country like Canada. Even a normal school would fail, if the teachers trained in it found, on trial, an inadequate return for the exercise of their time and talents; and they would soon direct their attention to a more profitable employment. Only men of a missionary spirit would continue to act in such circumstances; and these are not to be found in that country at present. Another evil results from the absence of ministers: few Sunday schools exist. These, in many cases, might have been a substitute for week-day schools, and have supplied many children with the elements of knowledge.

Such are the circumstances of both provinces. The moral destitution is plain, and our criminal neglect of our brethren in the Colonies is equally apparent. No one can imagine that such a state of things would have existed at this time, if the Christians of Britain had done their duty. We have hitherto failed: may we, for the future, be anxious, by redoubled activity, to make up for our past neglect of those who, as countrymen, have a powerful claim from us for immediate attention!

It may now be proper to state the various ways in which the present ministers were furnished; and, as we have already ascertained how inadequate the supply is to the necessities of the country, it will become a question, what should now be done to remedy this growing evil?

When the Canadas came into the possession of the British crown, the Roman Catholic religion was the established one; and it continued, under the protection and by the direct sanction of the British government, to be the established religion of Lower Canada. All their former rights were secured to the Popish clergy. The tithe of the land is theirs, and they possess property of great value in other ways. As Protestants increased in number, in consequence of the English taking possession of the country, some Episcopalian ministers were sent out, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Application was subsequently made to the government at home for assistance; which was given in the shape of an annual grant to the Society, who appropriated it at their discretion. The persons sent out by them were called missionaries. As the population increased, particularly in Upper Canada, persons of other religious persuasions set-

tled in the country. Ministers of other denominations were sent for. Some went in consequence of these invitations; and others went out on speculation, not knowing where they might be settled. These persons were supported, partly by individuals and societies in this country, and partly by the people themselves, without any aid from government. But the supply produced from all these various sources is, as we have already stated, totally inadequate.

With regard to Upper Canada, a different plan was pursued by the home government. This province not having been occupied in the same way as the other, by the Roman Catholic church, an Episcopal establishment was formed, as far, at least, as that could be done, by the appropriation of land, in every township, to the exclusive support of clergymen of the Church of England. These portions of land were called Clergy Reserves. But as the numbers and influence of other denominations increased, and began to exceed those of the government, jealousy and dissatisfaction were excited. Two causes contributed to this result. One was, that the government patronised one denomination exclusively; and the other was, the local injury done by many of the clergy reserves remaining unsold and uncultivated; these, too, lying often in the midst of plantations, and compelling the settlers to make those improvements entirely at their own expense, a proportion of which should have been borne by the owners of the clergy's land. Both these causes of discontent continued to increase, as the number of other sects still became greater, and land in the older townships became more valuable. In addition to these things, there was the spectacle constantly presented to the settlers, of land being appropriated to persons or purposes which brought no return to them, in the way of religious instruction; that they were not only injured by this plan for supporting religion, but they had, after all, to seek religious instructers for themselves, and to support them at their own expense. Those who belonged to the Church of Scotland, considered that they were treated unjustly, and stated, by petitions and remonstrances to the government at home, their grievances and claims. Those in possession, of course, defended their rights. Thus, two rival establishments contended for the state support.—Disputes have run high between the different parties, and no party seems pleased with the decision come to by the government, viz. that the clergy reserves should be sold, and the proceeds of the sale funded; the interest to be appropriated to religious purposes. With regard to the grant of money from the British government, that has been partly withdrawn, and in a year or two will entirely cease. Those denominations who conscientiously objected to all such plans for supporting religion, became every day more and more convinced of the utter failure of the government scheme for supplying the colony with religious instruction, and used means to provide ministers for themselves. But the great majority of the settlers, who, during the last twenty years, have rapidly arrived in the country, are indifferent on the subject of religion. The comparatively small number who value religious privileges, have invited a few ministers from England and Scotland, who are now settled, and doing good; but these, as stated before, are chiefly to be found in the large towns. The Methodists early exerted themselves, and were among the first who carried the gospel into the newly settled districts. But no one society or denomination has sent out so many missionaries as the Episcopalian Institution, which we already named. Too many of these individuals, however, have been perfectly inefficient (to say no more) in extending the knowledge of Christianity to the destitute townships. They have occupied the spots to which they were appointed; but few of them, indeed, have acted as missionaries of the cross. But if every one had exerted himself to the utmost, the number was inadequate to supply the religious necessities of the population, even though it had remained stationary.

These are the means which have been hitherto employed for the religious interests of both provinces. Even if all the ministers, furnished in the different ways that we have stated, were devoted to the work of evangelists, "spending and being spent," in seeking the salvation of men, there would not be one fourth of the number which the extent of the country and the scattered nature of its population require. But then it ought to be known, in order that the real state of the case may appear, that not more than one half of all the ministers do act as itinerants; and that a large proportion of those who are paid by the Government, are totally indifferent as to any moral and religious results, beyond their own little circle. The case thus assumes an importance, which, at first sight, might not seem to belong to it. Only let the mind contemplate the actual extent of the country, and the need of more teachers will be evident. This immense territory, larger when estimated in square miles, than the United States of America, is now settled for more than a thousand miles in length, and from twenty to two hundred miles in breadth; a far larger space than that which Great Britain includes.

Now for the question. Are there any plans which are likely to supply the deficiency we have described? In reply, we would say, that it must either be supplied by the efforts of the colonists themselves, by voluntary aid from the mother country, or by the co-operation of both.

With regard to the first plan, it may be said, that if it is left to the colonists to supply themselves, it will not be done. There is reason to fear, that a majority of the settlers are not religious persons, and, therefore, care comparatively little about the ordinances of religion. Besides, many of them leave their native land, struggling with difficulties, in order to provide an asylum and support for themselves and their families. The property they have is soon exhausted in the purchase of land, and they have nothing left to assist in providing religious instruction. In such circumstances, it is not to be expected that any attempt will be made to obtain pastors or missionaries.

The only persons in the Colonies, who are likely to interest themselves in this matter, are the Christians living in the cities and towns of both provinces. And it is but justice to them to say, that they have made various attempts to benefit their brethren.—The Methodists have done this to some extent.—The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society has done as much for Lower Canada, as its limited resources would allow. All these efforts, however, feeble as they have been, were not made without foreign aid. The Methodists receive grants from their Missionary Society in England. The Canada Education Society received more than half the amount of its expenditure for 1833, from the United States of America. The American Home Missionary Society has also given grants to one or two missionaries laboring in the eastern townships. While the American Bible Society has granted 4200 Bibles and Testaments, and the American Sunday School Union, 4000 volumes, to form Sunday school libraries in the same district of country.

Neither does it appear practicable, in the present state of the Colonies, that any institution should be formed there for the education of pious young men, as ministers or missionaries. It would be difficult to find a sufficient number of suitable candidates for

the ministry, even if funds were in their possession. As far, then, as we can judge from the present condition of the Colonies and the character of their population, there does not exist any reason to suppose that the colonists can furnish themselves with the means of religious instruction.

Assistance in this work must, therefore, come from some other quarter; and whence is it to be expected but from the mother country? We have the men, and the pecuniary means. All that is required is, a strong conviction of duty, and of the urgency of the case. The most likely plan to benefit these Colonies is, either to form societies in this country for this special purpose, or to add the Canadas to the stations of the existing missionary institutions, whose province it is to find suitable men. This is the grand point to be secured. Much money has been expended by Government, without any adequate effect; and no better result is to be anticipated, unless there be some plan by which men of a missionary spirit can be obtained and sent. They must not go to Canada, because they cannot succeed at home; but because there is a wider field before them there, and a greater call for exertion. They must be men of ardent piety, warm-hearted zeal, of physical energy, and of persevering habits. Our best men should go; if not those of most popular talents, yet with well-furnished minds—men of discretion, as well as zeal. We repeat it again; it is not so much *the number*, as the *character* of the ministers sent to Canada, that is important. It might be easy to multiply official functionaries, who could formally attend to the ritual of religion. But souls cannot be saved in this way; and instead of a holy and devoted people, which may be expected under suitable and adequate instruction, there would be no more than the lifeless forms of religion, without its power. If, in our own land, where there are many counteracting influences, such teachers are a blight on the efforts of others, and retard the progress of truth; what must it be in colonies, where, in many districts, they would be the only men bearing the name of ministers? We cannot rejoice in the expenditure of funds, drawn from the national purse, to procure such a supply, even if we admitted the correctness of the principle of supporting religion by such a plan. We need not regret the withdrawment of the government grant to the Society already named. It will be no real loss to the Canadas, as not one really efficient man will cease his labors among the people. They become attached to such men, and will struggle to support them; and if there is one denomination in the Colonies better able to do this than another, it is the Episcopalians. Besides, as a greater number of that communion live in the towns, where there is greater wealth, and a more prevailing desire to attend on the forms of religion, there is less danger of any one of their missionaries being withdrawn, whose character and abilities qualify him for being a minister of Christ. In cases of an opposite description, it may be different; but the Society at home can assist them, till some other mode of support be found out. That such is likely to be the case, with efficient ministers, will appear from the following fact.

In a newly settled town, on Lake Ontario, it was no sooner ascertained that the government grant was about to be withdrawn, than the people immediately subscribed the full amount of the salary which their clergyman had been accustomed to receive from that source. In another case, where an additional minister was required, the people, by voluntary contributions, raised sufficient to support one, who is at this time laboring among them. Nor need there be any fear that it will be different in other places, where there is a sufficient population, and the men are worthy of support.

In cases where the population is small, or the ministers are inefficient, it may still be necessary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to assist. This can easily be done, as their funds are large, or can be readily obtained; so that the number of their missionaries need not be diminished by the withdrawment of the government grant. Indeed, the result is most likely to prove beneficial to Episcopacy, as it will no doubt rouse the Christians of that denomination in this country to assist their brethren in the Colonies. This mode of assistance will be more highly valued by many of the inhabitants, than aid received from Government. We say this, because one fact came to our knowledge. The Colonial Legislature having given annual grants to the Methodists and Presbyterians, the people, of the Upper Province especially, were greatly displeased. Even many persons belonging to those sects were grieved with the circumstance, and threatened to leave their communion, if it was not refused in future. There is a great jealousy of the Government, when it interferes with religion or its teachers. Voluntary assistance from England would be viewed differently, and received in another spirit. The most likely and unexceptionable mode of supplying the Colonies with the means of religious instruction is, for Christians to send them faithful ministers from this country, and, for a while, to assist in supporting them.

In connection with this view of the subject, it should be particularly noticed, that those ministers who go out to the Canadas should be entirely devoted to missionary labors. Even the teaching of a school, though otherwise useful, would materially lessen their efficiency; and a farm would occupy most of their strength, and time, and mind. They might purchase farms, and procure a living by their own manual labor, and they might preach occasionally; but a thousand such men would not be equal to a hundred men, whose whole energies and time were consecrated to the religious instruction of the people. No preacher who unites a farm, or other secular employment in the country districts of the Canadas, with ministerial duty, need expect any adequate remuneration from the people for his labors; and he must not expect success in his work. The distances are too great; the roads are in too bad a condition; and the destitution is too deplorable; to warrant the expectation, that farming and preaching can go on together. Neither need a preacher who has a good plantation of his own, expect the hardworking settlers to aid him. If the heart is not vigorously alive to the power of religion, the endurance of hardship is apt to harden it, and produce a spirit of selfishness unfriendly to Christian liberality. The body is the chief concern. To lessen its privations is the main object; and as irreligious men can see no connection between the gospel and the advancement of their comfort, they will not assist in supporting the former. These observations chiefly refer to those ministers who go to the Canadas on their own responsibility, for the twofold purpose of preaching the gospel, and of providing for a rising family.

With regard to those who are sent out by the aid of Christians in this country, it should be understood, that, while at first the expenses of sending out and supporting such missionaries, should be defrayed by them, this aid is to be furnished only for a time. When congregations are collected, and churches are organized, the assistance should be gradually withdrawn, as this people become able to assist. The amount so saved to be expended in sending out additional missionaries.

In carrying a great object like this into effect, the co-operation of all who love religion in the Colonies is necessary. To secure this, no better mode

can be adopted, than to call into exercise their Christian zeal, by the manifestation of it on our own part. Let them see and feel that we are in earnest in helping their destitute countrymen, by sending to them the bread of life; and it will constrain them to make far greater exertions to benefit their neighbors, than they have ever yet attempted.

Let it not be supposed, from what we have said, that we wish to undervalue the labors of any, the most obscure of those who are faithful men, to whatever denomination they belong. We forbear mentioning names, lest the distinction might seem invidious. But we are ready to testify to the self-denial, and laborious travels and privations of some whom we met with, and heard of, in that wild country; and we shall ever cherish cordial esteem and admiration of their zeal and perseverance.

While there are many difficulties in that country to overcome, both physical and moral, yet there are some facilities which should not be overlooked, in forming a correct estimate of the duty before us. One is, that the language, of Upper Canada at least, is our own. The new settlements are formed by persons emigrating from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the United States. Among these the English missionary can at once enter on his duties, not among strangers or foreigners, but as among his own countrymen and fellow-subjects. There is full protection given by the Colonial Legislature to those who are trying to do good. There is also a strong desire, on the part of the well-disposed settlers, to receive religious teachers. Amidst all their privations and poverty, a pious missionary would find, on almost every preaching tour, some family to give him a cordial welcome, and encourage him in his work. There are also to be found in most of the townships which have been some time settled, school-houses. In these the people can assemble, and Sunday schools can be formed. The plan of erecting such buildings is going on, and likely to extend to every township; and as these have been erected for the benefit of the people, they are open to the different religious denominations. So that when a missionary of any sect goes to preach, he has the use of it. When these are not conveniently situated, the houses of the people are opened to receive the messenger of peace.

The duty of furnishing the colonies with suitable religious instruction, then, devolves on the Christians of this country. It is for them to decide in what way, and to what extent, this assistance is to be given. That we have hitherto been culpable, no one who looks at the present destitution of the Canadas, can for a moment deny. "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." The sin appears so much the greater, when we look at our resources. Had the duty hitherto devolved on one of the smallest of our denominations, unable, perhaps, to extend much aid to any quarter, beyond its own little circle at home, the criminality would have been less. But when it is considered, that the duty of supplying the Canadas with the means of grace has been committed to all the Protestant denominations of Britain, the case assumes a different aspect. Persons from all these communities of Christians have settled in these provinces. They have gone from the congregations of Episcopalians, the societies of Methodists, the churches of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. A necessity was laid upon them to seek support for their rising families. They would gladly have remained at home. No discontent with the civil constitution of their country drove them away. It appeared to be the path of duty, and trying as it was to leave the loved associations of early life and of matured affection, yet they submitted to the providential arrangement, and went. They have left behind them relatives, friends, and neighbors. They have forsaken external privileges and religious enjoyments, and they and their children are in danger of suffering for lack of knowledge. Look at these claims of country and kindred, of our common humanity, and of Christian duty, and say if the present condition of the Canadas, is not a reproach to the Christians of Great Britain.

Should it not be wiped away? We have the power of removing much of the destitution of these Colonies, by exercising that spirit of Christian sympathy which should be felt for our brethren, and sisters, and friends, in a strange land. We cannot send them any boon so valuable as the gospel. The face of a religious teacher will be seen by the best of the colonists as if it were the face of an angel. Let him be a man of established character; let him carry his credentials with him, in the approbation of the Christian churches at home who have sent him forth, and he will at once secure the confidence of the good people in the Colonies. This is the way to bind the provinces to the parent state—to unite them more closely to us than can be done by mere political arrangements; and to secure for generations to come their affection and their gratitude. But to produce these effects, the ministers sent forth must go under the influence of enlightened zeal in their own hearts, and supported by the willing efforts of Christian love in others. The call now made on the Christians of this country is not made on one section of it, but on all its evangelical denominations. The exertions of all will be found necessary, if the necessities of the Colonies are to be adequately supplied. The Christian church of our beloved country must arouse itself to action, and, in the best and most efficient way, unite in one strong *effort*, if not in one great society, to remove these moral desolations.

While we thus consider it the duty of every denomination to be active in this work of Christian benevolence, we would especially urge upon the one with which we are more immediately connected, the peculiar claims which are made on its members. We consider the system of Congregationalism to be Scriptural, and well fitted to convey to destitute countries the gospel of Christ, whatever may be the civil policy of those several nations, as it does not interfere with the political arrangements of any land. But, especially, it is fitted for a new and destitute country like the Canadas, where a pressing necessity exists for immediate exertion; for men who could go through the breadth and length of the *country*, unfettered by geographical limits, canonical laws, or conference restrictions, preaching the gospel to all who are willing to hear it; and leaving the people themselves, when converted to God, to decide as to the form of church government which these religious societies should assume. In addition to this, it may be said, that, in many parts of the Canadas, persons holding our sentiments are to be found, and remain still attached to the great principles of civil and religious liberty, which they loved in this country. We cannot, therefore, but earnestly desire, that the zeal of Christians of our order may be awakened in some degree, corresponding with the magnitude of the object presented to them.

In closing this Report, we would respectfully and earnestly recommend the destitution of the Canadas to the sympathy, the zeal, and the prayers, of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We feel deeply interested in the condition of our brethren, and we should rejoice to be instrumental in arousing the friends of Christ in this country to do justice to their urgent claims. It is daily becoming more dangerous to neglect these. If succeeding years should witness as much apathy as the past,

the people and the country may become alienated from us altogether. Every one acquainted with the state of the Colonies, knows that the seeds of discontent are widely scattered. The prevalence of irreligion will cherish them; and the next generation, if uninstructed in the knowledge of Christ, will become the easy prey of the political demagogue and of the infidel. A regard for our country —for our brethren, separated from us by the wide Atlantic—a regard for our consistency, as the professed friends of religion—a respect for His authority, who has commanded us to "preach the gospel to every creature"—should constrain every one who can assist to put forth his strength. If this be done, in a few years these Colonies would need no aid from us. There would soon spring up among them *native* preachers, and the foundation once laid, by the exertions of British Christians and the Divine blessing, the building would be reared by the cheerful labors of the Canadian churches of all denominations. The work is before *us* at present—it is plain, imperative, and solemnly important.—There are hundreds of thousands waiting on *our* decision. To them it is life or death—to us it will be shame or honor. Let us not shrink from the privilege of doing good, but apply our hand and heart to it, remembering who has said, "Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it."

LETTER IV.

My dear friend—I am again in the United States. On the 23d we left Toronto, and arrived at Niagara that evening. On the 24th we reached the Falls, a description of which you will find elsewhere; and on the 26th, went to Buffalo. Here Mr. Reed and myself had agreed to separate for a time, in order better to accomplish the objects we respectively had in view. He had resolved to go farther west and south; while I was anxious to secure perhaps the only opportunity I should have of visiting the northern part of Pennsylvania, where my uncle is settled as a Presbyterian minister, as well as to obtain information in other parts of the State.

We agreed to meet, if practicable, either at Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, the last week of July.

On June 27th, we sailed together from Buffalo, in the steamboat, one of the best we have been in. There were on board a number of settlers from New England, bound to the Michigan territory, which is at present a point of attraction to crowds of emigrants. Some of the families with whom we sailed included three generations, and among their goods and chattels were various articles, which looked as if they had descended to them through a line of ancestry much more remote. At the town of Erie ninety-three miles from Buffalo, I landed, while Mr. Reed proceeded forward to Sandusky. I went to a Temperance House, to which I had been directed, and arrived just in time to witness the conclusion of a prayer-meeting, rather a novel sight to me in an inn. Erie, which is in the State of Pennsylvania, contains a population of about 1500, who are well supplied with the means of religious instruction. The Presbyterian congregation, of which the Rev. Mr. Lyons is minister, is the largest in the town, consisting of five hundred hearers. The next in importance is a Seceder congregation, and there is also a Baptist place of worship. The Methodists have preaching in a room. A revival of religion has recently taken place in Mr. Lyons' congregation; about sixty persons have been added to the church, and the state of things at present is very pleasing.*

* Appendix.

Owing to the negligence of one of the coach agents, who omitted to put my name in the waybill, when I sent to secure a place in the stage, I was unable to proceed on my journey, on the morning of the 28th, as I had expected. This was the only instance of such a disappointment which I have yet met with in America; and it was greatly aggravated by the perfect indifference of the agent, and his refusal to facilitate my getting on in any other way. I found that I should actually save time, and also be more certain of a conveyance, by returning to Buffalo, which I therefore did in the course of the day. I had before refused an invitation to spend the Sabbath there; but being now so unexpectedly brought back, I was anxious that this derangement of my plans should be turned to some good account.

On Sabbath morning, I attended the Presbyterian church, and heard the Rev. Mr. Eaton; and afterwards visited the Sunday School, where I found about one hundred and fifty children. The method of conducting it is very similar to our own. It is held under the church. The plan of having a room underneath, seems to be very generally adopted in the new places of worship where we have been.—These rooms generally extend to the whole area of the building. They are used for Sabbath schools and weekly lectures. I preached in the afternoon; and again in the evening, to young persons in particular, notice having been previously given to that effect. A large number of them were assembled. Here, as elsewhere, the friends of the Redeemer rejoice that our Congregational Union has commenced a friendly interchange of delegates with the American churches.

Monday, 30th.—I can hardly describe the fatigues of this day. Early in the morning, my route lay along the well-known *Corduroy* road, between Buffalo and Batavia, which has been a subject of complaint to so many travellers. I could not have imagined it possible to make any road so bad. Great trees are laid across, by no means uniform in shape or size; and the interstices not being filled up, the shaking of the vehicle is almost intolerable. We took ten hours to reach Batavia, though only forty miles distant. The road, after that, was somewhat better, though our progress was still slow; but, even at the worst part, yet the scenery around was so interesting, as to beguile, in some measure, the tediousness of our progress. After leaving Batavia, we passed through Stafford, where there are many English settlers. They seem to be good farmers. The corn (Indian) was about eighteen inches high. We saw some beautiful fields of wheat and oats. The walls of many of the cottages were adorned with a profusion of roses, which looked quite English. We dined at Canandaigua, which is considered one of the handsomest country towns in this State, (New York,) and certainly excels any other that I have seen. The principal street is 150 feet wide, and extends for nearly two miles; though the houses are not yet built all the way on both sides.

I arrived in Geneva in the evening; and soon after called on the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. E. Phelps, whom I had met with in the General Assembly at Philadelphia. I found him both able and willing to give me all the information I desired respecting the moral and religious condition of the place. Its advantages are very considerable. The population is nearly four thousand; and there are eight places of worship, of different denominations, all evangelical but one, which is Universalist.—About 2300 of the inhabitants attend public worship, besides 800 Sunday-school children.* Gratuit-

* Appendix.

ous instruction is provided during the week, sufficient for all the children in the town; so that no child need remain untaught, if the parents are willing to send him to school.

The situation of Geneva is very delightful. It stands at the northern extremity of Seneca Lake, on ground which rises gradually from the water's edge to a considerable elevation. The principal street is very spacious, and extends for more than a mile. It is planted with trees on each side; and the houses are built with considerable taste. There are some affecting and interesting associations connected with this neighborhood. Within a few miles, is the place which was the seat of government of the Seneca Indians, or rather of the Six Nations. Various spots are pointed out, as the scenes of warfare between the whites and the Indians; and there is a fort, which belonged to the latter, still standing, a short way from the town. One cannot think of the wrongs inflicted on them, without the most painful emotions. No doubt the country now enjoys the blessings of religion and civilization, which it might not have done, had it remained in the hands of its original possessors. But this can never justify the means employed to dispossess them of their native rights and inheritance.

The names of the town and the lake awaken very incongruous recollections. That of the latter, however, is not classical, as might, at first, be supposed. It was, as already hinted, the name of an Indian tribe. And yet, perhaps, by the law of association, it suggested the many names of ancient places, poets, and heroes, which abound in this part of the State. We find Brutus and Cassius; Homer, Virgil, and Ovid; Marathon, Pharsalia, Ithaca, &c. But these are matters of little consequence; and it is now impossible to gratify any curious inquiries on the subject.

I was sorry to find that, in this part of the State, the ministers are so frequently changing the scene of their pastoral labors. The fault may sometimes be in themselves; but, from conversations I have had on the subject, I am inclined to believe that the people are fond of change. Whether the system of the Methodists may have assisted in producing this state of things, I cannot say. I should rather attribute the love of novelty to the new measures, carried out to an extravagant length, and now cautiously employed by the best and most judicious advocates of revivals. On this journey, I was surprised to learn from a minister, who has only been installed six years in his present situation, that, out of thirty members of his Presbytery, he had been the longest settled. Another gentleman with whom I conversed, a judge, and one of the shrewdest men I have met with, justified the practice of ministers and churches frequently dissolving their connection with each other. He seemed quite prepared to give his reasons for the opinion which he held, and urged them with considerable plausibility. He defended his views, on the ground that no man should be confined to one sphere of labor; that the field is the world, and wherever his services are most needed, there he should go. He thought that no people should be influenced by their partialities or affections in a matter like this; that they should not receive the truth more favorably from one man than from another. His arguments were combatted, on the ground that the duties of the pastoral relation cannot be performed aright, when frequent changes take place. He was told that his plan must destroy, or at least weaken, the moral influence, which a pastor may acquire by long continued labors, connected with a consistent character; that the truth, delivered to a people by a man of God whom they knew, under whose ministry they had grown up, who had probably been the instrument of their conversion, who had sympathized with them in seasons of joy and of sorrow, was more likely to affect them, than the same truth coming from the lips of a comparative stranger. But this good man could see no force in any of these considerations; neither did he admit, what was farther affirmed, that, next to the statement of truth itself, is the importance of adapting it to the temptations and failings, the duties and trials, of the flock.

The above remarks apply, with yet greater force, to the plan, so frequently adopted it this part of the country, of *hiring* a minister for a limited period—a year, or half a year. This must be injurious to all parties. It degrades the ministerial character; it tends to unsettle the mind of a minister; and it cannot but produce a captious, cavilling spirit among the people. Far from promoting that impartial spirit, in which the truth of God should be received, it appears to me likely to draw the attention away from the truth preached, to the various gifts and talents of those who preach it.

But though many are like-minded with the individual mentioned above, I have no reason to think that such sentiments will continue to prevail. The distinction between a Pastor and an Evangelist is becoming better understood. There are places in this State where the pastoral relation can hardly be sustained, owing to the scattered character of the population, and their inability to support the ministry of the gospel. In such circumstances, the labors of an evangelist, or itinerant, are suitable and invaluable. But when the state of society becomes settled, and the church is able to support a minister, another class of men is required. The interests of every church require the wise and persevering superintendence of an overseer. And the improvement of the minister, as well as that of the people, will be promoted by his permanent connection with them.

The evil complained of might be materially lessened by the friendly and seasonable advice of neighboring ministers and churches, who observe and deplore it. Such Christian counsel has already been, in several instances, successfully employed.

LETTER V.

My dear friend—I left Geneva early on the morning of the 1st, in a steamboat that sails daily during the summer, on Seneca Lake. I suppose it does so also in the winter, as the water never freezes so as to prevent navigation. The springs are numerous, which accounts for this circumstance. The lake is a beautiful sheet of water, about forty miles in length, and from one to two miles in breadth. The sail was delightful. On both sides the ground rises gradually, to the height of two or three hundred feet. In various places the woods are cleared away, and settlements made. The progress of civilization was seen in immediate contrast with the wildness of nature; and the eye could command the scene from the lake, better than in most other situations. A stage was in waiting to convey the passengers to Elmira. We were five hours in going twenty-three miles. The country was hilly, and the road in bad condition. As the evening approached, the brilliancy of the fire-flies increased. When it became quite dark, the scene was beautiful. The atmosphere was moist and warm. This, no doubt, brought out a greater number of these insects. Innumerable sparks were glimmering in every direction, and flitting with the quickness of lightning.

I remained all night at Elmira. I had secured a

resting place at the inn, and made arrangements for the night; but the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. M. L. Farnsworth, *compelled* me to receive his hospitality. My name and mission were familiar to him, and I found myself at once in the dwelling of a friend. Having so many religious newspapers, information is circulated in all directions through the United States; so that if the deputation had travelled to the farthest West and South, the object of the mission, and the hospitality of the people, would at once have secured a cordial reception.

Elmira contains a scattered population of three thousand persons. There are four places of worship, viz. Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist. The Sunday scholars are four hundred. The communicants are about five hundred; the regular congregations about twelve hundred. There is a temperance society, which has been the means of reclaiming some notorious drunkards. It consists of four hundred members.

I left on the morning of the 2d, in a private conveyance, for Athens. An incident occurred during the journey, which, in my non-adventurous life, might be called an adventure. It will amuse the young people to learn, that I encountered a rattlesnake. No harm, however, resulted to me, or to any one else, except to the creature itself. It might, no doubt, have proved rather a serious matter, and I wish to view it as a providential deliverance.

We had proceeded about half way, and were travelling along a part of the road called the *Narrowing*. On the left there was a perpendicular rock, about a hundred feet in height; and on the right hand, was the river *Shemung*, about fifteen feet below us, and rather deep at that place. The young man who drove the carriage suddenly drew up the reins, exclaiming, "There is a snake before us;" and in a moment added, "It is a rattlesnake." He instantly proposed to kill it. There seemed a necessity for doing so, as there was no way by which we could pass it, the road was so narrow, and the fore-feet of the horse were within two feet of the reptile. Our chief danger was that of the horse becoming frightened, and throwing us into the river beneath. We got out; I held the reins, after drawing the horse a little backwards, while my companion struck the snake with his whip. He did not succeed; and it began to coil itself and rattled; but before it could spring at him, he had struck it again and stunned it. It was then easily despatched. It was about three feet in length, and beautifully spotted. It had eight rings, or rattles, and was consequently about eleven years old. This little incident led me to look more narrowly at the sides of the road. It was, perhaps, owing to this circumstance that I did happen to see a greater number of what are called garter snakes, and a larger kind called the black snake, both, however, quite harmless.

I arrived at Towanda, where I remained all night. On the 3d of July, I arrived at Orwell, and I need only say, that my relatives were much delighted to see me. After a separation of twenty-six years, it was not surprising that we were unable to recognise each other. I found that my relation occupied a very interesting field of pastoral labor, in the midst of an intelligent and pious, though unpolished people. His parish (for the divisions are frequently called by that name) is nearly six miles square. I am glad of this retirement, after the excitement and fatigue of public meetings and journeyings. A few days would be of great service if I could only be kept quiet. Of this, however, I have, at present, little hope; for public engagements are already made for me, for nearly every day that I am to be here. My present feelings are of a mingled character. Of course, the days of other years have been reviewed, and the names and characters of many valued friends, who are now at rest, have come before the mind.

Yesterday (4th July) was to me a day of trial, and of duty. You may recollect, when now reminded, that one of the greatest days of the year, in this country, is that on which the "Declaration of Independence" was signed. It is variously commemorated, according to the taste and feelings of the people. The common way, some years ago, was to have public meetings to have the Declaration read; after which, some youthful orator would deliver a bombastic declamation on the subjects of tyranny, oppression, injustice, freedom, and so forth. The minds of the hearers being predisposed, it was not, perhaps, very difficult to produce feelings of resentment and jealousy against Great Britain. *Now*, there is a change for the better. It is, indeed, still considered desirable by many that there should be meetings, and that the Declaration should be read, but in connection with religious services, or Temperance Society anniversaries. In these ways good may result from the observance of the day. Others are beginning to think that it is neither wise nor proper thus to give a yearly provocation to cherish alienated feelings. They are of opinion, that respect for their national dignity, and regard for the "Father Land," may be better shown by forgetting than by remembering, the harsh deeds of former generations.

I was invited to give an address on the *Fourth of July!* I refused. The request was repeated, with the additional argument, that it was a religious service they wanted. I consented, after telling them that I must state the truth, and it would be their own fault if they found it unpleasant. I need not describe the whole service. It was strictly religious, except the reading of the Declaration, in which I had no share, as you may suppose. I found it rather difficult to address them after such a manifesto. It was a new scene, and a new duty to me; and while attempting to arrange my thoughts, I found myself annoyed by a brisk firing of rifles, and by the shouts of assembling youth at no great distance. I tried, however, to improve the occasion for doing good. I adverted to the peculiarity of my situation as a British subject, and the object of my coming to this country. Considering that it was on a mission of peace, I could not but regret to hear a subject introduced which was calculated to excite angry and tumultuous feelings. I asked them if they loved their liberty, their institutions, and their country. If they did, surely, then, patriotism might be kept alive, without an annual recitation of evils they had endured fifty or sixty years ago. And if the rising generation were properly instructed in the great principles of liberty and justice, they would hate oppression, and be sufficiently courageous in defending their rights. I hinted that there was a danger of the day becoming simply a commemoration of a *political* event, without connecting with it the goodness of God in conferring upon them civil and religious privileges—that they might be looking to the *men* of the revolution rather than to God, whose hand alone had secured their deliverance. I wished them to view it as an evil omen, when mere orators, statesmen, and politicians, commemorated the day in such a manner, as to excite irritated feelings against a country to which they were under innumerable obligations, and the inhabitants of which could not *now* wish them to be subject to British dominion, but rather rejoiced in their liberty and prosperity. I expressed my hope, that *if* it was necessary to remember the day, it would be a religious commemoration—a day of praise—of devout acknowledgment, for their many and peculiar advan-

tages. And that while they recorded national mercies, each individual would be led to consider his own obligations to the God of Providence, and thus strengthen every motive that could urge him to be useful. I ventured to point out their dangers, their privileges, their responsibilities, as a people. I glanced at their prospects—bright, if they sought the favor of God—dark, if religious knowledge was not spread, or if God's work, his cause, and glory, were neglected.

I closed by describing the feelings that should be cherished by the people of England and America towards each other, especially by the *Christians* of both countries. We wished to witness their prosperity, and looking at the position we occupied in relation to each other, it appeared as if we had thus become connected for the most important purposes. Of one blood, one language, and one faith, our religious institutions, our commercial pursuits and enterprises, resembling each other, the two nations seemed prepared for uniting to bless the world. This was our high destiny, and could we lose sight of it by *again* proclaiming war against each other? I stated my conviction, that if the Christians of both countries did their duty as the friends of peace, war was impossible between them. That it was an excess of folly, even for nations not professedly Christian, to appeal to physical force, like the beasts of the forest, to avenge their quarrels; what must then be the folly and guilt of professedly Christian nations, thus to shed each other's blood? And that all these considerations, which might in ordinary cases prove the criminality of war, had tenfold force in regard to England and America, united by so many ties, I expressed a hope that soon it would be decided, by the good sense and right feeling of the people, that the ceremony of that day was uncalled for, either by the situation of America, or the condition and designs of Britain. That while the document would remain on the page of their national history, to be seen and read in after days by their descendants, the present generation could do without it. Not that they were indifferent to liberty, but secure of it; not that they could forget their sufferings and their deliverance, but remember them with other feelings than those of resentment, and forgive what man had done, in token of their gratitude to Almighty God.

I did not forget to hint at the necessity of consistency in the love of liberty; and that while they valued their own, they should remember that their country was *not free* while slavery existed in it.

I then concluded, by addressing the irreligious, and pointed them to Christ. I referred to the inconsistency of celebrating the day, as connected with their political liberty, and that it would testify against them if they remained satisfied with mental and spiritual bondage.

I quite expected that my address would give offence. There was a large congregation, and they gave me their attention. I found afterwards that they were not displeased, but, on the contrary, reciprocated the kind wishes and desires expressed about the union of affection, and the Christian cooperation that should exist between the two countries. This is, as you know, the only instance in which I have given you such particulars respecting what *I* said; and I have done so on this occasion for two reasons. The first is, to convince you that I did not forget I was a Britain, nor compromise my principles; the second is, to show you that this people are willing to hear the truth, even though it reproves them, if it be stated in a spirit of respect and kindness.

My impression is, with regard to this celebrated day, that some attend to it merely for political purposes, without much real love to their country. Many do so, because they think it right to remind their children of the early struggles of their country for liberty; and many more observe it from the mere force of habit and custom.

I have no doubt whatever that it does great harm in many ways. It promotes intemperance, by bringing multitudes together for jovial purposes; it produces emotions in many minds, that are improper and anti-christian, and such as no Christian or wise legislator should encourage in the young population of a rising country. The safety and prosperity of America will not be found in its warlike propensities, or in jealousy of the land from whence they spring. The security and happiness of this land will rest on her peaceful character, on her moral elevation, on her Christian enterprise. Let these predominate, and she is invincible.

I had an interesting meeting to-day with an aged man. He was quite patriarchal in his character and appearance. He was the first settler in this district, and came to it about forty years ago. I have not yet told you that this county (Bradford) is comparatively newly settled. The forests in some places stand in all their original gloominess and grandeur. I have already seen the progress, from the first girdling of the trees, in order to prepare them for burning and cutting down, to the regular operations of the well-cleared farm. I have made an engagement with the patriarch of the district, who has promised to describe to me the history of his settling in this neighborhood. If I have time to give it to you, it will show you the difficulties, physical and spiritual, with which early settlers have to contend.

The spot where I now write is the highest ground in this neighborhood, and commands an extensive survey of the surrounding country. The cleared parts are not very numerous, and therefore the extent of forest is considerable. About eight miles distant there is a range of hills of moderate elevation, the base of which is watered by the Susquehannah; and in other directions the spires of places of public worship appear, for even in this comparative wilderness, "the sound of the church-going bell" is to be heard.

To-morrow is the Sabbath. There are two places of worship in which my relative officiates for the accommodation of the more distant settlers. It is in the one furthest off that we shall worship then. I am glad to find that the people are well supplied with the means of religious instruction.*

LETTER VI.

My dear friend—I have now had an opportunity of spending a Sabbath in the country, and of seeing the ordinary routine of religious services, in the midst of an agricultural population. I do enjoy the country, on the Sabbath especially, when there is no visible profanity to pain the mind, but, on the contrary, every thing to indicate that the ordinances of religion are prized, and that the sanctuary is loved.

We proceeded, at the customary time, to the meeting-house, (as it is called by many here,) about four miles distant from the village where the pastor resides. As we went along, we had a full view of the place of meeting for some time before we reached it, as it stood on one hill, and we had to descend another opposite to it; and thus we could at a glance survey the numerous groupes who were moving along from various directions, but all hastening to one point. It was a pleasant sight. The whole scene harmonized with the feelings thus awakened.

* See Appendix.

The morning was lovely. The heat had not yet become intense, and animated nature appeared to rejoice. The insects sporting in the sun-beams were innumerable. Seldom have I seen more admirable specimens, both of the insect and feathered tribes. The butterflies were exceedingly numerous, large, and beautiful. The bees, wild and domestic, were filling the air with their soft murmurs; and in the woods we saw varieties of the woodpecker, and squirrels in abundance. They seemed to court the presence of man, rather than to shun it. The domestic animals were enjoying the rest of the Sabbath; and man, the only creature on earth that ever failed to answer the end of his existence, seemed this morning in some measure to be alive to his high destiny. The cottages and plantations were thinly scattered, and yet considerable numbers were on the road, the throng increasing as they approached nearer to the sanctuary of God. I was pleased to observe, that though a full proportion of the people that we passed were aged persons, *not one old person was walking*. The young people were either walking, or on horseback, while the parents, the grandfathers and grandmothers, were comfortably seated in their wagons or dearborns. The place of worship holds about four hundred persons, and it was filled. After the morning service, which, of course, as the stranger, I had to conduct, there was an interval of only a few minutes before the second service began. This plan is adopted to accommodate the people who come from a distance, and is indeed customary in some parts of our own country. The heat was very oppressive, being 86° by Fahrenheit, and you may easily suppose how I felt while preaching. I could not do as some of my hearers did, and which, I understand, is customary in country places, during the sermon; they had taken off their coats! I did not wonder that they were glad to dispense with this article of dress on such a day. It had, however, a singular appearance, to see some fifty or sixty men in such a condition, in a place of worship. But they were in the midst of friends; it was usual, and no remarks were made. In the interval of service, the place of general resort was a well hard by; and never did the simple beverage of nature taste sweeter than to-day. In going to and returning from worship, while a variety of dwellings in succession met my eye, my friends furnished me also with a glance at the history of some of their inhabitants.

In a country like ours, twenty cottages in a village may present few incidents worthy of notice, for the history of one is mainly the history of all; but, in the settling of a new district like this, the difficulties and privations, the successes and the disappointments, that occur, call into operation talents and energies, which, in other circumstances, might never be developed. Character is brought out, and the progress of society is more easily marked, than in older countries. One of the *chief* dangers connected with a *new* and thinly scattered population, is the temptation they are under to neglect religion. This arises, not so much from the want of a place in which to meet, for they can easily, by uniting their time and labor, erect a *log* church, large enough for their numbers; but because, for several years, their life must be one of incessant toil and anxiety, in order to secure the necessaries of life. In such circumstances, if the day of rest is observed at all, it is apt to become a day of indolence or worldly pleasure. Especially is this the case, if there be a few of the settlers who set a different example. The early mode of settling in this country is not now much practised. Formerly settlers of a new territory formed a village, from which their plantations diverged in different directions. This was for mutual defence and benefit. And, in every instance, the school-house and church were found near the centre of the village. But when the fear of attack from the Indians was removed, and larger plantations were obtained, the settlers became more widely separated from each other, and it became more difficult to get them to unite in erecting places of worship, and in obtaining a regular ministry.—Those who might be inclined to keep "holy the Sabbath," were seldom able to do this by their own exertions alone. To remedy this evil, societies were formed, in connection with neighboring congregations, in order to assist the people. This was done by sending Christian missionaries, who might plant the standard of the cross, and gather around it the scattered population. There was no desire, on the part of the supporters of these institutions, to deprive the people of their rights, by placing over them ministers not chosen by themselves. It was simply carrying into effect the apostolic method of extending the gospel. After a people had been collected and converted, they left them to choose their own pastors; but till this could be done, they gave them that Christian aid, which it is the duty of believers in Christ to do in all similar cases. It was in this way that the gospel was introduced, and became successful in this immediate district. Happily the first settlers were from New England. Their love to divine ordinances, and their early application for the services of a Christian missionary, gave a decided tone to the character of the place. I was pleased to learn, that, in most cases, the inmates of the cottages were either members of Christian churches, or regularly attended on the preaching of the gospel.

On returning, we again saw groupes of people hastening to the sanctuary beside the pastor's dwelling, but it was a mournful occasion that brought them together—the funeral of one who had been cut down in the morning of life. Wishing to see their mode of conducting such solemn services, I also repaired to the place. The youth's father belonged to a different denomination, and his own minister had come to preach a funeral sermon, which I understand is customary at the time of interment.—The corpse was brought into the place of worship, and placed on a stand beneath the pulpit. After the discourse, the mourners accompanied the body to the burying-ground, where, without any farther ceremony, it was committed to the grave.

I deeply regretted that, on such an occasion, when so many persons were assembled, the individual officiating should so lamentably fail in his statement of truth. If at any time the mind should be solemn, and disposed to listen to the voice of instruction and comfort, it is when the heart is softened, and the conscience awakened, by the presence of death.—And surely a minister of Christ should seek to improve such an opportunity. But the preacher studiously avoided addressing the ignorant, the inquiring, or the penitent. He had no message, no invitation, no counsel, no consolation, for them. He spoke only of covenant privileges, and this he did unscripturally. A stranger, ignorant of religion, could not have learnt from his discourse that there was any salvation for sinners, any way by which man could be redeemed. And what made the omission of the gospel more distressing was, that in the history of the youth whose mortal remains were there, there was much to alarm and impress the hearts of the young. But all was passed by unnoticed and unimproved. Need I tell you that the preacher was a Hyper-Calvinist? I am glad to add, that only a few persons attend on his ministry.

On the 7th of July the annual meeting of the Bible and Missionary Societies was held. After a brief address, respecting the objects which these institutions have in view, the members proceeded to

transact the business of the meeting. It was pleasant to witness, in this remote corner, the orderly and practical habits of the people. Each individual who took a part in the proceedings seemed to understand business well. The officers were chosen, and the collectors appointed. I particularly observed their strict adherence to constitutional rules, and how they managed to apportion the responsibility among the different members of the committee.—But what amused me more than any thing else, was the circumstance, that the chairman, who was a man of considerable property in the neighborhood, was without his coat; and several of the speakers were in the same cool and airy situation. It did look rather singular, after the very different scenes I had witnessed in the large cities a month or two before. I was glad, however, to see that the same principles influenced men in very different circumstances; and that, too, without the excitement and *eclat* of large public meetings. Here I found Christians pursuing regular plans of usefulness, in *undress* certainly, yet promoting the same great objects with the wealthy and more refined inhabitants of New York and Boston. When I state that the thermometer was ninety-two in the shade on the day of meeting, you need not be surprised at what I have named. If it were as hot in England, probably the same custom would prevail in country villages.

It appears that some of the early settlers in this part of the State met with severe losses at first in the purchase of lands, owing to the rival claims between the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The latter, on the ground of some ancient grant, or purchase, from the Indians, sold large quantities of land to private speculators. The former afterwards asserted their right, and upon trial it was decided in their favor, so that those who had purchased lots from the speculators found their titles worthless, and lost both their money and their land.

I called, in the afternoon, on one settler, who entered on his plantation some twenty years ago. It consists of about three hundred acres, of which about one hundred and thirty are cleared. Of course, there is not a field without large stumps of trees, notwithstanding which, it appeared to promise good crops, especially of grass. In the course of conversation, he expressed a desire to dispose of his plantation, and retire to a less fatiguing life than that of farming. I was curious to know the value of such a property. He mentioned to me that it produced the ordinary crops, except wheat, and that it was chiefly meadow, and fed fifty or sixty head of cattle. He was willing to sell the plantation, including the dwelling-house and all the out buildings, for 2,500 dollars (about 550*l.*) I thought how glad a farmer of small capital in our country would be to secure support for a family, and at once enter on a property which might be purchased by two or three years' rent of a farm at home not much larger than the one we are speaking of in the present instance. And in this case, there would be no spiritual deprivation, for the gospel is faithfully proclaimed in the parish, not only by the Presbyterian minister, but also by other denominations. It would, however, require great personal labor, and unwearied industry, and would hardly answer unless there were several sons in the family. Manual labor is so expensive, that few owners of small plantations can afford to hire men-servants. There is no class in newly settled districts analogous to what we call "gentlemen farmers." The highest and lowest departments of farming operations are filled by the owner of the property. He must be able and willing to put his hand to any thing, or every thing, that demands his aid.

I examined to-day (the 8th) the plan of obtaining maple sugar. The person who accompanied me through the plantation had only about forty acres in wood; but without difficulty, from a small number of trees, he obtained about one hundred and fifty pounds weight of sugar in the season. A maple grove may, therefore, be considered as a valuable possession to new settlers distant from towns, and having few dollars at their command. He had collected the sap of the trees for a number of years, and, as far as could be judged by appearances, they had not been injured by the process of *tapping*.

The 9th was one of the warmest days that I have met with in this country. When I tell you it was 93° in the shade, and that I had to conduct a religious service in a Methodist chapel in the afternoon, you can, in some measure, imagine the inconvenience that I felt from the heat. It was really overpowering both to preacher and hearers. I have not had time to be seasoned, and perhaps felt it more than the natives of the place.

On the 10th, I went to Wysox, about fourteen miles from this place, to meet with a number of ministers and elders. My object was to learn from them the state of religion in this and the neighboring counties. I found the utmost readiness to communicate all the information which they could. I was glad, also, to hear expressions of kind feeling from them towards all the Christians of our beloved country. Besides the present state of religion, I was desirous to ascertain how far the absence of support from the State legislature had affected it; and to know their opinion respecting the working of the scriptural method of sustaining and extending the preaching of the gospel in this newly settled district of country. It is not necessary to give even the substance of a conversation that occupied two or three hours. It is sufficient to give the result. With regard to the state of religion, it was the decided opinion of all who were present, that it was making progress in this and in the neighboring counties; and that, in some places particularly, great and beneficial changes had been effected. With regard to the question of State support for religion, there was but one expression of opinion. They firmly and unequivocally stated their abhorrence of such a plan, or of the State interfering, in any way, with the selection or appointment of ministers. All they sought from the Government was *protection*, and freedom for all denominations, to exert themselves in promoting religion according to their own views. They considered that a grant of money from Congress to support religious teachers, if it could by possibility be obtained, would be a curse instead of a blessing; and that the only way by which the purity and efficiency of the Christian ministry could be secured, was to give the people the privilege of choosing and supporting their own pastors. If, in some cases, owing to the limited numbers of the people, or their poverty, they were unable to support a minister, they considered it safest for neighboring churches to assist, still leaving *all* power in the hands of the people; so that they could invite the minister most likely to benefit them, after they had become able to discriminate between one preacher and another.

I inquired if it would be incompatible with their views to receive grants from the State Legislature to build places of religious worship. They answered, that their objections to such a plan were many. They considered that it would encourage indifference among the people, if others should *do* what it was their duty and privilege to perform themselves, as much as to build their own dwellings. That, in their country, the great principle being acknowledged and acted upon, that all sects are equal in the eye of the law; grants could not be made to any denomination, without producing jealousies, and

forming a source of heart-burnings, most destructive to Christian love, and to the prosperity of religion. That alienation and religious feuds would be the result among them instead of harmony and Christian co-operation. If, to remove this difficulty, *all* denominations should receive aid, according to the number of adherents in particular places, without any reference to truth or error, it would at once be giving the money of the friends of truth to the support of errors which they abhorred. If, again, the denomination which formed the *majority* of the people should be nominated by the State the *National* religion, and assisted accordingly, it would place itself under the control of the State, for no human government is disposed to give its patronage without some return. The *quid pro quo* is as well understood in such matters as in political affairs. And these ministers stated it as their firm conviction, that there was not one denomination in this land who would accept of such State patronage. Two circumstances would prevent them, *viz.* that it would be an act of injustice to others, who supported their own religious services and ministers; and it would be giving up their Christian liberties, into the hands of men, generally ignorant about religion, and who *in no age* ever legislated on the subject without doing the cause of truth the greatest injury.

When it is considered that some of the churches which these men represented are dependent for aid on the Home Missionary Society, connected with the Presbyterian church, we cannot but admire their disinterestedness in preferring the present mode, because they believed it would secure greater purity and efficiency to their churches. For, in these cases, State support, or compulsory taxation, would probably have afforded a more permanent, if not a more liberal, provision.

The result of the meeting is a conviction that, in none of the old settled States had the efficiency of Christian principle been put to a severer test than in the northern part of Pennsylvania; and that, notwithstanding every obstacle, it promised to supply the people, not only with places of worship, but also with ministers well educated and zealous in their work, and prepared to elevate the character of a new population.

I have spent another Sabbath at Orwell very satisfactorily. During my visit to this place, I have mingled much with the people. I have been in many of their dwellings, and have seen a good deal of their domestic arrangements. I have tried to ascertain the feelings which the different denominations cherish towards each other. I find that there is a spirit of competition among some of them, but it is destitute of that bitterness and sectarianism which prevail so widely in our country. No one sect has any reason to consider itself as superior to all others, and the others have no cause to complain that they are oppressed and injured by a State religion. One of the deacons is an Episcopalian, and, not long ago, the bishop of the diocese visited him, and a few of similar sentiments in the district, and, on that occasion, preached in the Presbyterian church.

I shall soon leave for Pittsburgh, where I expect to meet with Mr. Reed, who parted from me on Lake Erie.

LETTER VII.

My dear friend—I have been delayed on my journey to Pittsburgh, by the difficulties of travelling in this elevated region. I am now on the western side of the principal range of the Allegany Mountains. Rough as the roads were, fatigued as I have been travelling early and late, I have much enjoyed my journey. When I tell you, that I have taken six days and three nights to get to this place, (about two hundred and fifty miles,) you may suppose how far we are removed from the facilities of English travelling. We left Orwell shortly after I wrote my last letter, on the 14th of July, and, as there was no stage coach the route I intended to take, my relative was kind enough to accompany me, in his family wagon, for about one hundred miles, till I got into the great line of road to the West. We managed the first day to travel about forty miles, and reached a small town, called by the Indian name, *Tunkhannock*. The whole road was hilly, and in one part, lay across a mountain of considerable height. The openings in the forest, next the roads, were covered with beautiful shumachs, and rhododendrons; the flower of the latter had passed away, but the shumachs were in full leaf, and the blossom ready to display itself. Some parts of the scenery greatly delighted me. The ground was so covered, in some places, by large and loose stones, that it required considerable management to escape an overturn. We had not allowed ourselves sufficient time to get to our intended place of destination, before day-light departed; and here darkness comes suddenly There is no lingering twilight to warn us of the need of haste, before the shades of night fall on the traveller. We were consequently benighted. The road was narrow and imperfectly formed in some places. The moon appeared, but it did us little good, as the trees were of great height, and so close together. In addition to the darkness and the awkwardness of the path, a storm came on; and, in this country, storms are no trifling matters. I do not remember ever to have observed such continued and vivid flashes of lightning, and such tremendous peals of thunder. The horse had to be led for several miles through the forest. With considerable difficulty we arrived, without injury, at our inn, about ten or eleven o'clock. The tempest abated for a little while; but, about midnight, it burst forth again. I never trembled before during a thunder-storm, but this one really produced alarm. It appeared as if the whole atmosphere was on fire, and the roll of the thunder was so loud and long continued, and so near, that it felt as if all nature was crumbling into ruins. We were mercifully preserved; but I ascertained, from some of the local newspapers, a few days afterwards, that very great injury had been done both to crops and buildings, by the storm, of that evening, particularly in the valley of Wyoming.

I had hardly had time to dress, on the Tuesday morning, about five o'clock, when a summons came, requesting me to repair to a school-room, where some Christians were assembled for prayer. I was taken by surprise, but I went immediately, and it was interesting to find, at that early hour, nearly twenty persons met for such a purpose. The meeting was composed of some of the most respectable people in the place. It was a weekly service, and had been found useful to those who engaged in it; and the hour had been fixed thus early, because six o'clock, or half-past, is the usual time for breakfast. The particulars related to me afterwards, respecting this little company, and the state of religion in the place, were interesting. The village had been remarkable for wickedness, the people having given themselves up to many excesses. Means had been used to do them good, but in vain. The state of things became worse, and the ministers in the neighborhood determined to make another effort to stem the progress of irreligion. They met in the place, and held a protracted meeting. The religious services were continued for some days, and the blessing of

God evidently accompanied them. A number of persons became convinced of the folly of their ways, and desired to be the servants of God. More than twenty were united in Christian fellowship, and for two or three years, have maintained a consistent Christian profession. A missionary, stationed in the neighborhood, preaches once a fortnight to them, and meets with them on other occasions. They had commenced that meeting for mutual assistance and encouragement in the ways of God. I was glad to observe that a substantial brick building was erecting for them, in which they can meet on the Sabbath. It is large enough to hold four hundred people. This was preparatory to a pastor settling in the place. A great change has been produced in public opinion, and the conduct of the people, in general, is much improved.

This day brought us into the Valley of Wyoming —a name familiar to all who are acquainted with Campbell's "Gertrude." We travelled along the whole length of it, and a beautiful valley it is. We encountered another storm, which obliged us to take shelter in a cottage. As this happened to be nearly opposite to the place where the massacre of Americans took place, we had leisure to indulge in the recollections awakened by the scene. It was only lately that the bones of the murdered victims were collected and interred in a large trench. A monument is now being erected to record the melancholy event. Tomahawks and arrow heads are found near the spot. We saw to-day the ravages made by the storm—hundreds of trees had been torn up by the roots; many of them being broken and shattered by the violence of the hurricane; while the corn now five and six feet high, in some places on the banks of the Susquehannah, was lying nearly prostrate on the ground. We observed that the wheat harvest had commenced in some sheltered places. The soil of the district through which we were passing appeared fertile. Many delightful spots present themselves on the banks of the soft-flowing river—the favorite haunt of the last lingering tribes of Indians, who struggled in vain against the united attacks of alcohol and the white men. Brainerd, indeed, tried to do them good, and some were saved by his labors; but the place that once knew them, knows them no more for ever!

Wilkesbarre, where we remained all night, under the hospitable roof of the Rev. Mr. Dorrance, is situated at the end of the valley, and was called Wyoming originally. It contains rather more than two thousand inhabitants. There are three places of worship, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Methodists.* I found the plan adopted here of building a church at the united expense of two denominations, and each using it alternately. This is the case, I understand, in other new settlements, when neither sect is strong enough to build a suitable place of their own; but it is not found to answer. Jealousies are produced, and it is very difficult to arrange opposing claims so as to please both parties.

On the 16th we proceeded in the stage, and with difficulty we reached Berwick. The roads were the worst that I had yet seen in these hilly regions, two and three miles an hour being our rate of travelling the greater part of the day. It was not till nine A. M. of the 17th, that the stage reached Danville, forty-six miles from Wilkesbarre. Here I rested for the day; and parted from my relative, who had accompanied me thus far. I found Danville in a very interesting condition, as it regarded religion. One or two revivals of religion have lately taken place, and one hundred and twenty persons have been added to the church. Many, in the best informed, and most influential classes of society, have bowed to the authority of Christ, and professed to be his disciples. It was very animating to mingle in the society of those new converts, old enough to have tested the reality of their profession, but possessing all the freshness and ardor of young disciples. There were some "old disciples" too, who rejoice in this work of God. I met with one lady of ninety-four; she had some of the infirmities of age, but was still able to converse on the great subjects of religion with perfect correctness. Her daughter was present; she is about seventy; her grand-daughter also, who is forty, and a great-grand-daughter, in her teens. There were four generations; three of them, at least, the servants of God. I had intended to leave in the evening, but was prevailed on to stay, and at an hour's notice we had a company of two hundred and fifty people in the lecture-room, where I addressed them. God has greatly honored the labors of the minister, the Rev. Mr. Dunlap, of the Presbyterian church,* and he rejoices in his success.

The population amounts to about 1500 people. There are three places of worship, viz. Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Methodist. About 850 persons attend, of whom 325 are communicants.—There are besides six Sabbath schools, containing 320 children. There is a Temperance Society, which is prospering. I was assured, by those who knew the place, that ardent spirits are not used in the town, either by religious or irreligious families. Indeed, the face of society has been greatly altered, owing to the influential character of many of those who have decidedly embraced the gospel.

On the 18th I passed through the town of Northumberland, at which place the northern and western branches of the Susquehannah river form a junction. The scenery at this place is very beautiful. It was in this town that Dr. Priestley lived for a number of years, after coming to this country in 1792. He died here in 1804. Having to remain a few hours, waiting for the stage, I made inquiry of some religious friends as to the effect produced by his residence here, and the efforts he made to propagate his peculiar opinions. It might have been expected that this would be the head quarters of Unitarianism in this State; but I ascertained that there was not even a place of worship for that denomination. The only place where error is preached is a very small Universalist meeting-house, where few attend. I found, however, that this town had not been favored, as the neighboring towns had, with revivals of religion. The Presbyterian congregation is without a pastor, though they had regular preaching every Sabbath by means of stated supplies. Religion is not flourishing here, as in other places where I have been.

I was amused in passing through the small town of New Berlin, in Union County, to find a number of the inhabitants, at their doors and in the streets, employed in reading newspapers. On inquiring the reason, I found that it was publishing-day; and that three different newspapers are printed every week, two in English, and one in German. The population is between four and five hundred persons! I got a copy of each. They were rather curiosities in their way. One was Masonic, and the others anti-Masonic. It appears that the division of the public mind, on the subject of Masonry, has led to the publication of a great number of newspapers on both sides. The whole appearance and character of the journals were insignificant; but this was not surprising in such a small place, and with such a small circulation. Three cents was the price; though even this is not charged to strangers.

* See Appendix.

* See Appendix.

I travelled the whole night, and late on the evening of the 19th, arrived at Ebensburgh, and determined to remain over the Sabbath. I had a strong inducement to do so, for I had previously heard that there was a Welsh settlement at this place. I was very desirous to become acquainted with the condition of the people, and learn as many particulars as I could respecting their past history. Ebensburgh is about eighty miles from Lewistown, which we had left early in the morning, taking eighteen hours to go that distance. During the whole day we travelled over a mountainous region, approaching nearer and nearer to the Allegany Ridge, till we actually crossed it. The mountain over which we passed is the highest in this part of the State of Pennsylvania, being more than two thousand feet above the level of the sea. This town is on a table mountain, belonging to a lower ridge of hills, that runs parallel with the highest range of mountains. These elevated and uncleared regions, seem the favorite residence of snakes of various kinds. The driver of the stage killed a very large rattlesnake on the road to-day; and others of a harmless description were destroyed by some of the passengers. The company in the stage was the worst that I have yet met with since I travelled in this country. Horse-racers, swearers, and immoderate devourers of tobacco in its most offensive forms. Lewistown contains about four thousand inhabitants, and has six places of worship.*

The road from Lewistown led us along the course of the Juniata, and the line of the canal between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The difficulties which have been overcome in forming this chain of canals by the aid of the waters of the Susquehanna, Juniata, and Allegany rivers, have been numerous and great. Traversing the whole State of Pennsylvania, from east to west, they open communications with agricultural and mineral districts of great extent. There was something very striking presented in this day's journey. We sometimes ascended to the height of six or seven hundred feet, approaching nearer and nearer to the immense forests that covered the more elevated regions. On looking to the left, down abrupt descents, we saw, at their base, the Juniata silently pursuing its course through the defiles of the mountains, and the canal sometimes parallel with it, and sometimes diverging from it to find a more favorable level. We saw the work of man mingling in striking contrast with the stupendous works of God. The skill of man had surmounted mighty obstacles, and was now conveying, through that solitary region, the productions of both hemispheres. Ever and anon, the eye caught the canal boats pursuing their slow, but regular course through mountains almost unpeopled, and exhibiting the triumphs of science in her most useful forms, in the midst of the wilderness and silence of the native rocks and forests.

I found the inn at this place crowded by persons, some of whom had come a considerable distance to attend a "protracted meeting," which had begun some days before, and was to close on the Sabbath evening. I was glad that I had arrived in time to witness its termination. The landlord and his wife were both from Wales.

The protracted meeting was held by the Baptist denomination. The services had been held in their chapel on the former days; but when the Sabbath arrived, it was found too small to accommodate the additional crowds that had arrived. They accordingly had the use of the Congregational place of worship, which is much larger than their own.

I attended the meeting in the morning, and heard one of the most talented of the preachers, who had come from a distance. His discourse was sensible rather argumentative, and by no means fitted to excite the passions. It was dry and formal, and deficient in that energy and fire which I had expected. There was nothing in the preaching, or in the appearance of the congregation, to disapprove of. On the contrary, the doctrines of the gospel were correctly stated, and the people listened to them with deep and silent attention. I saw no movement, nor any visible indication of peculiar feeling among them. Another of the ministers preached in the Welsh language in the afternoon, to a crowded congregation. I passed the door of the place of worship, and heard the speaker addressing the people, with all the energy that is peculiar to ministers from the principality, when they speak in their native tongue. Judging from the perfect stillness of the congregation, I should suppose that he was speaking with good effect.

When I returned to the inn, I found the landlord at home, which rather surprised me. It appeared, however, that though he came from Wales, he did not understand Welsh. From him I learnt some interesting particulars respecting the settlement; but he referred me for full information to Judge Roberts, the pastor of the Congregational church. It was pleasing to think, that the colony which arrived first at this place, had brought with them from their own mountains and valleys the institutions of religion. Many delightful associations were awakened in my mind, by finding these settlers more than four thousand miles from their native hills, and yet not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which they had heard in their youth. The truth of God is the same, whether preached on the mountains of Allegany, or those of Wales. They had the additional privilege of hearing it, in the language which, above all other tongues, is sweet to them; so that the very sound might be called a joyful sound in their ears.

After the service, I sought an interview with the pastor, to whom I had been referred, for information. I did not mention my name; but merely expressed a desire to be made acquainted with any particulars respecting the settlement, which might be interesting to a stranger, who had come from the mother country. He frankly expressed his readiness to do so, but I saw that he looked as if he wished to know who I was. I found it would be more courteous to tell him. When he heard my name, he knew at once my errand, for the numerous religious newspapers of the country travel even across these mountains. The firm grasp of his hand expressed his welcome and his joy in seeing a brother from the old country there. "You *must* preach," said he. I declined, for I was much exhausted by my previous journey, and needed rest. But, as was too frequently the case, no denial would be taken. He urged compliance more strongly, on the ground that the Deputation was from the Congregational Union of England and *Wales*. They were Welsh, he said; they were also Congregationalists; and it would be hard indeed, if one of the delegates from the Welsh, as well as from the English churches, should be there and not address them. It was the first time, he added, since the settlement, thirty-seven years ago, that an English minister had been in the town, and, therefore, I *must* preach. What could I do? Necessity was laid upon me, especially when he went out, and immediately returned with several Baptist ministers, who united their requests with his.

The service of the evening was, to me, peculiarly interesting. The place of worship was quite filled. After I had addressed the people, the preacher of the morning followed up what I had said, by a renewed and solemn appeal to the congregation, to

* See Appendix.

decide instantly for God. By this time some of the people seemed much affected. Their moistened eyes and expressive countenances showed the interest they took in the services; but, beyond this, I saw no movement, no physical excitement of any kind. All was silent among the people, except once or twice a subdued sigh, which broke on the stillness of the worship, and marked the emotion of a heart that sought relief. When the minister closed his address, he invited those persons, whose minds were seriously impressed, who desired salvation and the prayers of the church on their behalf, to move to the "anxious seats" immediately before the pulpit.

I confess I was taken by surprise. I did not expect that such a proceeding would have been resorted to on this occasion. I hope my dislike to this *new* measure was not the result of prejudice: I had read, conversed, and thought much on the subject. I had seen the plan attempted to be carried into effect in one or two instances; and the decided conviction to which my mind had come, was—that it was injudicious, and was fitted to do great injury. It has always appeared to me something like an *outrage* on the feelings of those who were humbled before God, and were ready to shrink from the presence of their fellow-men, under a deep consciousness of personal guilt. It was enough to have this contrite feeling, without being called on to come openly forth from their fellow-worshippers, and then to place themselves in a prominent situation, before a large assembly, exposed to the gaze of the curious and irreligious, as well as to the kind and encouraging looks of Christians. A more private and tender mode of treatment seemed better fitted to accomplish the important design which the friends of this plan profess to have in view.

On this occasion, these and other thoughts passed through my mind. I wished the minister had *not* asked those who were impressed to occupy the seats already named. As he *had* done it, I was desirous to mark the effect upon the people. That there were some present, whose minds were seriously impressed, I have little doubt; and that, in another way, they would have sought and gladly received Christian counsel, I am quite prepared to believe. But, in this instance, the invitation was not accepted. Not one person arose to move to the front pews. There seemed to be a shrinking of the people from this hasty and public avowal of their sentiments, feelings, or intentions; and I was not prepared to condemn them. I considered that they acted modestly and judiciously. The invitation was repeated: still it failed to produce compliance. Of course, I had no right to interfere openly; but I thought it my duty to whisper in the ear of the minister, who was beside me in the pulpit, that, perhaps, it would be better not to persevere in inviting them to the anxious seat; that more good would probably result from the services of the day, if those who were under serious concern about their souls were to remain and converse with the ministers, or meet them next morning, for the same purpose. He took the hint in a Christian spirit, and adopted the plan. I have not heard the result of this protracted meeting.

I had a brief interview with Mr. Roberts after the service. I found him a pious and simple-minded man, deeply interested about the welfare of the people committed to his care. He communicated some affecting particulars respecting the early settlement of the colony in this place. There was not, however, time to give me all the information I was anxious to obtain. He was so kind as to promise to write out some facts connected with the history and present condition of the place, and send it to me before I left America.* I parted from him with feelings of great respect, and cherishing the hope of meeting again in a better country.

In the evening, the landlord requested me to conduct family worship. I was pleased with the request. We had a large family party, as some of the strangers had not departed. Early in the morning, before the stage left, I requested the landlord to tell me what I had to pay. "*Nothing*," was the quick reply. I insisted on giving him what was proper; but he peremptorily refused, and added—"I am glad to have had a minister of the gospel under my roof: that is my reward." I yielded, and accepted of his hospitality in the name of a disciple.

I leave this place in an hour or two, for Pittsburgh. I shall remember the Sabbath spent here with feelings of pleasure. This Christian colony appears prospering, and, in some measure, to appreciate the religious advantages they possess.

LETTER VIII.

My dear friend—I arrived safely at the Pittsburgh Hotel on Monday evening, the 21st of July. Two or three months ago we were invited by the Rev. A. D. Campbell, one of the clergymen of the town, to visit Pittsburgh, and to take up our abode with him. We promised to do so, if we should journey so far West. I have received from him a frank and Christian welcome. He resides about two miles from the town, in a beautiful situation, commanding a fine view of the Ohio, and the numerous vessels on it. There is near his house a maple grove, which furnishes a pleasant shade, though even there the thermometer was 88° on the day of my arrival. The ground around the house is finely undulated, more like the fields around Durham than any locality I have been in before. Indeed, the whole scene around me is more like home than most I have yet met with. The only *un-English* thing within my view, is the Indian corn. There is a large field of it just before my window, eight or nine feet high, with its silky tassels waving in the wind. Next to this, there is a good field of wheat, but it is so dwarfish and feeble compared with the other, that it seems less beautiful than at home, where it has no such competitor to overtop its rich and golden ears.

My host has pointed out to me in his garden various trees and shrubs, which he loves to cherish as reminiscences of a visit he made to England some years ago. He has imported young plants of the thorn, in order to imitate what he so much admired in our country—our hawthorn hedges. These and the laburnum tree he is endeavoring to naturalize. There is nothing I miss more in this western region than the beautiful divisions of our fields. I am not yet reconciled to the Virginian, or worm-fences, or dry stone walls, as substitutes for our green hedgerows, so luxuriantly adorned with roses and woodbine. Pittsburgh itself is a very extraordinary place. The bustle and the smoke might be thought disagreeable; but there are points of interest which make one forget these trifling inconveniences. Sixty years ago the town had no existence. The ground

* Mr. Roberts fulfilled his promise. His letter will be found in the Appendix. I have preferred giving it in his own simple style, that the friends of the writer in Wales and elsewhere may see some of the trials which a colony, though composed of Christians, may expect to meet with in a foreign land. In one or two instances minute details are omitted, as they could not be generally interesting. In such cases, however, the aggregate of numbers is given.

on which it stands was then covered with a forest, the abode of wild beasts, and the hunting-ground of red men. Few white men were seen, except those employed to defend the border settlements on the east of the Allegany mountains. Fort Pitt was erected, chiefly as a defence against the Indians and the French, but there was no resident population beyond what was required for that purpose. After this part of the Valley of the Mississippi had been entered upon by the Americans, the locality of Fort Pitt was found to be a most suitable place for manufacturing and commercial enterprise. The Allegany and Monongahela rivers here form a junction, and their united waters, under the name of the Ohio, open a communication with all that immense country which takes its name from the Mississippi. And again, that mighty river, uniting with the Ohio, flows on till it empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, its whole course extending to more than two thousand miles. At the early period I have referred to, these majestic streams were navigated only by the slight canoes of the Indians. Now they are covered with large and convenient steamboats, which convey thousands of passengers into the western wilds, and bear, even to the inhabitants of Mexico, the fruits of Pittsburgh industry. In one of my daily walks through the town, I saw lying at the wharf twenty-five steamboats, each capable of containing four or five hundred passengers, in their cabins and on deck. One hundred and forty-five now navigate this mighty stream. But besides these facilities for intercourse with the West and South, there is also a communication with the trade of the wide Atlantic and the rich stores of Europe. So late as forty years ago, it was with difficulty a horse could cross the mountains with those commodities which the few inhabitants of Pittsburgh at that time needed. There is now a canal from the town to the foot of the Alleganies, a rail-way across them, and another canal joining it, reaching to Philadelphia.

There is another natural advantage, of incalculable value to a manufacturing town, and that is, the abundance of coal to be found in the neighborhood. There are here literally solid mountains of coal. The openings made for the purpose of working it more resemble our lead mines than our coal pits, being cut horizontally into the sides of the hills. By means of inclined planes, the coals are brought to the very furnaces of some of the foundries. Large quantities of them are also shipped off to very distant places.

The most celebrated manufactures of Pittsburgh are those of glass, iron, and cotton; and the trade carried on in these articles is immense. Under the guidance of my kind host, I have visited the principal manufactories. One of the principal glass manufacturers mentioned an amusing incident. Some Indians had been as a delegation to Washington, about some claims for reserved lands; and they spent a few days here on their return. One of them, a chief, had seen all that was curious in Baltimore and Philadelphia, without being much excited. While here, he visited the glass-house, and watched all the various operations with great apparent interest. At length, he saw the process of making some cream-jugs. The body of the jug was formed first, and when the material of the handle was fixed and formed, it was found to be a perfect vessel. Seeing all this produced from molten glass, the chief could restrain himself no longer. He rushed forward to the workman, took him by the hand, and declared he must have the spirit of the great Father within him, or he could not have performed such a wonder.

Considering that four fifths of the town have been built within the last twenty or thirty years, I have been astonished at its *old* appearance. It is much like one of our second-rate manufacturing towns. To this resemblance, the coal smoke no doubt contributes a good deal. The houses in general are substantially built of brick. A considerable number of them are handsome and commodious; and in calling on various individuals, I found every house well furnished; some, indeed, elegantly so. Very few of the *frame* houses, so common in the small country towns, are to be found here. The churches also are large and well finished. One is now being erected, which is to cost 30,000 dollars (about 6,500*l.*)

I had the pleasure, on Wednesday, the 23d, of seeing a minister, who came to this State three years ago, from a place near Birmingham. He had heard that I was coming here, and he travelled thirty miles to meet me, and to hear some particulars about friends at home. This affords peculiar enjoyment to those who, like him, have chosen this land as the place to live in, and in which to die; and who yet feel a strong and warm attachment to the land of their fathers, and to friends left behind, whom they never expect to meet again in this world. I was glad to hear of the success of this good man. He has become the pastor of a parish where the congregation is good, and the church large and prosperous. He has bought a farm of one hundred acres, and has a salary sufficient to support him. He is well known to the ministers of Pittsburgh, and highly respected by them. He came to this country with the highest testimonials from well-known ministers in England; and no man who has these will fail to meet with a cordial reception from brethren in the West. Let character be well guaranteed, and it will gain their confidence at once, frankly and wholly.

In all my intercourse with the ministers of this town, the professors of the Theological Institution, and pious laymen connected with benevolent and religious societies, I find enlightened views of Christian policy. The religious interests of the world appear to receive much of their attention; and I find among them all a decided affection for the father land. They admit their obligations to this country, and express their warmest wishes for our increasing happiness and prosperity. The affairs of England command as great a share of attention in this distant quarter as in any other part of the country; and uninterrupted peace and harmony between the two nations is the object of universal desire.

Our usual dining-room is a verandah, open on one side to an orchard, and the green hill beyond it. The party that assembled to-day in this cool retreat was intelligent and agreeable. The freest remarks were allowed with regard to their institutions. The religious and political character of the country was amply discussed. They seemed to apprehend no danger to their political constitution, except that which would arise if ignorance were allowed to prevail. They appear to feel deeply that, with an elective franchise so extensive as theirs, their condition would be most alarming, unless knowledge, and knowledge founded on religion, pervade the mass of society. This appears essential to the right exercise of their political privileges—to set them alike free from the power of the despot and the arts of the demagogue. The elective franchise cannot now be limited; what remains to be done, is to diffuse knowledge in every direction, and by placing the population under the influence of healthy moral principles, to secure peace and liberty. The establishment of schools bearing an essentially religious character is unquestionably important. But the absence of taxes on knowledge, also afford great facilities for doing good.

There can be little doubt that our own country, also, would be greatly benefited by the removal of all taxes on knowledge. The wiser people are, the better it is for good governments, and the more difficult to excite commotion among them. The press is the safety-valve of the public mind. Political as well as religious knowledge should be as widely diffused as possible among a free people. Let information come to every cottage; let it be of that decidedly useful kind which every judicious friend of the people must value and approve; and good will assuredly result. If the tax on paper was removed, and the duty on newspaper stamps repealed, a mighty impulse would be given to the community. Instead of six or twelve mechanics going into the ale-house to read one newspaper among them all, each of their families might have one at home. And thus the poor man's fireside would acquire new charms for himself, while he felt the pleasure of communicating entertainment and information to his household. Bibles, tracts, and magazines, might also be circulated to a much greater extent than they are at present. These remarks have been suggested to me by what I have seen here. I have no doubt that commercial prosperity is promoted in an equal degree, with the cause of religion, by the means just referred to.

Yesterday, the 24th instant, I met with the Board of Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. The progress of this Society has been equal to that of our most favored institutions at home. Its income for the last year was seventeen thousand dollars, and it has only been two years in existence. There is something almost romantic in its history. It is only about fifty years since the first preacher passed over the Allegany Mountains, into the Valley of the Mississippi. This was a clergyman, the Rev. Dr. M'Millan. There were few inhabitants then; and for some time he labored almost alone. Two or three years ago, this venerable and apostolic man visited the churches which he was instrumental in planting. And, in the Synod of Pittsburgh, there are now twenty-three thousand communicants, and about a hundred thousand hearers of the gospel, besides Christian churches of other denominations. But not only has this good been effected for the people themselves. In this infant town they have begun to feel for, and to assist the heathen. How surprising that, from this distant region, messengers of peace should be sent forth to Northern India, Western Africa, and even to Jerusalem itself. The two former countries already have devoted and well trained missionaries from this Society; and arrangements are now making to establish missions in Palestine, in Asia Minor, and in China. We have been told of the surprise expressed by certain custom-house officers in one of the European ports, at finding a ship's papers dated Pittsburgh. No less surprising will it be to the Christian traveller, to meet, amidst the ruins of the Seven Churches, or the mountains of Judea, missionaries sent from a spot in the other hemisphere, perhaps unknown to him even by name, and itself but recently blessed with gospel light. One of the missionaries in Northern India, from some of his letters which I have read, appears to be a peculiarly devoted and noble-minded man. He is a son of the honorable Walter Lowrie, clerk to the Senate of the United States, at Washington. After finishing his studies at college, he offered his services to the Western Missionary Society. He left his father's house, the comforts, and the distinction which he possessed at home, for the cause of Christ; and his communications breathe the spirit of him who counted it an honor to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. Influenced by that Christian liberality which is best suited to the character of an evangelist, he desires to co-operate with men of kindred minds from other societies, or of different denominations, wherever he may meet with them. I observe that he has brought before the board of directors here, the circumstances of a numerous tribe hitherto overlooked in the efforts of Christian benevolence. I refer to the Seik nation, containing between one and two millions of people, and occupying a considerable part of Lahore, a part of Moultaw, and those districts of the Province of Delhi, which lie between the Jumina and the Sutledge. The directors are anxious that the London Missionary Society, with which they seem best acquainted, should co-operate with them in this interesting field of Christian enterprise; and they have requested me to state their wishes to the directors in London. Various resolutions were passed at the meeting yesterday, expressive of their sympathy with the exertions and the success of kindred institutions in England; as well as reciprocating the friendly regards of our Congregational Union. They appear desirous to open a correspondence with the directors of the London Missionary Society, in order to receive advice in matters respecting which they have, as yet, had little experience. I was much pleased with the business habits of the committee, and with the warmth and affection of their feeling towards the British churches. I noticed here, as I have done elsewhere, that much of the success of religious institutions in this country, may be traced to the talents, devotedness, and general efficiency of the official agents of those societies.

On returning from the meeting, I visited the Western Theological Institution, which stands in an elevated situation. It is a spacious building, and convenient for its intended purpose. It is one hundred and fifty feet long, seventy feet wide, and three stories high; and can comfortably accommodate about one hundred students. Nearly forty young men are now in the house. The library, as might be expected, is small—only five thousand volumes. Nearly two thousand of these were obtained by the Rev. A. D. Campbell, from friends in our country. This portion of the Library is placed by itself, and each book labelled, "English and Scotch Library." It gave me great pleasure to look over the names of the donors, inserted in the first blank page, and to find thus recorded the liberality of many whom I know and esteem. They have, in this way, rendered an essential service to the institution. And these books form a link of union and attachment between Britain and America.—They are pledges of friendly regard on the part of those who bestowed them. And the rising ministry, educated in this seminary, while receiving benefit from their perusal, cannot but feel their best affections drawn towards the father land.

LETTER IX.

My dear friend—On the 25th, I visited one of the coal-hills which I mentioned in my letter from Pittsburgh. The heat in the town was intense, at least 90° in the shade. We had to climb the hill for half a mile, in rather a winding direction, and there were no trees to shelter us. When we arrived at the mine, two thirds from the base of the hill, we were too much heated to enter it immediately. We therefore stopped for a little time in a shed. We then walked into the mine for thirty or forty paces; but the atmosphere was so cold and damp, that I felt obliged to return. I, however, saw the process, and learned some particulars respecting the circumstances of the workmen. The tunnel, or arched way which leads to the interior

of the hill, was high enough to admit of our walking nearly erect: and a railway is carried along, by which the coals are conveyed in wagons to the outside. The number of persons employed is much smaller than in the principal collieries of our country.

The same day, I called on a minister, the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn, of the Reformed Dutch Church, who had been living for three years among the Indians, as a commissioner from the government. He gave me some accounts respecting these aborigines. He seemed, however, to be so deeply interested in the mission of my colleague and myself to America, that he dwelt more on that topic than any other. Seldom have I heard any individual express more affection for our beloved country than he did. And his situation was such as to give peculiar force to all he said. He was so ill that he was obliged to be supported in bed; while one of his children was fanning him, to prevent exhaustion and fainting. His health had been for some time declining; and when he arrived at Pittsburgh, he was unable to proceed to Utica, his usual place of residence. His looks indicated extreme feebleness, but he seemed to receive new energy when speaking of Britain, of British authors, and the British churches. He expressed his joy that the plan of delegation had been thought of; and his wish that it might promote the kindest feelings between the two nations. He had heard I was in the town, and wished to see me, that he might tell me his views on the subject. I was much impressed with his conversation; it looked like the dying testimony of a good man, in favor of that Christian union which it was the object of our mission to confirm. But what especially interested me was the fact, that while he spoke so warmly of Britain, it was always in connection with the conversion of the world. The moral power which the two nations possess, and which he was so anxious to see combined in accomplishing the salvation, and securing the liberties of men, appeared to be the great subject that occupied his mind. His zeal and animation were too great for his enfeebled frame; and while I listened to him with delight, I feared he was shortening his few remaining days by over exertion.

We united in presenting supplications to the throne of grace for both countries, and for all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, as well as for ourselves. I then left him, expecting never to meet him again, till we meet before the throne of God. These are seasons of deep and hallowed interest—moments when the realities of religion press powerfully on the mind, and when we feel as if in the immediate presence of Deity. To meet for the *first* and *last* time a fellow-Christian who appeared to be rapidly hastening into eternity; and to hear him express his confidence in God—his love to the people of God throughout the world—his desire for the spread of the gospel—and his happiness in the prospect of meeting with all the friends of the Redeemer at last, was a privilege of no common order.

I left Pittsburgh on the evening of the 25th, and reached Bedford Springs the evening following. The journey across the Alleganies was slow, and in some parts rather dangerous. The declivities of the road are considerable, and the drag seems to be very little used in these parts.

How different from the mountains I have seen in my own country are these! What they lose in sublimity by the comparison they gain in beauty, being clothed to the very top with luxuriant and lofty trees. It would be difficult to imagine scenes more full of interest and variety, than those of the morning's ride. As the sun ascended, masses of cloud still floated around the hills; but the eye rested on one, whose elevated peak, with its crown of verdure, rose far above them, penetrating into a clearer and purer region. But the scenery varied every moment as the road ascended and descended, crossing one ridge after another. While gazing on some magnificent group of hills that seemed retiring from the view, and escaping into the distance, a deep valley would suddenly open before us. And here the hand of man had ventured to invade the forest. A little spot was cleared—the log hut was erected—and corn was growing amidst the trunks and wrecks of stately trees. Farther on, a wider range of cleared land presented itself to the view. The rivulet, which could only have flowed a mile or two from its source in the mountains, was seen directed into a narrow channel; and formed the moving power of a miniature corn-mill, erected for the convenience of the owner and his neighbors. For thirty miles, these alternations of hill and valley continued, till we felt as if we should never see the plain again. Yet, each dark recess or sunny glade presented some new feature of wildness or of beauty, which effectually beguiled the otherwise tedious progress of our heavily-loaded vehicle.—When, however, we suddenly emerged from these, and found ourselves on the summit of the last Allegany range, all that had previously charmed us was forgotten in the magnificent spectacle which opened on our sight. An immense plain, extending to hundreds of miles, lay spread out at our feet. We stopped to gaze on it for a few moments, but it almost seemed too vast to contemplate at once. While we slowly performed the gradual descent of eight or ten miles, we had more leisure to grasp the more prominent points around the spacious horizon. I shall never forget the scenes of that morning; the reality has passed away for ever, but recollection brings the picture vividly before the mind.

I spent the Sabbath at Bedford, where I heard a sermon twice in the Presbyterian church. In the inn, I met with Christian people from various sections of the Union, some of them from the Southern States. I find a respect for, and an attention to, religion, in the inns of this country, which I never observed in England. The books, lying in the different rooms, as well as those to be found in the small library of the landlord's parlour, are chiefly religious books, reprints of our standard works. Owen, Bunyan, and Doddridge; Boston and Scott; are thus presented to the notice of the passing traveller. The governor of the State twice attended the church to-day.

Early on Monday morning I pursued my journey, but had not proceeded far, before I was taken ill. The cholera was in Pittsburgh while I was there. I had seen one of the steamboats come in from New Orleans, which had lost ten passengers, and two more were then dying. I had now every reason to think that I was seized with that disease. I persevered, however, in travelling, till ten o'clock, when I was compelled to stop at an inn, at Chambersburgh, and allow the stage to go on without me. Having used the ordinary remedies, I lay down, quite exhausted, and my spirits, as you may suppose, much depressed. Far from home, separated from my companion, and in the midst of strangers, I had never felt so ill or so desolate in all my previous wanderings, as at that moment. "There is a Friend who sticketh closer than a brother;" and his presence was not withdrawn from that remote corner; but the thoughts of home in such a situation were painful. In the midst of my solitary musings, the landlady came in, looked at me, and said, "Are you one of the gentlemen from England?" I replied, that I was from England. "Yes, but I mean, are you one of the ministers who came from England, as a deputation to the Presbyterian church?" When I stated that I was one of the in-

dividuals referred to, I found that this was at once a passport to her confidence, and secured for me immediate and unremitting attention. She and her husband did all that the kindest friends could have done for me. But my curiosity was excited, to know how they had found me out. Here, again, one of the religious newspapers had been my pioneer, by making them acquainted with the arrival of the deputation in America, the names of its members, and its subsequent movements. Seeing mine in the way-bill and on my luggage, they concluded who I was. The aged minister of the town soon called on me, at the request of my kind hostess, and remained with me a considerable time.

Chambersburgh contains a population of between three and four thousand. For this population, there are eight places of worship.* There are a good many Germans in this part of the State. Two of the congregations here consist of German Lutherans. Only one of the eight, and that a small congregation, professedly holds heterodox opinions.

After remaining till Tuesday, I felt so much recovered, that, finding there was room in the stage, I proceeded towards Philadelphia. The valley, through which I travelled for nearly seventy miles, is very beautiful and well cultivated, chiefly settled by Germans. The cottages and farm-houses are of brick; the barns, &c. are superior to most that I have seen in the other States. The crops of wheat were standing in the sheaf, and appeared to be good. Some fields were only being cut down. Seeing no gleaners, I remarked the circumstance to some of the passengers. They declared they had never seen any. They said that the poorer people could find more advantageous employment, both for themselves and their children. The German settlers have beautiful teams of horses. Every thing around them wears an air of plenty and comfort. As we passed along, in the afternoon, we saw the old ladies, sitting in the porches of their dwellings, with their children and grand-children around them. Their dress, which was quite foreign, at once pointed out their origin; and they also retain many ancient customs of their fathers. It was pleasant to see their prosperous condition, and to think that they enjoy freedom and security, greater than what their own land afforded. But this pleasure is mingled with the fear, that they are not in a state of spiritual prosperity. I have elsewhere alluded to the indifference of this class of settlers in general, to the means of education. In this respect, they resemble the Roman Catholics more than Protestant denominations. One of the natural effects is, that they are cold and formal in their religious observances; and they seem to regard modern improvements in science with equal apathy. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to obtain full and correct information respecting the real condition of the Germans. We passed through the town of Lancaster, which contains ten thousand inhabitants. It has eleven places of worship. There is a rail-road from thence to Philadelphia, about sixty-eight miles. It has been recently finished, and there are not, as yet, any locomotive carriages on it. Our travelling was tedious for a rail-road, about six miles an hour, including several stoppages.

When I arrived here, I found that many of the friends we met with in May were absent. At this season, the large cities are thinned of thousands of their inhabitants; and I do not wonder that all get away who can do so. For two or three days past the thermometer has averaged 88 or 90 degrees in the shade; and the heat is here almost intolerable. It was 94 in the shade, in Walnut-street, at one o'clock on the 29th. My anxiety to receive letters from England did not suffer me to remain here; I therefore passed rapidly on to New York, where I expected to find several packets awaiting me. None can know, but those who have experienced it, the load of suspense that presses upon the heart of a traveller when long deprived of communications from home. The kindness and hospitality of friends can afford him no relief. Their attentions may soothe and divert his mind for a little while, but still the anxious and unanswerable question, "Is all well with those I love?" returns with redoubled force, to haunt him in every scene of temporary pleasure. The burden accumulates with every passing week; and the perturbation of the spirit becomes increasingly violent, as the moment approaches, which shall either confirm every distressing fear, or turn all his trembling hopes into a blessed certainty. Happily for me, the latter was my case; and I can compare the transition of feeling only to the transport of a captive, long confined in a dungeon, suddenly restored to light and freedom.

After remaining in New York till the 5th instant, I returned to Philadelphia, expecting the arrival of Mr. Reed from the south. I have spent some days in the company of Christian friends, and seen all that is worthy of notice in the scientific and philanthropic institutions. There is a garden here, which is usually visited by strangers, to whom the owner (Mr. Pratt) allows this privilege. The situation is good, and the grounds are laid out in a superior manner to any thing on the same scale which I have seen in America. But the gardens of this country in general cannot be compared to those of England. I have been disappointed at the little taste displayed by the Americans in the cultivation of flowers. The gayest and most common shrubs in flower at present are the altheas. The heat is favorable to many of the tender annuals of our country, but it soon destroys our more common and not less valued plants. The severe storms and heavy rains that frequently occur, are very injurious to the flower garden. The cottage gardens, too, are far inferior in beauty to ours; but what they want in ornamental plants, is made up in the number and variety of their vegetables. Large quantities of cucumbers, squashes, and melons, pumpkins and tomatoes, occupy the ground which in our country would be filled with cabbages and turnips. The use of the cucumber is very frequent, and, I should fear, in many cases injurious.

The city presents much simplicity in its appearance, and is a fair specimen of the taste of the "Friends." They had formerly more ascendency here than they have at present. The division of this denomination into two parts, one section (which, I am sorry to say, is the larger) holding erroneous and dangerous sentiments, has much weakened their moral and benevolent influence in this country. I fear that, unless the majority return to a pure and scriptural faith, they are not likely to do much good in future. Philadelphia contains a large proportion of wealthy persons, who have either partially or wholly retired from business. Many of these are Christian men, who are much engaged in promoting the objects of the religious and benevolent societies established among them. Considering the resources of the place, however, and the number of professing Christians to be found in it, I cannot but think that more might be done by them in support of the great Christian institutions of their country. The city is well supplied with places of religious worship. The Roman Catholics are making considerable efforts to extend their influence; but I think there is little prospect of success in the way of proselytism. By importation they may add to their numbers. The Unitarians here can hardly maintain one congregation.

* Appendix.

I cannot leave this place without naming the unwearied kindness and hospitality of Dr. Ely, from whom we have always met a cordial welcome; though, at this time, according to a previous promise on my part, I have received the hospitable attentions of another Christian friend, Robert Ralston, Esq. Dr. E. had invited the Deputation to reside with him, even before it left the shores of England, promising to afford us every assistance in his power. And he has more than redeemed his promise. Every thing that he could do to promote the object of our visit he has done in the most frank and friendly manner. I shall ever retain a lively sense of his unwearied kindness.

LETTER X.

My dear friend—After having given you an outline of my journeyings through Pennsylvania, you are, no doubt, prepared to be informed respecting the impressions made on my mind as to its religious condition. The situation of the United States, generally, you already know. A few facts, with reference to this particular State, may enable you more easily to understand the effects produced by the exercise of Christian principle, in sustaining and extending religion without State support. To this point I directed my attention, as involving a question of great moment to America, to Britain, and to the world. The conclusions to which I have come will be frankly stated; and you will be left to approve or reject them, according to the nature of the facts that may be brought before you. As far as they go, they will furnish data to assist the mind in the investigation of truth. On both sides, this information should be sought; for it is neither wise nor safe to come to any sweeping conclusion respecting the efficiency or inefficiency of any plan, without securing all the evidence that can reasonably be expected. Every friend of truth must rejoice in the accumulation of evidence in support of it, or in the detection of error. The eternal interests of men are too important and solemn, and the claims of party are too insignificant, to justify regret at the elucidation and confirmation of important principles, even though our preconceived notions are found to be erroneous. The Christian, to be consistent, must value truth wherever it is found.

Considering the time that Pennsylvania has been settled, it has made less progress in religion and in education than any of the rest of the non-slaveholding States, which have been settled an equal time. A variety of circumstances may account for this.—The early settlers were men of heterogeneous habits and character, and the same may be said of them to the present day; while those who settled in the Eastern States were united in their character and their pursuits. The extent of the country, too, their protracted wars with the Indians, and frequent contests with settlers from Connecticut, must all be taken into the account.

There are to be found in this State, colonies of Germans, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, (or people from the north of Ireland,) English, Welsh, and New Englanders, besides individual settlers of other nations. These have not been scattered over the face of the country, and mingled with each other: they have rather formed separate settlements, and retain, to this day, many of the customs and prejudices of their countrymen. This want of amalgamation has retarded both their religious and educational improvement; for the efforts of domestic missionaries have been impeded; and the State could not so easily pass laws respecting a general system of education, as it might otherwise have done. Isolated as these different colonies were, they looked with jealousy on any legislative measure, which seemed to interfere with their national customs or language. Thus, a law passed last year, legalizing the collection of a general tax for the support of schools throughout Pennsylvania, has given great offence to the German population, as threatening to annihilate their language; and is likely to be much opposed by them, when it begins to be carried into effect.

At the same time, the past history of this State, and its present condition, cannot be contemplated without feelings of deep interest. When William Penn arrived in the Delaware, in 1682, to take possession of the territory, in virtue of his charter, he found in the country three thousand people, Dutch, Swedes, Finns, and English. The history of Pennsylvania, to the time of the Revolutionary War, presents little else than a catalogue of wars and skirmishes between the settlers and the aborigines. This State took a leading part in the revolution.—It was in her capital that the Declaration of Independence was made, which had such an effect on America and on the mother country. In 1776, a constitution was formed, which was superseded by a second in 1790. It is from the latter period that the prosperity of Pennsylvania may be chiefly dated. So that most of the improvements made in religion, education, morals, and science, may be viewed as resulting from the exertions of little more than forty years. The advancement made is quite as great as could have been expected in so short a space of time. When it is also considered, that this State is twice the size of Scotland; and that the middle section of the State, containing nearly one half of its area, is mountainous, and very partially settled; the number of ministers and churches—of collegiate and theological institutions—will appear considerable.

Various questions will occur in connection with this part of the subject. How are the ministers appointed and supported? What kind of places of worship do the people erect, and how is the expense defrayed? Is the accommodation sufficient, both in towns and in country places? Are there not great commotion and disturbance in choosing their ministers? What is the moral character of the people, and their attention to religious duties? And what means of instruction have they for their respectable youth, and for the mass of the children of the State? I shall attempt to answer the above inquiries.

The ministers are appointed, and are entirely supported by the contributions of the people, collected in the way of pew-rents, and voluntary subscriptions. The amount, of course, depends on the situation, the number, and ability of the people. In new settlements, the ministers are aided for a while by various Domestic Missionary Societies, with which they are denominationally connected. In large towns the salary is very respectable. In country places about four hundred dollars a year is the minimum amount (I speak of the Presbyterian ministers) received either from the people or from societies. Where there is little money in circulation, provisions are given instead of it. In those districts where the income of the minister is small, the expense of living is moderate. A large proportion of them are also provided with houses, and grass for a horse and cow. The system which the Methodists act upon provides what is considered sufficient by the Conference of Ministers themselves. The other denominations have no fixed amount of salary for their pastors; and formerly, in the thinly settled districts, one minister had sometimes to officiate over two congregations, in order to obtain a sufficient income. This plan, however, is only temporary, and arises from necessity. The people, as well as the pastors, are anxious that each regular congregation should have its own minister; and it

his whole time is not occupied with his own flock, he devotes what he can spare to those destitute places in his neighborhood which are not adequately supplied with the means of religious instruction. In this way, the gospel has spread from place to place, so that no township, or parish, can now be found without preaching by one denomination or another. In those districts where the population is numerous, there are several denominations. Circumstances permitted me to meet with a considerable number of pastors, some of them in the midst of their flocks. From what I saw and learnt from the parties most concerned, I should say, that in general they had a sufficiency, and are in possession of the substantial comforts of life. That some have pecuniary difficulties to contend with is very likely; but I heard few complain of their people. The education of their children, when they grew up, I found to be a difficulty, but even this was less felt than perhaps in this country. The benefits of a classical and theological education are open to nearly all ranks, if they are disposed to take advantage of them. There are also greater facilities for fixing sons in situations in which they can support themselves, than can be well found in an old country like ours. In the rural districts of Pennsylvania, no youth arrived at eighteen years of age, need feel any difficulty in obtaining sufficient and respectable support for himself, if he is willing to be industrious. In towns the facilities are fewer, and the distant West is often the point aimed at when an independence is desired by the young and enterprising.

The places of worship are of various descriptions, acccording to the amount of population, and the resources and wishes of the people. In a few instances, in the towns, they are built of stone, but chiefly of brick; and in the country parishes, a great many of them are built of wood. In Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Lancaster, and Harrisburgh, the places of worship are spacious; some of them rather elegant, and all of them comfortable. In travelling through the State, we see no structures presenting the appearance of venerable antiquity, and covered with luxuriant ivy; but it is gratifying to see that the *best*, the largest, and most substantial buildings, both in the villages and towns, are the places of religious worship. Though there is nothing in the appearance of these buildings to carry back the imagination to the olden time, they are by no means destitute of ornament. Many of them have spires, though less frequently than in the New England States, where these are common to all denominations. Philadelphia, however, still retains an appearance of Quaker simplicity. In very few instances can steeple, turret, or bell, be found attached to her sanctuaries.

There are two plans by which they generally defray the expense of erecting places of worship. The first is—after a number of people have been collected by the preaching of the gospel, and the nucleus of a congregation has thus been formed, some of the wealthiest and most enterprising among them use means to get a house of worship erected. These persons are responsible, till the building is finished and ready to be occupied; the pews are then publicly sold to the families in the parish, and become private property, and can be sold by the purchasers to others, if they should leave the place. It happens, occasionally, that more is obtained by the sale than what the building cost. When this is the case, the surplus is sometimes expended in building a minister's house, and in adding a field to it. This plan is somewhat similar to the one adopted in this country with proprietary chapels. In cases like these, the minister is supported by direct subscriptions from the people. I was astonished to learn how large the amount of individual subscriptions were, to support their ministers. People who had not, perhaps, a hundred dollars passing through their hands in the course of the year, would give a fourth, and sometimes a half of it, to support the gospel among them. All this is done cheerfully, as a free-will offering. In many of these country places there is, comparatively, little money in circulation; most of the business being done in the way of barter.

The other method I have referred to, is to collect subscriptions first, and when a certain amount has been obtained, to begin to build a place of worship. The farmers and mechanics often give their labor gratuitously. If a debt remains, they seek assistance from their richer brethren, in the towns and more populous districts. Few of the places are burdened with debt, as too many of the chapels in this country are.

The idea which I had formed of a *wooden* church, was by no means flattering. But when I saw their size and general appearance; when I examined the interior, and found every thing respectable, and, in some instances, rather too fine; I became convinced that they were by no means deserving of contempt. The interior of many of them was far superior to most of our country chapels, and had more of finish and comfort than our ordinary parish churches.—There were stoves in them all; this, however, is absolutely necessary during their severe winters.—When I looked at the appearance of the pulpits; at the matting on the aisles; cushions in the pews, and boards on which the people might lean their elbows; I considered that for a young people, of republican habits, they had gone quite far enough, in the way of furnishing and adorning their places of religious worship. All was provided that could be desired by the most fastidious mind. The divisions in the interior of their churches were also convenient, and done in such a way as to lose no room. I here speak generally; my remarks extending to the greater number of the buildings which I visited, in my journey through the breadth and length of the State.

The next question may be divided into two distinct branches. Does this plan of voluntary supply furnish a sufficient number of places for the population? and does it provide a number, equal to that which an Establishment would be likely to do?—Each of these will require a distinct answer. With regard to the first, the best answer will be, to give the religious statistics of Pennsylvania, as far as they can be ascertained. It may be said, that the statement is under, rather than above the truth.

POPULATION 1,347,672

	Chs.	Mins.	Com.
Presbyterians	475	337	50,988
Methodists	252	252	74,106
Baptists	151	133	11,103
Evangelical Lutheran Church	370	180	26,486
German Reformed Church	150	50	10,000
Church of United Brethren	11	10	2,900
Dutch Reformed Church	8	8	1,671
Associate Reformed	12	36	2,650
Friends	150		
Roman Catholics	54	40	
Unitarians			
Universalists			
	1633	1046	179,904

The result of the foregoing statement is, that there is one place of worship for every 830 souls, and one minister for every 1300 souls, and the proportion of communicants is as one in seven of the population. The disproportion between the places

of worship and the number of ministers, is chiefly accounted for by including the Friends' meeting-houses, and by the fact, that one minister preaches in two, and sometimes in three places of worship, where the people are poor, or the churches small. It may, I believe, be said with truth, that not one orthodox denomination has any of their sanctuaries closed on the Sabbath. When there is no settled pastor, there is a sermon read, or there are the services of licentiates, missionaries, or local preachers. But besides the regular buildings erected for worship, the school-houses are open on the Sabbath, and many of the pastors preach in these, when situated in distant parts of their parishes. There is, however, evidently room for the services of additional ministers, and it would be well if this necessity were speedily supplied.

The second question is one of comparison. It is enough to say, in reply, that the supply in Pennsylvania is greater than in Scotland. Judging from what I have seen of the size of places in both countries, I should say that the places of worship in Pennsylvania average a larger accommodation than those in Scotland.

But there is a still more important question connected with this part of the subject, and that regards the character and efficiency of the religious teachers who occupy these buildings. Unless this is considered, we shall fail to obtain a correct view of the real amount of religious instruction which the people voluntarily furnish to themselves. What then is the character of the Protestant ministry in Pennsylvania? I would say, that it is of an enlightened and spiritual character—that their ministers are regenerated men. The suspicion of being a mere worldly professional preacher, would deprive a man at once of the confidence and support of the people. No inconsistency would be allowed, the utmost propriety of demeanor is expected; and if an individual is a deceiver, he must act his part well, or he will be detected, and deprived of his office. There are three things that secure a spiritual ministry among the Presbyterians (and the remark will apply to nearly all the other denominations to the same extent.) These are, the religious character of the people, and their love to the doctrines of the gospel. The fact, that these persons choose and support their own pastors, and the caution exercised by the ministers already settled, before they give their sanction to those who are probationers. Thus, the people cannot knowingly choose a bad man, or a preacher of error; and as they have to support him, they are not likely to prefer an inefficient man.—The neighboring ministers have also such a regard for the cause of religion, and the character of their own denomination, that they "lay hands suddenly on no man." But there is another way by which the spiritual character of the ministry is secured in this, and in the other States of America, and it is found effectual. No young man *is admitted* into the theological seminaries of any of the evangelical denominations, who does not give decided proofs of piety. And no student can pass through his course of education in such institutions, without his abilities, and principles, and conduct, being fully tested. If there is just ground for suspicion, he is not sanctioned in his intentions to enter on the work of the ministry.

We are then to contemplate the labors of more than a thousand spiritual pastors and missionaries truly devoted to their work. Besides, they are able to occupy new uncultivated ground, without any law to prevent them. And in places where the population is rapidly increasing, they can use means to increase the number of laborers, without any hinderance being thrown in the way. These things give a power and an efficiency to the exertions of these men, which would be unknown to double the number of those who are trammelled by legal or canonical difficulties, though perhaps in the neighborhood of a destitute and perishing population.

My decided conviction is, from all that I saw and heard, that the ministers in Pennsylvania compose an active and spiritual body of men. If there is any exception, it is among the German population, whose ministers are orthodox, but less zealous and devoted than the others. The people are, consequently, in a more formal and lukewarm condition, as it regards divine things. This is chiefly occasioned by their tenacious adherence to the German language, and their slender acquaintance with good books. They also stand aloof from other professing Christians; and have hardly any share in the impulse that has been given to other sections of the Christian church by revivals, and by the exertions of Bible, Missionary, and Sunday-school societies.

In speaking of the numbers of the different sects, it may be stated, that, as far as *communicants* are concerned, the Methodists rank the highest; though by no means equal in number, as a denomination, to the Presbyterians, who form the most influential body of Christians in the State. Their ministers are, generally, well educated and intelligent men, and the active supporters of the religious institutions of the day. It ought, however, in justice to be stated, that the comfort and usefulness of this denomination have been lessened by divisions in their church, between some of their best men, on points comparatively of minor importance. At the same time, it can be said that they have had a considerable share of those revivals of religion, which have taken place in different parts of the State. As far as that denomination is concerned, there appears to be a necessity for more forbearance with one another; less tendency to misapprehend each other's sentiments; a greater readiness to yield, on questions where *principle* is not affected; and a stronger desire to keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

LETTER XI.

My dear friend—In looking at the religious statistics of Pennsylvania, it is to be considered, that, as no law ever existed in that State allowing or enjoining the different denominations to tax themselves for the support of their own system of religion, similar to what once existed in the New England States, the experiment of supporting religion without an establishment has, therefore, been more fairly made. It has also been tried in circumstances, which throw the greatest obstacles in the way of such a plan, viz. in newly-settled districts, and among a thinly-scattered population; and in towns which have rapidly increased in the number of their inhabitants. In the former case, our own country presents no point of resemblance; in the latter case, it does; and, therefore, we are better able to make a comparison. I will do this, by giving some particulars respecting Pittsburgh, situated on the western border of the State of Pennsylvania.

It contains 25,000 inhabitants, and has existed not more than fifty years. Its rapid increase has taken place during the last twenty years. This circumstance has thrown obstacles in the way of religious improvement. Being a manufacturing town, and containing a large class of operatives, who had come from England and Germany, the difficulty was increased. For there was not only rapidity in the increase, and variety among the persons who came to the place, but they were chiefly adults; so that instruction could not be provided in that gradual way, which is required by the natural increase of inhabitants; but at once a demand was made for a

great assemblage of persons, too old to learn, and having much to unlearn. Great temptations were also placed before foreigners. Among these may be mentioned, high wages, and the low price of ardent spirits. These might be procured for two shillings a gallon. Many, also, of those, who were temperate and steady, were chiefly influenced by the desire of accumulating property; and they looked to the farther West, hoping there to find the *el dorado* of their anticipations. Indeed, Pittsburgh was merely a resting-place to many emigrants, till they could fix on some more distant point, to which they might proceed. In such cases, they could have no interest in any religious institution of a permanent kind, which might be calculated to benefit the town. In addition to all this, there was the diversity of religious opinion amongst the people. Some of the denominations were able to secure religious ordinances for themselves; but others were too few and feeble to do so. Besides, this was a community of individuals, with nothing in common but the desire of gain; and though all had one object in view, this very circumstance often produced a spirit of competition, which was not at all favorable to unity of action, in promoting any Christian or benevolent enterprise. The character of society had not, as yet, time to be formed. The materials were there; but so diversified, that it was impossible to say what form it might assume. Here there was certainly much to dread, as it regarded the interests of religion. Yet it was religion alone that could correct the evils which existed; and its native, unassisted power to do so, has, in this case, been strikingly displayed.

In order that this may be seen at one glance, it will be better to give the statistics of Pittsburgh, drawn up by two ministers on the spot; one of them being Dr. Halsey, the President in the Theological Seminary; and the other being the Rev. A. D. Campbell.

The population of Pittsburgh and suburbs is about 25,000.

Ecclesiastical Statistics.	Material.	Cost.	Will Seat.	Average attendance.	Commnic'ts.
		Doll's.			
1. Presbyterians (Gen. Assembly) . . .	7 of brick.	81.900	6,300	3,300	1,125
2. Associate Reformed (answering to the United Secession of Europe)	2 ditto.	18,000	2,000	1,300	576
3. Associate (answering to the Antiburgher body of Europe .	1 ditto.	6,000	750	400	330
4. Reformed Presbytery (answering to the Covenanters . .	1 ditto.	4,000	650	400	200
5. Cumberland Connection	1 ditto.	1,500	500	400	125
6. German (Reformed) .	2 ditto.	10,500	968	630	320
7. German (Lutheran) .	One forming.				
8. Baptists	3 of brick.	8,200	900	400	215
9. Campbellite Baptists	1 of wood.	1,500	500	150	110
10. Methodists (Episco.)	5 (3 brick & 2 wd.)	4,925	2,950	2,600	1,024
11. Methodists (Protest.)	2 brick.	2,500	1,800		
12. Episcopalian. . . .	2 (1 wd. & 1 brick.)	17,700	1,050	500	170
13. Roman Catholic . .	2 brick.	46,500	4,200	3,000	2,900
14. Unitarian	1 ditto. small.				
Sunday Schools, 43.	30 churches.	203,225	22,568	13,080	7,095

Looking at these results, we cannot but admit, in this instance at least, the sufficiency of the voluntary principle; it has supplied religious instruction to all the inhabitants of the town, if they are willing to receive it, as well as school instruction for their children. I do not know a single town in Great Britain, with a population of twenty-five thousand, with such ample means of religious instruction.—There may be towns where new churches have been built with grants of public money, and the ministers may be supported by endowments or by taxes. To these may be added, dissenting places of worship, and yet the aggregate will be found far behind this city in the Wilderness. It has, as already stated, sprung up within forty years. No provision is made by the State for religion, no individual is taxed to support even his own denomination; but all emanating from the people themselves, and supported annually by their free-will offerings. In such circumstances, the idea of taxing others to support their religious services could never have entered into their minds. Such injustice would excite universal abhorrence in that land. This continued support of Divine ordinances is given by men who are any thing but fanatics. They are sober, practical, and business-like men, who act on the honorable principle, that if they are to receive religious instruction, they ought to provide it for themselves, as they would do, in seeking to obtain possession of any other good.

But has this desire to obtain religious instruction gone no farther than themselves? In their wish to secure the gospel, have they forgotten others? Let the history of their Foreign Missionary Society answer these questions. Then, it may be asked again, do they direct all their energies to the distant heathen, and leave their ungodly neighbors and countrymen to perish? Certainly not. The very same ordinances which they support for their own edification, are also the divinely appointed means for the conversion of sinners. The gospel is preached to the poor, and to all who are willing

to hear it, without money, and without price, even though they may be too indifferent to its value to contribute their share in supporting it. And here we see the beauty and the universal adaptation of New Testament principles. The people of Christ can no where live contented without the bread of life dispensed in the public preaching of the truth, and they confine not the benefit to themselves.—"*The Spirit and the* BRIDE *say, Come!*" Thus, the very places round about God's hill become a blessing; and the collective body, which supports a Christian pastor, as well as each individual member of it, is as a light shining in a dark place. Sinners are converted—the churches have numbers added to their communion—and as new inhabitants settle in the town, new places of worship are provided, and the good extends.

It will appear obvious, that considerable exertion must have been made to raise such large sums for the building of churches, and that similar efforts must be continued, in order to furnish the annual charges incurred in supporting the ministers and in keeping the buildings in repair. To accomplish all this, there must be a vitality about their system, which no compulsory mode of religion can possess. There are thirty places of worship in Pittsburgh—the least of which will seat five hundred persons, and the largest about fifteen hundred. Of these, twenty-six are orthodox Protestant congregations, of different denominations. The character of the ministry stands high for propriety of demeanor and for evangelical sentiment. The great peculiarities of the gospel are held and preached by them all, with the exceptions already mentioned. And it is a point deserving special notice, that there are upwards of four thousand communicants who have given credible evidence that they are Christians, before they were admitted to the Lord's table.—Such is Pittsburgh!

With regard to the character of the people of Pennsylvania, I can only speak generally. It is plain that a people who contribute so liberally for places of religious worship and pastors for themselves, besides supporting many institutions for the benefit of others, must be considerably influenced by religion. From all that I saw, or could learn by inquiry, the Sabbath is not so strictly observed in this State as in New England, nor is domestic religion so generally prevalent as in that country. But I think I am warranted in saying, that the mass of the people are more under the influence of religion than with us. Among us, the very highest and the very lowest ranks are, perhaps, the least attentive to religious observances. In Pennsylvania, these extremes of society hardly exist. There are few very wealthy, and few very poor, persons. There are not many places in the State where those willing to be industrious may not find an adequate support. Immense quantities of land are yet to be settled, so that the children of the present inhabitants can find room to locate themselves, without going far into the Valley of the Mississippi. Indeed, I had much pleasure in observing the outward circumstances of the people. The lowest class of laborers could command a full supply of the necessaries of life. In visiting their log huts and cottages, and the dwellings of land owners, who are more numerous than tenants or servants, I found them generally in that happy state which was the object of Agur's prayer. They were fed alike from the temptations presented by luxurious living, and arising from abject poverty. The door of the dwelling where I resided for nearly a fortnight, was never locked. Valuable articles were allowed to hang in the open air all night, and in the outhouses, and none of them were stolen. Travelling early in the morning, when the cottagers were asleep, I frequently discovered the same exposure of clothes to depredation. I made inquiry in different places, if it was generally so; and found that, except in the vicinity of large towns, no precautions to protect property were taken, and no depredations were committed.

When I approached the mountainous districts, many miles remote from cities, I naturally expected to see the people rude and uncouth in their manners. It was not so; the dress of the men was similar to what it was in the eastern parts of the State; and there was a neatness and a propriety in the dress of the females of all classes, which most agreeably surprised me. Among those whom I met with, there was of course great diversity, both of character and condition. I entered freely into conversation with them. They were blunt in their manner, certainly, but never rude or offensive. I found them in general intelligent, and, especially, well acquainted with the constitution of their own country. Indeed, there is a remarkable acuteness in the agricultural population of Pennsylvania, as compared with the same class in our country. I was pleased to find that few—very few—ever indicated a *bad* feeling towards England. On the contrary, even among those who were decidedly irreligious, and *rather* vain of their own political rights and privileges, there was a respect and an interest shown for Great Britain, that was gratifying to me. The religious part of the community with which I necessarily came most into contact, invariably expressed their affection for England, and their earnest desire that peace might be uninterrupted; and that in every way, both by our political relations and religious institutions, we should benefit the world at large. I found, in conversation with persons in the stages, a decided respect for religion. In only two or three cases did I meet with profanity or infidelity, and these were evidently much disapproved of by the rest of the company. I was much annoyed, as other travellers have been before me, with a very disagreeable custom—the frequent use of tobacco, and that in its most offensive form. Even those, who of all men should "keep themselves pure,," were sometimes guilty of yielding to this perverted and extraordinary taste for a poisonous narcotic.

In thus speaking so favorably of the people's respect for religion, I do not wish to be understood as saying that all the people are truly religious, or that the majority are under its sacred influence. There are in the towns, and no doubt in the country likewise, open opposers of religion, and neglecters of Divine ordinances, and who, if not controlled by laws and public opinion, would be ready to commit any excesses. But I think it may be asserted, that religion has a very extensive influence in all the ranks of which society is composed in that State, from the general and the judge to the inmate of the log hut, just beginning to clear the forest, and preparing to sow and reap. That it is more than sufficient to produce submission to the laws, and orderly behavior, may safely be said; for a general regard is paid to the ordinances of religion, both in town and country. The chief drawback on the improvement of the people, is the influx of new settlers from other countries, who have no religion. Hence, there is much to be done besides supplying their own population with religious instruction. Vigorous measures are necessary to keep pace with the demands of new adult settlers, who are, in general, disinclined to serious things.

But are the religious people properly concerned for the education of their children? A satisfactory answer may be given to this inquiry, as far as the wealthy and respectable part of the community is concerned. There are nearly a hundred endowed

academies and high schools, and nearly all the religious denominations have colleges and theological seminaries. Scattered throughout the State, there are great numbers of common or district schools, especially in the northern part, where many natives of New England are settled. At the same time it ought to be stated, that education is much neglected among the German population; and in various parts of the State, it has not made that progress which it might and should have done. It may be said, indeed, that the subject of general education has not received that attention in former years which its importance demanded, and which the legislature appears now desirous to give. The proportion of the population under instruction is much less than in the other Middle or Eastern States. The resources of this State are great, but they have not by any means been developed, at least not in an equal degree with those of the State of New York, with which it is, perhaps, more fair to compare it, than with those which are older and smaller. This may be partly accounted for by referring, as we have already done, to the mingled character of the population, which has rendered it difficult for them to unite in any general plan. But the legislature has at length roused itself to discharge its duty. The subject of education for *all* the children of the State has been discussed; and last year a law was passed, which, when brought into operation, will, no doubt, supply most of the deficiencies which at present exist. The report on which the two houses legislated, is one of an interesting character, and furnishes many important facts as to the operation of the common school system in a number of the American States.

After the preceding statement respecting a deficiency of education, it may appear somewhat remarkable, that the number of newspapers is greater in proportion to the population than in any other of the old States. In the State of New York, containing nearly two millions of people, there are 267 newspapers; in Pennsylvania, there are 220; one sixth of the whole number to be found in the Union. I can only account for this fact, by supposing, that the distinctness preserved by the various classes of settlers, leads each to provide their own vehicle of intelligence, rather than to support one of a larger and more general character. Of the number stated of these publications, the *religious* newspapers also bear a larger proportion to the amount of inhabitants than in the other States. This is a peculiar feature of the press in this country; and, while it must have an important bearing on the character of the people, it may, at the same time, be taken as an indication of what their prevailing character is. There is an eager desire for information on all points affecting the religious interests of the more distant parts of the State. And as each denomination is carrying on its own plans of Christian benevolence, it is natural that each should have its own medium of communication respecting these.

That there are disadvantages arising from this class of reading, when carried to a great extent, there can, I think, be no doubt. It too often supplies the place of more solid and useful instruction, and promotes indolent and desultory habits of thinking. And where a controversial spirit abounds, it is frequently strengthened and supplied with materials through this channel. It also tempts many writers to expend on ephemeral productions, talents and energies, which, if rightly directed, would accomplish works of standard excellence. I found also that these publications *sometimes* interfere with the sacred hours of the Sabbath: and they are apt to make premature disclosures as to revivals of religion, or other promising appearances, which are better to remain private, till the test of time has confirmed the hopes excited by them.

With all these drawbacks, however, the religious newspapers answer many valuable purposes. Among these may be mentioned the wide circulation they give to the transactions of the principal religious institutions. I was often surprised, in the most remote parts of the State, to find individuals acquainted with the most recent accounts of the operations of these societies in all parts of the world. And when the continuance of these operations requires increased pecuniary aid, an appeal can easily be made to Christians throughout the whole country. It has a tendency to keep the religious institutions in a state of purity and activity, when they are thus kept constantly before the eye of the public. The churches of Christ in different places are better able to cherish mutual sympathies, when made acquainted with each other's circumstances. When intelligence is received of revivals in some other section of the State, a desire is awakened to enjoy a similar season of refreshing. This is a class of reading suited to the taste of the young; and it may be expected to diffuse a missionary spirit among them. And last, though not least, it is an important auxiliary in refuting dangerous errors. The absolute freedom of the press, and the cheapness of periodicals, have enabled the irreligious and the skeptical to circulate their mischievous doctrines. They must be encountered with their own weapons, and it is of great consequence that their attacks should meet with a speedy repulse. A monthly magazine would be too tardy and too unwieldy an instrument of defence. Truth is important, in whatever form it is communicated; and we may hope that, among the many who have acquired a taste for reading in this way, some will be found, whose increasing thirst for knowledge will lead them on to cultivate severer studies.

The intellectual tone and character of the people may thus gradually be improved. And as the first step towards this improvement, I think it would be desirable to reduce the number of the publications under review, and by this means to concentrate more of the talent and excellence, which are now scattered through them all. There is nothing in the history of Pennsylvania more remarkable than the rapid increase of the different religious denominations during the last thirty years. The population has more than doubled since 1801; but the number of the ministers and congregations has increased at a much greater ratio. The Presbyterians are now nearly as numerous, in Pennsylvania alone, as they were in the whole United States in 1800. The Episcopalians have increased fourfold since 1801; and the others, with the exception of the German Reformed Church, have multiplied nearly to the same extent. It is also gratifying to know, that while the orthodox sects have been making such rapid advances, the preaching of error has not prospered. The Unitarians make no progress. It is with some difficulty that they can keep up a congregation, even in Philadelphia. It may be said with truth, that they have not six congregations, or six ministers in the whole State. The Universalists are more numerous, but there is no reason to believe that they are *increasing* in numbers or in influence. Indeed, in various places, the orthodox are making inroads on them, and will, no doubt, eventually destroy them, as error must ever flee before the light of truth.

In conclusion, it must be confessed that the Christians of Pennsylvania have yet a great deal to accomplish, in order to do full justice to their principles, their obligations, their country, and the world. They have by no means kept pace with some of the other States in zeal for the missionary cause, and

for the circulation of the Bible. They have done less for week-day and Sunday schools, for colleges, and theological seminaries, than some other States with fewer resources than they have at their command. The Temperance cause has not made that progress which it has done elsewhere. There is, however, every reason to believe, that in all these respects they are improving.

It is not my province to speak of the progress made by this State in commerce, agriculture, science, and wealth. On these subjects I could only give extracts from documents which are accessible to many; and I should be departing, in a great measure, from the object of the mission.

The time which I spent in the State was pleasantly passed. I could not but become attached to the people. They were invariably kind and hospitable. Their domestic manners were simple and unostentatious; free and communicative, without rudeness; and partaking much of the character of the best specimens of our own agricultural population. They are aware that there is much room for improvement. They have around them, in their own republic, striking examples of what may be done by zeal and perseverance; so that we may confidently hope that, in a few years, they will equal the Eastern States in all that is intellectual, moral, and religious.

I cannot close this brief notice of one of the States of this immense empire, without expressing my warmest wishes for its continued prosperity. As an individual, I feel my obligations to many of the Christians of that land. Their kindness I cannot forget. Their character I shall always esteem, and their friendship I shall ever value. The many farewells that I was obliged to take of Christian friends, formed the most trying part of my duty.—A meeting with them all again is one of my brightest and most delightful anticipations. That religion, which brought us together, and at once inspired mutual confidence, gives us good hope respecting the future. In happier circumstances, we may expect to meet; and surrounded by recollections that will render renewed intercourse the subject of increasing praise. Oh, for a place in that vast assembly, which no man shall be able to number, and from which none shall go out any more for ever!

APPENDIX

I.

COPIES OF MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES.

THIS MAY CERTIFY,
That Mr.
and M *were*
SOLEMNLY UNITED IN MARRIAGE
on the of the of in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty- according to the ordinance of God, and the legal prescriptions of the State of New-York.

WITNESSES:

Officiating Minister,
and Pastor of the Presbyterian Church.
New-York, A. D. 183

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, *That on the day of in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty- at in the county of Philadelphia, and State of Pennsylvania,*

and

were, by me, united in the bonds of MARRIAGE, *according to the form of the Presbyterian Church, and the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.*

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, *I have hereunto set my hand, on the day and year above written.*

II.

Copies of Letters Missive.

The Bowdoin-street Church, in Boston,
To the Ecclesiastical Council, to be convened on the second Thursday of the present month, to organize (if deemed expedient) a new Evangelical Congregational Church,

SENDETH GREETING.

At a meeting of the Bowdoin-street Church, held September the 7th, 1834, a letter from Jacob Abbott, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, requesting the presence of that Church, by its Pastor and Delegate, for the purpose of organizing a new church at Roxbury, on Thursday, the 18th instant, having been read,

It was Voted—To comply with this request; and thereupon, Brother Deacon Daniel Noyes was appointed Delegate. A true record,

(Attest) GEO. WM. PHILLIPS, *Clk.*

Boston, September 8, 1834.

Ordination of Mr. Abbott.

Roxbury, September 15, 1834.

To the Rev. ANDREW REED.

A number of individuals, resident in Roxbury and vicinity, having felt themselves called upon, in the providence of God, to take measures for the formation of a church of Christ here, and having taken the necessary preliminary steps, you are hereby invited to sit upon an Ecclesiastical Council called for this purpose. The Council will meet at the Hall in Mr. Spear's Academy, on Thursday of this week, at 11 o'clock A. M.

The Council will also be requested, if they see fit, to ordain Mr. Jacob Abbott as an Evangelist.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements,
J. ABBOTT, Chairman.

The other Pastors called are, Mr. Burgess, of Dedham; Mr. Giles, of Milton; Dr. Codman, of Dorchester; Messrs. Wisner, Anderson, Adams, Jenks, Blagden, and Winslow, of Boston; and Rev. Dr. Matheson.

III.

Order of Exercises.

COMMENCEMENT AT AMHERST COLLEGE, 1834.

PRAYER.—1. Salutatory Oration.—2. Essay. Patriotism.—3. Essay. Common Sense.—4. Discussion. Fact and Fiction.—5. Essay. Excitement.—6. Essay. Independence.—7. Disquisition. Propriety of Appeals to the Passions.—8. Oration. Moral Influence of Works of Imagination.—9. Dissertation. Guilt, as affected by Temptation.—10. Dissertation. Progress of Society.—11. Disputation. Is Phrenology

entitled to special Attention from its practical Utility?—12. Dissertation. Bibliomania.—13. Discussion. Expediency of making Temperance a subject of Legislation.—14. Poem. Death of Byron.—15. Essay. Contrasted Character of Napoleon and Howard.—16. Oration. The Memory of La Fayette.—17. Dissertation. Despotism.—18. Oration. Natural History of Eloquence.—19. Philosophical Oration. Emotions.—20. Disputation. Are encomiums upon the Dead beneficial to the Living?—21. Philosophical Oration. Mind.—22. Oration. Skepticism in cultivated Society.—DEGREES CONFERRED.—23. Oration. Influence of physical Science: with the Valedictory Addresses.—PRAYER.

IV.

Order of Exercises.

ANDOVER COMMENCEMENT, SEPT. 10, 1834.

FORENOON.

PRAYER.—1. Gen. ii. 17.; The tree of knowledge of good and evil.—2. Doctrinal preaching eminently proper in a revival of religion.—3. Influence of Calvin on civil and religious liberty.—4. On the Monthly Concert.—5. Inquiry respecting the meaning of 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.—6. Preaching modified by the spirit of the age.—7. The faithful Pastor.—8. Love to God.—9. Exposition of Rev. vi. 13.—10. Deficiency of classical literature in the spirit of the gospel.—SACRED MUSIC.—11. Augustine.—12. Evil of Sin.—13. Does the word in Gen. i. mean the term of a natural day?—14. Analogical preaching.—15. Evils resulting from the frequent removal of Ministers.—16. On Holiness.—17. How would the conversion of Palestine affect the interpretation of the Scriptures?—18. Puritan preaching.—19. Uniformity of the method of Providence in the spread of Christianity.—20. Source of lax Theology.—21. On Heb. i. 14.—The Ministry of good Angels.—22. The religious attitude of Greece.—SACRED MUSIC.

AFTERNOON.

SACRED MUSIC.—23. Influence of eminent piety on the eloquence of the Pulpit.—24. The true end of human and divine knowledge, the same.—25. Remarks on Isa. lxiii. 1, 6.—26. Causes of inefficient preaching.—27. Agency of the Christian preacher in the sinner's Conversion.—28. Agency of the Holy Spirit in the sinner's Conversion.—29. Agency of the sinner in his own Conversion.—HEBREW CHANT.—30. Pious feeling as connected with pastoral duties.—31. The true test of pulpit eloquence.—32. On 2 Pet. iii. 10: "The earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up."—33. What bearing should the laws of interpretation have upon Christian Theology?—34. Is self-love the foundation of religion?—35. Efficiency of voluntary associations.—36. Revivals of religion in England.—ORIGINAL HYMN.—PRAYER.—BENEDICTION.

V.

Articles of Faith, and Form of Covenant, adopted by one of the Congregational Churches in Lowell, Massachusetts.

ARTICLES OF FAITH.

I. We believe, that there is but one God, the Creator, Preserver, and Moral Governor of the Universe; a being of infinite power, knowledge, wisdom, justice, goodness, and truth; the self-existent, independent, and immutable Fountain of good.

II. We believe, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God; that they are profitable for correction, for reproof, and for instruction in righteousness; and that they are our only rule of doctrinal belief and religious practice.

III. We believe, that in the Godhead there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

IV. We believe, that God has made all things for himself; that known unto him are all his works from the beginning: and that he governs all things according to the counsel of his own will.

V. We believe, that the law and government of God are holy, just, and good.

VI. We believe, that God at first created man in his own image, in a state of rectitude and holiness, and that he fell from that state by transgressing the divine command in the article of forbidden fruit.

VII. We believe, that in consequence of the first apostacy, the heart of man in his natural state is destitute of holiness, and in a state of positive disaffection with the law, character, and government of God: and that all men, previous to regeneration, are dead in trespasses and sins.

VIII. We believe, that Christ, the Son of God, has, by his obedience, sufferings, and death, made an atonement for sin; that he is the only Redeemer of sinners; and that all who are saved will be altogether indebted to the grace and mercy of God for their salvation.

IX. We believe, that although the invitation of the Gospel is such, that whosoever will may come and take of the water of life freely; yet the depravity of the human heart is such that no man will come to Christ, except the Father, by the special and efficacious influences of his Spirit, draw him.

X. We believe, that those who embrace the Gospel were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blame before him in love; and that they should be saved, not by works of righteousness which they have done, but according to the distinguishing mercy of God, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth.

XI. We believe, that those who cordially embrace Christ, will be kept by the mighty power of God through faith unto salvation.

XII. We believe, that there will be a general resurrection of the bodies both of the just and unjust.

XIII. We believe, that all mankind must one day stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive the just and final sentence of retribution, according to the deeds done in the body; and that, at the day of judgment, the state of all will be unalterably fixed; and that the punishment of the wicked and the happiness of the righteous will be endless.

XIV. We believe, that the Sacraments of the New Testament are Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that believers in regular church standing only can consistently partake of the Lord's Supper; and that visible believers and their households only can consistently be admitted to the ordinance of Baptism.

FORM OF COVENANT.

You do now, in the presence of God and men, avouch the Lord Jehovah to be your God, the supreme object of your affection, and your chosen portion for ever. You cordially acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ in all his mediatorial offices, Prophet, Priest, and King, as your only Saviour and final Judge; and the Holy Spirit as your Sanctifier, Comforter, and Guide. You humbly and cheerfully devote yourself to God in the everlasting covenant of grace; you consecrate all your powers and faculties to his service and glory; and you promise, that, through the assistance of his Spirit and

grace, you will cleave to him as your chief good; that you will give diligent attention to his word, and worship, and ordinances; that you will seek the honor of his name, and the interests of his kingdom; and that henceforth, denying all ungodliness and every worldly lust, you will live soberly, and righteously, and godly in the world.

You do now cordially join yourself to this as a Church of Christ, engaging to submit to its discipline, so far as conformable to the rules of the gospel; and solemnly covenanting to strive, as far as in you lies, for its gospel peace, edification, and purity; and to walk with its members in all meekness, love, faithfulness, circumspection, meekness, and sobriety. Thus you covenant and promise.

We then, the members of this Church of Christ, do now receive you into our communion, and promise to watch over you with Christian affection and tenderness, ever treating you in love as a member of the body of Christ, who is head over all things to the Church.

This we do, imploring the Great Shepherd of Israel, our Lord and Redeemer, that both we and you may have wisdom and grace to be faithful in his covenant, and to glorify him with the holiness which becomes his house for ever.

And now, beloved in the Lord, let it be deeply impressed upon your minds, that you have entered into new and solemn obligations. Henceforward, you can never be as you have been. The vows which, in presence of God, angels, and men, you have now assumed, will follow you through life to the judgment-seat of Christ; and in whatever state your final destiny be fixed, they will for ever abide upon you. If you walk worthily of your profession, you will be to us an ornament and a delight; but if otherwise, a shame, a grief of heart, and a vexation. And if a wo be pronounced against him who offends one of Christ's little ones, wo, wo be to him who offends a whole church! But, beloved, be not overwhelmed by these considerations; for we are persuaded better things concerning you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak. May the Lord guide you by his counsel; and, when the trials of this short warfare shall have been ended, receive you and us to the church triumphant in glory, where our love shall be for ever perfect, and our joy for ever full!

VI.

The Law on Religion.

THE LAW AS IT WAS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

As the happiness of the people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality:—therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature *shall, from time to time authorize and require*, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, and religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily. And the people of this commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority *to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid*, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend:—Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise, it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised. And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

AMENDMENT AS PROPOSED IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1820.

As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the public worship of God; and as the public worship of God will be best promoted by recognising the unalienable right of every man to render that worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of his own conscience; therefore, no person shall by law be compelled to join, or support, or be classed with, or associated to, any congregation or religious society whatever; but every person now belonging to any religious society, whether incorporated or unincorporated, shall be considered a member thereof, until he shall have separated himself therefrom, in the manner hereinafter provided. And each and every society, or denomination of Christians, in this State, shall have and enjoy the same and equal power, rights, and privileges, and shall have power and authority to raise money, for the support and maintenance of religious teachers of their respective denominations, and to build and repair houses of public worship, by a tax on the members by any such society only, to be laid by a major vote of the legal voters assembled at any society meeting, warned and held according to law.

Provided nevertheless, that if any person shall choose to separate himself from the society or denomination to which he may belong, and shall leave a written notice thereof with the clerk of such society, he shall thereupon be no longer liable for any future expenses which may be incurred by said society.

And every denomination of Christians demeaning themselves peaceably and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law, and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

THE LAW AS IT IS IN MASSACHUSETTS, PASSED IN JUNE, 1833.

As the happiness of the people, and the good order, and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality; therefore, to promote their hap-

piness and secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to make suitable provision at their own expense for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance thereof. *Provided*, that all religious societies shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance, and, provided also, that the obligations of no existing contract shall be hereby impaired.

And all religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

THE LAW IN VIRGINIA.

Be it therefore enacted, by the General Assembly, "That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities."

Act for the establishing of Religious Freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia, A. D. 1786.

THE LAW IN NEW JERSEY AND GEORGIA.

No person shall ever, within this colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretence whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person within this colony ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately and voluntarily engaged himself to perform.

THE LAW IN NEW YORK, CONNECTICUT, CAROLINA, AND MISSISSIPPI.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall, for ever hereafter, be allowed within this State to all mankind: Provided, that the liberty of conscience thereby declared shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.

THE LAW OF PENNSYLVANIA, KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS.

All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; and no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

VII.

Welsh Settlements.

Ebensburgh, July 20, 1834.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—Agreeably to my promise, I shall endeavor to give you a brief sketch of the history of the society denominated Independents in this place. In the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, a considerable number of Welsh families emigrated from Wales to this country. The Rev. Morgan J. Rhees, an educated and respectable Baptist minister, was among the first of them. They came with the intention of forming a Welsh settlement in some convenient place, and Mr. Rhees, acting as their leader, applied to Congress to grant a tract of land for this purpose. In this he did not succeed, and many other attempts to obtain a suitable spot were equally unsuccessful. It appeared as if Providence shut and bolted every door against us, only the one on the top of the Allegany mountain. Mr. Rhees formed forty or fifty of the Welsh people, who found a temporary residence in and about Philadelphia, into a church; containing nearly an equal number of Baptists, Independents, and Calvinistic Methodists. Mr. Rhees administered the Lord's Supper for the first time, I think, in July, 1796. I still think that we enjoyed a very precious and refreshing season. Mr. Rees Lloyd, an Independent minister, administered the Supper in the same church in August.—In the fall of that year, and the spring of 1797, a number of families arrived at this place, and in April the Independent Church was formed, consisting of twenty-four members; of these, twelve had belonged to the Calvinistic Methodists. The Rev. Rees Lloyd, who had been ordained in Wales, drew up a confession of his faith, which agreed in substance with the Assembly's Catechism; and a church covenant, consisting of ten particulars, all of which were adopted by the church; and at that time they chose Mr. Lloyd to be their pastor, and your humble servant to be deacon. The church progressed perhaps as might be expected, laboring for many years under many disadvantages, the country being new. The Lord's Supper was administered once every four weeks, except in some instances, when wine could not be had. Once a fortnight, on a Wednesday, we met for devotional exercises and conversation on religious subjects, doctrinal and experimental. Mr. Lloyd preached generally twice every Sabbath. Our toil and difficulties in the wilderness were great. We were much scattered, and had no roads; but we often found it good to draw near to God, in attending to the means above mentioned. By the best accounts we have, we received ten persons by letter, before the close of the year 1801; and from that time till the close of 1809, we received by letter nineteen, and by examination twenty-nine. It ought to be recorded with gratitude, that in the year 1804, the Lord in a very gracious manner visited the settlement with a precious revival. "The Lord did for us at this time great things; our mouth was filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing." The greater part of the number last mentioned, as received by examination, may be considered as the fruit of this revival; and these, with few exceptions, have held on their way. In the year 1805, I was called by the church to speak publicly, by way of trial; and in June, 1806, was ordained by Mr. Lloyd, and called by the church to officiate as co-pastor with him. Mr. William Tibbot, who had preached for many years in Wales, was ordained at the same time; and coming to live at the settlement, he was shortly after called by the church to be co-pastor with Mr. Lloyd and myself. In the fall of 1817, Mr. Lloyd left us on the most friendly terms, and went to serve a vacant church

composed chiefly of Welsh people, within twenty-three miles of Cincinnati. He is yet living, but is now superannuated. In January, 1822, Mr. Tibbot's connection with the church was dissolved under very unpleasant circumstances; and in 1827 he died. He was an excellent preacher; I have no doubt that his ministry had been owned and blessed in a special manner. In the summer of 1822, Mr. Morris Jones arrived here from Wales. In the following winter he was called by the church to exercise his gifts as a speaker; and in April, 1827, he accepted a unanimous call to serve them as co-pastor with myself. In August, 1826, it pleased the Lord to cause somewhat of a shaking among the dry bones; and in a few months about twenty persons were admitted as members, whom we consider as the fruits of this excitement. We enjoyed at that time some sweet and precious seasons. The church, since Mr. Tibbot left us, has progressed with a good degree of unanimity, and contains at this time upwards of two hundred members in full communion, and living within four or five miles of our meeting-house. Our meetings, and our Sunday-school (which commenced in 1819,) have been, and continue to be, well attended. We have been for some years in a very lukewarm state, yet not without occasional additions. We can say with good John Newton, that we are not what we ought to be, what we would be, or what we hope to be; yet I trust that we are not what we once were; and that it is by the grace of God we are what we are. We should not forget the goodness of God, among many other things, in giving us a convenient house in which to worship him. It is a good strong building of brick, forty feet square, with galleries on three sides. It cost us about one thousand four hundred dollars; the money was nearly all collected among us, without any serious difficulty, and paid according to contract.

Hoping that you and your Rev. colleague may return to your families and charges very much animated, that your visit may be a great blessing to both countries, and that you may be very useful till death,

I remain, with Christian affection,
GEORGE ROBERTS.

REMARKS.—The *Common Schools* are numerous and sufficient; all the voluntary provision of the instructers and the neighborhood. Classical education is also supplied to all who choose to pay the price of tuition, by teachers who depend on their reputation and skill for support. It is rarely found that any citizen (unless from Europe) is unable to read or write; the freedom of the press, the elective franchise, the absence of monopolies and all restraints upon industry and ascent, together with the diffusion of moral influence from the different religious societies, are found to produce excitement enough to secure a practical and universal education.

Objects, *benevolent and moral*, are found to be attained by voluntary exertion. We have one asylum for the *poor*, which is provided by the city. But as a result of the popular nature of our political organization, and the general diffusion of knowledge, a spirit of independence is generated among the poor, which makes them averse to their being withdrawn from the mass of citizens. Our public paupers are therefore few. Our churches, generally, have a stated collection, at the season of administering the "Lord's Supper," which sum is applied to the occasional and partial needs of the poor of the congregations, by the pastor and other church officers. Our winters are long, and in this season, the females and children of the laboring families are occasionally in need of some addition to their supplies, such as fuel, flannels, hose, &c. A *Benevolent Association of Ladies* explores the several wards of the city, and furnishes what may be needed. *Orphans* may be accommodated by the city, at the asylum for the poor. But the ladies of the different religious denominations have formed themselves into one benevolent association for the more complete supervision of this interesting class of sufferers.—The society has obtained "incorporation," and obtained adequate funds for their institution from private contributions. We have also for the improvement of morals, besides the ordinary religious influence of the sanctuary, the Bible, and Tract, and Sunday-school Associations, which severally explore every corner of the city. The *Temperance Society*, and a very large and influential "Society of Young Men," (under thirty years of age,) unite to promote the general interests of morality and knowledge. They publish a weekly paper called "The Friend,"—have founded a public library,—and are extending branches through the neighboring districts. The influence of all these associations is decided and manifest, but they are not so efficient and complete as their evident advance gives promise that they will be. Our city is recent, composed of individuals from all nations, who have not got rid of all those peculiarities and prejudices which are partial impediments to combination and sufficient action. But associated action is daily improving; suppleness, mutual confidence, and success, are redeeming previous defect. You are aware we have a double task to perform; to amend the obliquities and perfect the characters of our settled population, and properly dispose of a host of emigrants, consisting of the more neglected population of Europe.

In the statistical table furnished above, we have not found ourselves at liberty, or inclined to make any alterations, as the information was furnished by the several denominations, and is, we believe, substantially correct, with the exception of No. 13, which, although believed by the reporter, we are confident is overdrawn, as is the estimate of their force through the nation at large. We might add, that in the circle contemplated by this report, are seated the *Theological Schools* of the Associated Reformed Church, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, both of which have received considerable donations from the vicinity.

LUTHER STALSEY.
A. L. CAMPBELL.

VIII.

History of the Free Churches in the City of New York.

TO REV. ANDREW REED, LONDON.

New York, February 1, 1835.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—Our mutual friend, Rev. William Patton, having communicated to me your desire to receive information concerning the Free Churches in this city, I will very cheerfully give you such facts in my possession as may be interesting and useful to you or others on this subject. It would have given much pleasure to any of the brethren, conversant with the facts, to have communicated them to you when you were in this city, if they had enjoyed the opportunity. And as other persons have made similar inquiries, it may not be improper to publish this letter for their information also.

In the month of May, 1830, two individuals (the one a member of the Reformed Dutch, and the other of the Presbyterian Church) who had frequently mourned together over the desolations of Zion, in-

vited a meeting of three or four Christian friends to deliberate upon the subject of commencing a new church. Rev. Joel Parker, then pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York, (being providentially in the city,) was invited to attend the meeting. The brethren interchanged their feelings and opinions with respect to the state of religion in the city; the almost total exclusion of the poor from the Presbyterian and Dutch Churches; the great neglect of the careless and impenitent on the part of professing Christians; and the importance of more direct and faithful efforts for their conversion. The result of this conference was a pledge on the part of the five individuals referred to, to take prompt measures for the commencement of a new congregation; a guarantee of a sufficient sum to defray the expenses of public worship; and an engagement on the part of Mr. Parker to be the minister, provided his own church and presbytery would consent to his removal.

The church at Rochester, with a readiness and unanimity worthy of all commendation, consented to the translation of their beloved pastor to a field of greater usefulness; and the new congregation in New York commenced its existence under his ministry on the 27th June, 1830, in a room formerly occupied as a lecture-room by Rev. John B. Romeyn, Thames-street.

It is worthy of remark here, that the church that had so disinterestedly given up their pastor, was blessed temporally and spiritually immediately after, thereby verifying the divine promise, "He that watereth, shall be watered also himself." The congregation made a successful effort to pay off a large debt that had greatly troubled them, and one of the most powerful revivals of religion took place in that congregation and city that has been known in this country.

The congregation in Thames-street originally consisted of only three families. The "upper room" where they assembled had been hastily fitted up to accommodate about 350 persons, at an expense not exceeding 125 dollars. A Sabbath school was commenced the first Lord's day, composed of five children, and one of the projectors as superintendent.—Public notice had been given by placards posted up in the streets, and advertisements in the newspapers, of the new place of public worship. The congregation at first was about forty persons, and gradually increased to nearly 400, filling the hall and the passages. There were two sessions of the Sabbath schools every Lord's day, and three religious services; Mr. Parker regularly delivering three discourses every Sabbath, and a lecture on each Wednesday evening, besides attending a church prayer-meeting once a week at a private dwelling-house. About half the sermons were wholly extemporaneous. The Holy Spirit appeared to attend the preached word from the beginning. A young woman was hopefully converted under the first sermon, and the number of persons awakened increased weekly.

Application was made to the American Home Missionary Society to take this infant congregation under its charge; but on account of the unpopularity of the undertaking, the Executive Committee thought it prudent to decline the overture. Application was next made to the First Presbytery of New York, to organize the church under the name of the First Free Church of the city of New York. Great opposition was made in this ecclesiastical body. The *name* (Free Church) was objected to, and the necessity of a new church in the lower part of the city was denied. It was also said that a new church and Sabbath school could not be built up without subtracting the members and scholars from existing churches and Sabbath schools; and strong doubts were expressed as to the ability of the persons engaged in the enterprise to sustain it. At length a commission was appointed to organize the church; and this solemnity, together with the ordination of two elders, took place on the 22d September, 1830. The church consisted of sixteen members, seven male and nine female.

The church had the communion on the first Sabbath in each month, and received accessions on every occasion; and the Sabbath school rapidly increased. In order to ascertain the moral destitution of this section of the city (the first ward, containing at that time not less than nine churches of different denominations,) various experiments were made.—One of them was the following:—The Sabbath school teachers districted the whole ward, and visited it for the purpose of ascertaining the number of young persons who did not attend any Sabbath school. In three weeks eighty-seven persons, who were not attached to any other, were enrolled in our school. In these visitations, families and individuals were invited to attend the meeting, and suitable places were sought out in which to hold neighborhood prayer-meetings. The keepers of two groceries consented to have prayer-meetings held over their shops, and it was observed that thereafter they did not open them for the sale of liquors, as before, on the Sabbath.

On the 20th of February, 1831, owing to their place of worship being too small to accommodate all the persons who thronged to hear the word, the congregation met in the Masonic Hall, in Broadway, at that time the largest and most central hall in the city. Here it continued to assemble until the 9th October. After the commencement of public worship in this hall, it was usually filled. The Sabbath school was greatly increased, and several Bible classes were formed. The minister, elders, teachers in the Bible classes and Sabbath school, and, in fact, every member of the church, considered it their duty to labor personally and unitedly for the *immediate* conversion of sinners. They believed it to be sinful, and leading people to perdition, to tell them to "wait God's time," or to tell them to "go home and repent;" and therefore inculcated that God required sinners to repent NOW. The teachers in the Sabbath school felt that they could not continue to teach unless some of their scholars were converted every Lord's day. The consequence was, conversions took place continually, and the school and Bible classes were made truly the nursery of the church. The hall being situated in one of the great thoroughfares of the city, many persons who stepped in from curiosity were convicted and converted.—Among others, a young man, who ran in to escape a shower, was hopefully converted the same evening.

Real estate is extravagantly high in the lower part of the city, and the congregation did not possess the means of purchasing lots and building a house for public worship. Four substantial brick stores, occupied by grocers, at the corner of Dey and Washington-streets, forming an area of seventy feet by eighty, being offered at auction, it was ascertained that the upper lofts could be converted into a chapel, while the first story could be let for enough to cover the interest of the purchase money, and part of the expense of fitting up a place for public worship. After seeking divine direction, the estate was purchased. Money was hired on a long term of years for a large part of the cost, and a bond and mortgage given as security; a part of the balance was hired on the personal security of a few members of the church, while the expense of fitting up the house was raised by subscription, chiefly among the congregation. The chambers were thrown into a hall, the walls were raised, and the place prepared

to accommodate from 800 to 1,000 persons, being exactly of the same size as the church in Broome-street, occupied by the congregation lately under the pastoral care of Rev. William Patton. The expense was about 7,000 dollars. The congregation voted to have all the seats FREE, and consequently dispensed with pew doors. Experience had shown that the system of free churches, if judiciously planned and properly sustained, was the means, under God, of drawing in large numbers of persons who are too often excluded from houses of public worship, in consequence of the pews being owned or occupied by those who make no direct efforts to accommodate persons in humble life, or those who need to be urged to attend public worship.

As it had been determined by the congregation not to let the stores underneath the church to tenants who trafficked in ardent spirits, the persons who had occupied them for several years were notified thereof, when it was found that the stores could not be leased, with this condition, for so much, by several hundred dollars per annum, as they otherwise could have been. But the congregation adhering to their determination, a change of tenants took place.—Hard things were said at the time by many professors of religion at this ultra procedure, but the church had the gratification to receive into its communion, soon after, some individuals from the immediate neighborhood, who had recently renounced the business of selling "distilled damnation" by the cask and quart. Two of them are now elders of his church.

The new church having been completed, the congregation assembled there on the 16th day of October, 1831. It was crowded the first Sabbath. So many accessions were made to the church soon after a protracted meeting, which commenced immediately after the church was opened for public worship, that it was deemed a duty to commence a second free church without delay. Accordingly, on the 14th of February, 1832, three of the elders, together with thirty-six other members, were organized into a church, under the title of the SECOND FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of *New York*. They met in Broadway Hall, about a mile from the Dey-street church, until the following May. Rev. E. P. Barrows preached as stated supply during this period, and his labors were blessed in the conversion of many souls.

Rev. Charles G. Finney having been invited to the city, by individuals belonging to the First and Second Free Churches, and the spacious Chatham-street Theatre having been procured, and fitted up for a place of public worship, and for the religious anniversaries, it was deemed best to relinquish the plan for the present of a Third Free Church, and to invite the Second Free Church to occupy the old theatre, now styled the CHATHAM-STREET CHAPEL.—Accordingly, on the 6th May, 1832, they assembled at the place, and Mr. Finney preached from these words, "*Who is on the Lord's side?*" The expense of fitting up the theatre for a house of God, and converting the saloons into lecture and Sabbath school rooms, was nearly 7,000 dollars; and about half of that sum was contributed by members of other churches, on condition that the chapel might be occupied by the public at the religious anniversaries. On the 28th September, Mr. Finney was installed pastor, by a commission appointed by the third Presbytery (a branch of the first Presbytery.) Sermon by Mr. Parker, from these words: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

It is supposed that the chapel will contain at least 2,500 persons. The attendance has generally been large, and frequently the house is filled. For three weeks in succession it has been known to be crowded every evening, during a protracted meeting, Mr. Finney preaching every evening.

Several of the young members of the two Free Churches, seeing how remarkably God had prospered the efforts already made to convert sinners, and being desirous to be more useful than they could be in these churches, already so large, resolved to commence another Free Church. One of them, a young mechanic, who had been converted in the First Free Church, stated, that "he felt it to be his duty to do something for the cause of Christ; that it was seven months since he had professed religion, and he had done but little; and that he was willing to give of the Lord's money committed to him, one thousand dollars a year, for the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom in the city." A similar spirit actuated his associates, and they gave according "as the Lord had prospered them." After consultation and prayer, the colonists assembled for public worship at the Masonic Hall, on the 9th December, 1832. Rev. D. C. Lansing, who had been invited from Utica, New York, to take the pastoral charge, preached on the occasion. The church, consisting of thirty-five members, was organized at the same time by a commission appointed by the third Presbytery of New York. Dr. Lansing was installed on the 10th February, 1833, and two of the young men were ordained elders, July 14. A lot of ground, eligibly situated at the corner of Houston and Thomson-streets, in the eighth ward, having been procured, a spacious, but neat house of public worship was erected, at an expense of about 11,000 dollars. The congregation assembled in it December 29th, 1833, being precisely one year from the formation of the church; and the vicinity has been found to be a great field of usefulness.

On the 5th January, 1834, a colony from the Second Church, consisting of thirty-five persons, commenced a new congregation, called the FOURTH FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. They first met in a hall at the corner of Hester-street and the Bowery, under the ministry of Rev. Arthur Granger. On the 19th day of October, 1834 (Mr. Granger having taken a dismission,) the Rev. Isaac Newton Sprague was installed pastor. The congregation hired the old brewery in the fourth ward, at the corner of Madison and Catharine-streets, where public worship was commenced on the 9th day of November, 1834.

The congregation have recently purchased these lots for the purpose of erecting a church, on the plan of the First Free Church, and meantime a spacious hall has been hired at the corner of the Bowery and Division-street, that will contain from 800 to 1,000 persons, and the congregation will occupy it until their edifice shall be completed.

Preparations are making by members of the First and Third Free Churches, together with some individuals from the old churches, to form a FIFTH FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in a convenient and central situation. One of the churches heretofore organized on the old system, has recently received a small colony from the Third Free Church, and will be organized as the Sixth Free Church in the city.

The First Free Church has admitted 753 members; 301 males and 452 females; 493 of whom united on profession of faith, and 260 on certificates from other churches. The adult baptisms have been 303, and 27 young men are preparing for the ministry. Rev. Joel Parker's pastoral relation to this church terminated on the 27th day of October, 1833, by the unanimous consent of the church, in obedience to the Saviour's injunction, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and he embarked for New Orleans, to take charge of the Second

Presbyterian Church in that city, on the 1st November, 1833. Rev. Jacob Helffeinstein has been preaching subsequently as stated supply.

The Second Free Church has admitted 426 members; 145 males and 281 females; of whom 302 were added on profession, and 104 on certificate. The adult baptisms have been 106. Nine young men belonging to this church are studying for the ministry. Two members of this church, one male and one female, are engaged in the foreign missionary service.

The Third Free Church has admitted 344 members; 115 males and 229 females; of whom 203 were added on profession, and 141 on certificate. Twelve are studying for the ministry, and two are in the foreign missionary service.

The Fourth Free Church has admitted 64 members; 22 males and 42 females; of whom 26 were added on profession, and 38 on certificate. Three are studying for the ministry, and one is preparing for the missionary service.

It is believed that more than half the persons who are hopefully converted in these congregations, unite with other churches, owing to various circumstances. A large portion of those who have here made profession of religion, have not been previously baptized, which fact, while it shows that they have been brought up in families destitute of piety, evinces the importance of free churches, where the poor and neglected may have greater opportunity to hear the gospel preached. This fact shows also the happy results attending the personal efforts made by the members of these churches, in inviting and encouraging the impenitent to attend church and Bible classes. New circles of religious influence are thus formed, and the gospel, in living epistles, is carried to hundreds of families, which otherwise might have continued to live as heathens in a Christian land. The "aggressive movements" of these churches among the population of this city, have thus been attended with most happy effects. Sinners have been plucked as fire-brands out of the burning, and made to rejoice in God their Saviour.

Sabbath schools and Bible classes have been, from the beginning, objects of prime concern with the Free Churches. The districts near them have frequently been explored, and invitations given to the poor, and those who neglected the house of God, to attend church, and send their children to the Sabbath school. The teachers in these schools have uniformly been professors of religion, for it is thought improper to entrust the souls of the young to the guidance of teachers, who themselves have not been taught by the Spirit of God. It is said, I know, that impenitent teachers have sometimes been converted while acting as Sabbath school teachers. True; but it is not known how many scholars have been made infidels by receiving religious instruction from "blind leaders of the blind." A single fact shows what intelligent children think of this matter. A little girl, not ten years old, said to her teacher, "I am afraid you will never lead me to heaven."—"Why not?" asked the teacher. "Because," said the child, "you do not appear to know the way yourself." While some were instructing, others were visiting, and persuading parents and youth to avail themselves of the means of grace provided for them. The people of color have not been overlooked, nor have they been thrust away into a few seats in the galleries, but especial efforts have been made to instruct them, and provide good seats for them, so that they might feel that Christians imitate their heavenly Father, in some degree at least, in not being respecters of persons. A large proportion of the accessions to the churches have been from the Sabbath schools and Bible classes. A few children have made a public profession of religion, some of them being seven or eight years old. In all cases, individuals applying for admission to the church, attend a meeting of the session, and are examined faithfully with respect to the hope they entertain of having submitted to Christ. In some of the free churches, it is the practice to *propound* (or, as the term is with you, *propose*) such persons as give evidence of piety, one month previous to their admission to the church. With all this care, a few cases of discipline have occurred, but in a majority of them, the subjects of discipline have been those received by letter from other churches in the same communion, or of other denominations.

A statement with regard to a single male Bible class, in one of the churches, will give you an idea of the method adopted in all these churches, to give biblical instruction to youth of both sexes in separate classes. Two or three young men, who were loitering about near the church, were invited to come in and take seats apart, to see if they would like biblical instruction. After the morning service they agreed to become scholars. Each was desired to bring a new scholar in the afternoon. They did so, and others were invited to take seats with them. The adoption of a rule, that no professor of religion should be admitted without bringing a non-professor to the class, was the means of many impenitent persons being brought under instruction. The class met an hour and a half before the morning and evening services on the Lord's day, in the body of the church. A suitable library was established, and the teacher lent the scholars such books as in his judgment were adapted to their circumstances, giving the impenitent Baxter's Call, &c. &c., and biographies of devoted missionaries, &c., to the young converts. One of the scholars acted as librarian. The scholars were encouraged to purchase Polyglott Bibles of the librarian, and to pay for them by small instalments, if unable to pay for them at once. The Gospel of Matthew was taken up in portions of about half a chapter for a lesson, according to the subjects. The teachers in the other departments of the Sabbath school, members of the church generally, and especially the young converts, were actively engaged in persuading inactive professors, and the impenitent, wherever they met them, to unite with this class. Within twelve months, twenty-five of the young men in the class became teachers in the Sabbath schools, three began studying with a view to the ministry, twenty-seven were hopefully converted, and thirty-seven in all united with the church. The principal objects with the teacher, were the immediate conversion of sinners, and inculcating upon professors of religion their duty to be coworkers with God in converting the world; and the Lord greatly blessed the agency employed.

A Bible class for females, taught by another elder of the church, occupied the lecture-room, and in two years eighty-five were hopefully converted in this class. The number in this class varied from fifty to eighty. It was a great advantage to have them in a separate room, free from noise, so that their minds need not be diverted, but kept solemnly fixed upon the instructions. The impenitent were brought into the class mainly by the Christians that belonged to it. They were always urged to do this, and to pray for their conversion, especially during the hours of instruction. The great aim of the teacher was the conversion of the scholar the first time she attended, and his main hope was during the first three Sabbaths they came. After a scholar had joined the class, the teacher took down her residence, visited her as soon as practicable, and held personal conversation with her about the

salvation of her soul. In view of what God has effected by this agency, there appears to have been most success with the scholars who did not live with professors of religion. This arose probably from two causes; 1. Their not being gospel-hardened; and, 2. From their not having some lukewarm professor near them, over whom to stumble.

It is the usual practice in these churches, on Sabbath evenings, to invite those who are resolved on immediate submission to God, or are willing to be conversed or prayed with respecting their souls' salvation, to come forward and take seats in front of the pulpit, or to meet the minister and elders in the lecture-room, immediately after the dismission of the congregation. And the church, on such occasions, are invited to stay and pray for the influences of the Holy Spirit, and to offer the prayer of faith for the immediate conversion of sinners. The results have been cheering, and many sinners have, on these solemn occasions, been "led quite to Christ."

The ministers of these Free Churches have moderate salaries, the church edifices are plainly built, and all the expenses attending public worship are on an economical scale. No one is admitted to the churches, on profession or by letter, who will not pledge himself or herself to abstain wholly from the manufacture, sale, or use of ardent spirit. The use of tobacco, also, can be said scarcely to exist in these churches. It is inculcated on the members to practise temperance in eating, and plainness in dress and furniture. When it is considered that the cost of the tobacco used in this country is estimated to be more than the expense of supporting the ministers of every denomination, and that a world is perishing for want of the gospel, it surely behooves Christians not to indulge in any habit or luxury, at the expense of the souls of their fellowmen.

The minister of the First Free Church gave public notice to the people of his former charge, that he would not unite in marriage any member of his church with an unbeliever; and the sinfulness of such unhallowed marriages is inculcated by all the ministers of these churches. They believe they were expressly forbidden under the Old Testament dispensation, and also in the New Testament. They cannot, then, but put the question to their people, with solemnity, "Shouldst thou love them that hate the Lord?"

Collections are taken at every service; and on communion Sabbaths, (the first in every month) the church members deposite in the boxes the sums they severally agree to pay statedly, for the support of public worship. The deficiency is made up annually by a subscription among those members of the church who possess the means of contributing. Besides these, collections are frequently made for special objects of Christian benevolence. The congregations are chiefly composed of people in moderate circumstances, and of strangers. Although some persons of property belong to these churches, and others of this description, after being hopefully converted in them, have united with other churches, still the principal efforts are made to bring in the neglected, the poor, the emigrant, and those who, in the arrangements in the old churches, have been almost entirely overlooked.

Do not understand me as asserting that *all* the members of these churches are active, prayerful, and consistent. It is not so. There are not a few, it is to be feared, who sit idly by while a world is perishing; who, after having solemnly pledged themselves to live for Christ, do little or nothing to build up his kingdom, and regenerate the world. Great must be the condemnation of such professors!

It is easy to see that, could suitable ministers be procured, it would be no difficult thing for the members of the Free Churches to organize many new churches every year. As it is, *one* new church has been organized every year since the system was commenced in this city. More than enough are added to them from the world annually to compose a large church. In fact, could the right kind of ministers be procured, each of the Free Churches could easily colonize and build up a new church every year, and these again adopt the same system. We think a church cannot act efficiently when it is composed of more than 200 or 300 members, although we are too unwilling to urge off our brethren that they may commence other enterprises for the Lord Jesus. It is a great mistake to suppose it requires wealth or large numbers to maintain public worship, for in a city like this, a few young Christians, who can raise 1,000 or 1,500 dollars to begin with, hire a hall, and procure a preacher, can support public worship without difficulty, and make it instrumental of great good. God, in his holy providence, will, if they are prayerful, self-denying, and efficient, give them converts in the course of the year, whose contributions, added to their own, and the public collections, will enable them to maintain, respectably, preaching and the accompanying means of grace. And such churches might be built up in every city, and in many villages. Why should they not be extended throughout Christendom? And it may well engage the prayerful consideration of Christians, if such churches are not more in accordance with the spirit of the gospel than those that have been organized by the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations usually. We see what wonderful success our Methodist brethren have had by alluring to their houses of worship the middling classes of society; "firing low," as their great leader, Wesley, enjoined it upon them. That eminent man well understood the philosophy of the subject, and knew that moral influence ascends in society, and especially in a republic. How greatly is this principle overlooked by many who essay to enlighten the world?—Let us not be ashamed to copy from the Methodists, or from any denomination, measures and modes of preaching that are blessed by the Holy Spirit; especially ministers and others would do well not to refuse to copy the example of Jesus Christ, who certainly well understood in what way to influence, most effectually, human society.

An extraordinary impulse is given to young Christians, when responsibilities like those described are assumed in the fear of the Lord; and they then feel that it is both a duty and a pleasure to bestow the money intrusted to them in building up the Redeemer's kingdom. Clerks in stores have subscribed 100 dollars per annum, and young merchants double or treble that amount; while others, without large means, have cheerfully given from 500 to 1,000 dollars a year for the support of public worship; and this, too, while they did not neglect more public calls to give money for the conversion of the world. The members of these churches have been pressed to relinquish their ownership of the property committed to them by the great Head of the church, and to hold it as stewards, to be laid out (the whole of it) in building up his kingdom, and converting the world. And some of them, it is confidently believed, aim to act upon this obvious principle of the gospel.

Free churches, on similar principles, have been organized in many other places since the commencement of the system in this city, and generally attended, as there is reason to believe, with the smiles of Divine Providence. Why should it be otherwise? Free seats attract the poor, and those who are unable or unwilling to purchase or hire

pews; sitting promiscuously in the house of God abates the pride of the rich; and it is well that men should feel humble before each other, at least in the sanctuary of the Almighty. And the system of labor adopted is calculated to bring into personal activity every member of the church.

I have said that a new church might be organized in this city every year, out of each of the Free churches, *provided suitable ministers could be obtained.* Great difficulty and delay arise on this account; for it requires preachers of peculiar talents to be successful in Free churches. They must be "scribes well instructed"—Christians of much religious experience—of a revival spirit—sound theologians—ready extemporaneous speakers—not afraid of "new measures," nor disposed to substitute expediency for duty; and in all respects thorough-going Christian reformers. Such ministers will not have sleepy congregations, nor will the members of their churches be at ease in Zion, or so conform to the world that it is difficult to distinguish them from those who have no hope in Christ. We bless God that measures are in rapid progress to educate young ministers, who will have the courage to preach the whole gospel, and take a strong hold of the blessed work of converting the world to God. May the Lord Jesus Christ hasten the day when our young men, on being converted, will, in the spirit of the youthful Paul, desire above all things to be heralds of salvation; and when Christian merchants, mechanics, farmers, and others, will "buy, and sell, and get gain," not to consume it upon their lusts, but to fill the treasury of the Lord!

I have thus, dear sir, given you the history of the Free Churches in this city to the present time, and have ventured to offer such suggestions as seemed pertinent to the subject. Should you or others see fit to introduce the system into London, it cannot, I think, but be attended with such happy success, as to evince that it is a system in favor with God and man. In conclusion, allow me to remark, that there are two peculiarities in the history of our churches that specially need reformation: 1. Expending so much of the Lord's money in enriching and embellishing houses of public worship; and, 2. Neglecting the great body of the community, adults and children. These things can be and should be remedied. When I have seen in some of our churches a communion service of massive plate, splendid chandeliers, and costly architecture and furniture, I have been reminded of the anecdote of Oliver Cromwell on visiting York Minster. In one of the apartments the Protector noticed twelve niches, in which were the statues of the twelve apostles in solid silver. "What have you there?" inquired Cromwell. On being told, he exclaimed, "Take them down, coin them, and let them go about doing good." Is it not true, that the mere interest of the capital at present invested in superfluous architecture and furniture in churches, is greater than the whole annual contribution of the Protestant churches in Christendom for the spread of the gospel? It may not be practicable to take down and coin all these useless investments, and send the proceeds about doing good, but the present generation will be guilty before God, if they do not take heed not to run into such excess of folly, in lavishing upon embellishment funds that should be expended in multiplying churches, and winning souls to Christ.

With high respect, I remain, dear sir,
Yours, in the bonds of the Gospel,
LEWIS TAPPAN

STATISTICAL RETURNS TAKEN BY THE DEPUTATION IN THE COURSE OF THEIR JOURNEYS.

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
NEW-YORK	.....			
Presbyterians and Scotch Church	.....	32	.....	10,354
Reformed Dutch	.....	14	.....	3,800
Episcopalians	.....	23	.....	3,922
Baptists	.....	20	.....	4,839
Episcopal Methodists	.....	11	.....	5,172
Other Methodists	.....	9	.....	2,500
Friends	.....	6		
German Lutherans	.....	2	.....	500
Moravians	.....	1	.....	100
E. Congregationalists	.....	1	.....	150
Catholics	.....	5	40,000	
Unitarians	.....	2		
Universalists	.....	3	8,000	
Jews	.....	3		
PHILADELPHIA	200,000			
Presbyterians	.....	24		
Episcopalians	.....	11		
Episcopal Methodists	.....	10		
Reformed Dutch	.....	2		
Reform'd Presbyterians	.....	2		
Quakers	.....	10		
Lutherans	.....	4		
German Reformed	.....	2		
Universalists	.....	2		
Unitarians	.....	1		
Christian Baptists	.....	1		
Jews' Synagogues	.....	2		
Moravians	.....	1		
Roman Catholics	.....	6		
Miscellaneous	.....	11		
BALTIMORE	100,000			
Catholics	.....	6		
Methodists	.....	8		
Presbyterians	.....	5		
Baptists	.....	4		
Unitarians	.....	1		
Episcopalians	.....	4		
Reformed Church	.....	1		
Assoc. Reformed	.....	3		
Quakers	.....	....	500	
BOSTON	.....			
Congregationalists	.....	9		
Baptists	.....			
Unitarians	.....	13		
Episcopalians	.....			
WASHINGTON	20,000			
Presbyterians	.....	4	1,500	625
Episcopalians	.....	2	12,000	500
Methodists	.....	7	3,000	1,900
Baptists	.....	4	300	150
Catholics	.....	2	2,000	1,600
Unitarians	.....	1	250	50
Quakers	.....	1	50	
Germans	.....	1	200	
GEORGETOWN	7,500			
Differ't Denominations	.....	6	2,800	
ALEXANDRIA	7,000			
Presbyterians	.....	2	700	370
Episcopalians	.....	2	700	300
Methodists	.....	2	1,200	600
Baptists	.....	1	400	120
Catholics	.....	1	800	
Quakers	.....	1	400	
Col. Methodists	.....	1	200	

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
NEWBURGH	3,300			
Differ't Denominations	.....	....	3,000	
MORRISTOWN	3,500			
Differ't Denominations	.....		2,500	700
NEWARK	13,000			
Presbyterians	.....	5	4,000	1,300
Africans	.....	1	1,500	150
Episcopalians	.....	1	700	
Baptists	.....	2	400	260
Methodists	.....	4	1,700	700
Catholics	.....	1	1,200	
German Reformed	.....	1	150	
Dutch Reformed	.....	1	300	
Scotch Presbyterians	.....		100	
Universalists				
Unitarians				
Christians				
BUFFALO	13,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1	1,000	350
Free ditto	.....	1	400	220
Baptists	.....	1	400	150
Episcopalians	.....	1	600	200
Methodists	.....	1		200
Reformed Methodists	.....	1	200	
Germans	.....	1	800	80
Catholics	.....	1	300	
Universalists	.....	1	40	
Unitarians	.....	1		
Lutherans	.....	1		
DUNKIRK	600			
Presbyterians	.....	1	100	75
Methodists	.....	1		
SANDUSKY	700			
Episcopal Methodists	.....	....	100	
Presbyterians	.....	1	100	30
COLUMBUS	3,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	1		
Episcopalians	.....	1		
Catholics	.....	1		
Shakers	.....	1		
CINCINNATI	30,000			
Presbyterians	.....	6	2,300	
Methodists	.....	4	3,500	
Baptists	.....	2	800	
Episcopalians	.....	2	600	
Unitarians	.....	1	400	
Catholics	.....	1	4,000	
German Lutheran	.....	2	500	
Swedes	.....	1	150	
Campbellite Baptists	.....	1	200	
Jews' Synagogue	.....	1	100	
MARIETTA	2,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
Episcopalians	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	2	1,200	500
ZANESVILLE	.....			
Presbyterians	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
Episcopalians	.....	1	3200	
Catholics	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	2		
LEXINGTON	6,000			
Presbyterian	.....	2	1,200	300
Baptists	.....	2		

STATISTICAL RETURNS TAKEN BY THE DEPUTATION IN THE COURSE OF THEIR JOURNEYS,—CONTINUED.

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
LEXINGTON, *continued.*	.....			
Methodists	.....	1	1,000	400
Reformed Methodists	.....	1	100	
African Church	.....	1	1,000	
Episcopalians	.....	1	500	100
STAUNTON	2,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1	500	225
Methodists	.....	1	600	300
Episcopalians	.....	....	200	
CHARLOTTESVILLE	1,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1	350	100
Baptists	.....	1	} 250	
Methodists	.....	1		
Episcopalians	.....	1		
PETERSBURGH	7,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1	600	300
Methodists	.....	1	600	300
Baptists	.....	1	400	100
Episcopalians	.....	1	250	60
Colored	.....	3	1,000	800
RICHMOND	15,000			
Presbyterians	.....	2	800	500
Episcopalians	.....	1	600	
Baptists (many color'd)	.....	3	.....	2,000
Methodists	.....	2	1,000	800
Mission Chap. Presb.	.....	1	200	
Catholics	.....	1	350	
Quakers and Jews	.....	....	100	
Unitarians	.....	1	150	
FREDERICSBURG	4,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1	400	220
Episcopalians	.....	1	400	200
Baptists	.....	1	500	300
Methodists	.....	1	300	100
Campbellites	.....	1	110	
ALBANY	32,000			
Presbyterians	.....	4	3,800	1,650
Dutch Reformed	.....	2	1,200	500
Methodists	.....	3	2,100	500
Baptists	.....	1	800	350
Covenanters	.....	1	200	
Reform'd Presbyterians	.....	1	300	
Episcopalians	.....	2	800	200
Catholics	.....	1	2,500	
Reformed Lutherans	.....	1	300	
Universalists	.....	1	500	
African Church	.....	1	200	
Primitive Methodists	.....	....	100	
Quakers	.....	....	50	
TROY	15,000			
Presbyterians	.....	5	3,000	1,500
Episcopalians	.....	2	1,200	300
Methodists	.....	....	1,600	900
Baptists	.....	....	1,000	400
Catholics	.....	....	2,000	
Unitarians	.....	....	200	
	.....	2	350	100
	.....		200	
UTICA	12,000			
Presbyterians	.....	3	2,300	1,000
Methodists	.....	2	1,000	
Baptists	.....	1		
Dutch Reformed	.....	....	300	50
Episcopalians	.....	....	1,000	few.
Catholics	.....	1	2,000	
Welsh	.....	3	1,000	
UTICA, *continued*	.....			
Universalists	.....	1	300	
Baptists	.....	....	400	200
NORTHAMPTON	4,800			
Congregat. Orthodox	.....	2	2,000	
Unitarians	.....	1	140	
Episcopalians	.....	1	100	
WEST HAMPTON				
Congregationalists	.....	1	500	200
Separatists	.....	1	150	
WHITESBOROUGH	1,200			
Presbyterians	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	1		
SCHENECTADY	7,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1	600	250
Dutch Reformed	.....	1	600	250
Methodists	.....	1	400	200
Baptists	.....	1	300	200
Episcopalians	.....	1	300	50
Reform'd Presbyterians	.....	....	100	70
Catholics	.....	....	300	
CONCORD	4,000			
Congregationalists	.....	1	700	470
Methodists	.....	1	400	250
Baptists	.....	1	400	300
Unitarians	.....	....	400	100
LOWELL	13,000			
Congregationalists	.....	3	2,500	1,000
Baptists	.....	2	1,800	700
Methodists	.....	....	800	300
Episcopalians	.....	....	500	
Unitarians	.....	....	700	100
Universalists	.....	....	500	
Catholics	.....	....	1,000	
Free-will Baptists	.....	....	300	68
Christians	.....	....	150	
NEW-HAVEN	10,000			
Congregationalists	.....	8	5,000	1,400
Episcopalians	.....	2	} 4,500	500
Baptists	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	1		
Roman Catholics	.....	1	150	
Universalists	.....	1		
HARTFORD				
Congregationalists	.....	4	2,950	1,300
Baptists	.....	2	800	200
Episcopalians	.....	1	800	150
Methodists	.....	1	450	225
Roman Catholics	.....	1	250	
Africans	.....	1	200	60
Universalists	.....	1	600	
DERBY	2,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	1,300	295
10 District Schools, in which the Minister preaches.	.....			
SACO	4,000			
Congregationalists	.....	1	1,000	200
Baptists	.....	1	200	40
Episcopalians	.....	1	200	45
Methodists	.....	1	300	100
Unitarians	.....	1	200	
Free-will Baptists	.....	1	100	
ERIE	1,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	500	289

STATISTICAL RETURNS TAKEN BY THE DEPUTATION IN THE COURSE OF THEIR JOURNEYS.—CONCLUDED.

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
ERIE, *continued.*				
Baptists	.....	1	150	50
Presbyterian Seceders.	.....	1	300	
GENEVA	3,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	750	
Assoc. Reformed	.....	1	1500	
Dutch Reformed	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	1		
Episcopalians	.....	1		
Universalists	.....	1		
ELMIRA	3,000			
Presbyterians	.....	1	550	200
Episcopalians	.....	1	60	....
Baptists	.....	1	150	60
Methodists	.....	1	250	160
ORWELL	1,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	350	75
Methodists	.....	1	300	80
Baptists	.....	1	80	50
WILKESBARRE	2,200			
Presbyterians	.....	1	600	135
Methodists	.....	1	350	
Episcopalians	.....	1	126	
DANVILLE	1,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	600	220
Methodists	.....	1	200	100
Episcopalians	.....	1	30	
LEWISTOWN	4,000			
Presbyterians	.....	2		440
Episcopalians	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	1		
Universalists	.....	1		
EBENSBURGH	1,000			
Congregationalists	.....	1	400	200
Baptists	.....	1	150	60
PITTSBURGH	25,000			
Differ't Denominations.	.....	30	13,140	7,095
CHAMBERSBURGH	3,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	600	
German Lutherans	.....	2	800	
Methodists	.....	1		
Roman Catholics	.....	1		
Secession	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
LANCASTER	10,000			
Differ't Denominations.	.....	11		

SMALLER DENOMINATIONS, WHICH CANNOT BE DIVIDED AMONG THE DIFFERENT STATES, THE PROPORTIONS NOT BEING KNOWN.

	Population.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communicants.
Unitarians	.....	150	170	.....
Evangelical Lutheran Church	.....	216	800	89,487
German Reformed Church	.....	180	600	30,000
Dutch Reformed Church	.....	167	197	21,115
Associate Presbyterians	.....	79	169	12,886
Free-will Baptists	.....	410	661	30,440
Six Principle Baptists	.....	9	25	1,672
Free Communion Baptists	.....	.....	.....	.....
Seventh-day Baptists	.....	42	32	4,258
New-Jerusalem Church	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cumberland Presbyterians	.....	70	110	15,000
Associate and other Methodists	.....	400	.....	50,000
Friends	220,000	.....	450	.....
Universalists	.....	350	550	.....
Shakers	.....	.....	.....	.....
Roman Catholics	550,000	.....	.....	.....
Jews	15,000	.....	.....	.....
		2,073	3,764	259,858
Deduct Miscellaneous Denominations, added to Pennsylvania and New-York.		548	1,111	59,307
		1.525	2,653	200,551

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS FOR THE WHOLE TWENTY-FOUR STATES.

	STATES.	Population in 1830.	Presbyterians.			Congregationalists.			Methodists.			Baptists.			Episcopalians.			Miscellaneous.			Total.		
			Mins.	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*M's.*	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*Mins.*	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*M's.*	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*M's.*	*Chs.*	*Cts.*	*Mins.*	*Chs.*	*Comts.*	*Mins.*	*Chs.*	*Comts.*
1	Maine	399,462	—	—	—	114	172	13,019				162	222	15,000	7	—	—				283	394	28,019
2	N. Hampshire	269,533	—	—	—	117	152	18,347				78	90	6,505	9	—	—				204	242	24,852
3	Vermont	280,679	—	—	—	177	206	22,291	376	376	45,915	81	125	10,525	14	—	—	184	190	—	272	331	32,816
4	Massachusetts	610,014	—	—	—	257	283	46,064				220	189	20,200	35	—	—				512	472	66,264
5	Rhode Island	97,212	—	—	—	10	10	1,300				17	20	3,271	14	—	—				41	30	4,571
6	Connecticut	297,711	—	—	—	230	226	29,579				97	92	10,039	63	—	—				391	318	39,618
7	New York	1,913,508	668	676	75,487	30	30	—	142	142	30,477	545	605	60,006	180	—	—	208	231	16,500	*376	376	45,915
																					1,773	1,684	182,470
8	New Jersey	320,779	129	132	17,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	60	4,000	22	—	—	—	—	—	211	193	21,000
9	Pennsylvania	1,347,672	337	475	50,988	—	—	—	252	252	74,106	133	151	11,404	71	—	—	340	880	42,807	1,133	1,829	179,305
10	Ohio	937,679	256	368	25,000	—	—	—	155	155	51,460	166	280	10,000	24	—	—	—	—	—	601	803	86,460
11	Indiana	341,582	49	91	3,791	—	—	—	60	60	20,035	201	299	11,000	8	—	—	—	—	—	318	450	34,826
12	Illinois	157,575	31	41	1,263	—	—	—	46	46	30,000	123	154	4,500		—	—	—	—	—	200	241	8,763
13	Delaware	76,739	8	15	1,869	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	9	420	5	—	—	—	—	—	18	29	2,289
14	Maryland	446,913	51	27	3,600	—	—	—	139	139	49,000	23	34	—	51	—	—	—	—	—	264	200	53,920
15	Virginia	1,211,272	80	94	9,000	—	—	—	115	115	41,000	261	435	54,000	55	—	—	—	—	—	511	644	104,000
16	N. Carolina	738,470	75	129	9,800	—	—	—	—	—	—	213	339	19,000	19	—	—	—	—	—	307	468	28,800
17	S. Carolina	581,458	106	144	8,300	—	—	—	74	74	47,000	201	273	28,000	37	—	—	—	—	—	365	429	79,150
18	Georgia	516,567							81	81	33,000	233	486	37,000	4	—	—	—	—	—	371	649	74,150
19	Alabama	308,000	30	39	1,816	—	—	—	49	49	11,000	145	250	11,000	3	—	—	—	—	—	227	338	23,816
20	Mississippi	136,000	23	34	1,011	—	—	—	50	50	10,000	39	85	3,000	3	—	—	—	—	—	115	169	14,011
21	Lousiana	215,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	16	700	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	16	700
22	Tennessee	684,000	109	144	10,000	—	—	—	106	106	30,000	243	413	20,000	8	—	—	—	—	—	466	663	60,000
23	Kentucky	688,000	70	92	7,160	—	—	—	89	89	26,000	258	484	33,000	9	—	—	—	—	—	426	665	66,160
24	Missouri	140,000	16	32	1,476	—	—	—	47	47	7,000	93	146	5,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	156	225	13,476
																					9,554	11,858	1,305,351
	Miscellaneous Denominations																				1,525	2,653	200,551
																					11,079	14,511	1,505,902

* The Methodist Denomination do not divide their numbers in New England among the different States statistically, so that they are put in one number at the close of New York.

A

DISCOURSE

OF

NATURAL THEOLOGY,

SHOWING

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE AND THE ADVANTAGES OF THE STUDY.

BY

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F. R. S.,

AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF [illegible].

NEW-YORK:

THOMAS GEORGE, JR., 162 NASSAU STREET.

1835.

DEDICATION.

TO JOHN CHARLES EARL SPENCER.

The composition of this Discourse was undertaken in consequence of an observation which I had often made, that scientific men were apt to regard the study of Natural Religion as little connected with philosophical pursuits. Many of the persons to whom I allude, were men of religious habits of thinking; others were free from any disposition towards skepticism, rather because they had not much discussed the subject, than because they had formed fixed opinions upon it after inquiry. But the bulk of them relied little upon Natural Theology, which they seemed to regard as a speculation built rather on fancy than on argument; or, at any rate, as a kind of knowledge quite different from either physical or moral science. It therefore appeared to me desirable to define, more precisely than had yet been done, the place and the claims of Natural Theology among the various branches of human knowledge.

About the same time, our Society,* as you may recollect, was strongly urged to publish an edition of Dr. Paley's popular work, with copious and scientific illustrations. We both favored this plan; but some of our colleagues justly apprehended that the adoption of it might open the door to the introduction of religious controversy among us, against our fundamental principles; and the scheme was abandoned. I regarded it, however, as expedient to carry this plan into execution by individual exertion; and our worthy and accomplished colleague, Sir C. Bell—whose admirable treatise on Animal Mechanics pointed him out as the fellow-laborer I should most desire—fortunately agreed to share the work of the illustrations. In these we have made a very considerable progress; and I now inscribe this publication, but particularly the Preliminary Discourse, to you. It was, with the exception of the Third Section of Part I., and the greater portion of the Notes, written at the end of 1830, in 1831, and the latter part of 1833, and a portion was added in the autumn of 1834. In those days I held the Great Seal of this kingdom; and it was impossible to finish the work while many cares of another kind pressed upon me. But the first leisure that could be obtained was devoted to this object, and to a careful revision of what had been written in a season less auspicious for such speculations.

I inscribe the fruits of those studies to you, not merely as a token of ancient friendship—for that you do not require; nor because I always have found you, whether in possession or in resistance of power, a fellow-laborer to maintain our common principles, alike firm, faithful, disinterested—for your known public character wants no testimony from me; nor yet because a work on such a subject needs the patronage of a great name—for it would be affectation in me to pretend any such motive; but because you have devoted much of your time to such inquiries—are beyond most men sensible of their importance—concur generally in the opinions which I profess to maintain—and had even formed the design of giving to the world your thoughts upon the subject, as I hope and trust you now will be moved to do all the more for the present address. In this view, your authority will prove of great value to the cause of truth, however superfluous the patronage of even your name might be to recommend the most important of all studies.

Had our lamented friend Romilly lived, you are aware that not even these considerations would have made me address any one but him, with whom I had oftentimes speculated upon this ground. Both of us have been visited with the most severe afflictions, of a far nearer and more lasting kind than even his removal, and we are now left with few things to care for; yet, ever since the time I followed him to the grave, I question if either of us has read, without meditating upon the irreparable loss we and all men then sustained, the words of the ancient philosopher best imbued with religious opinions—"Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, sed etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate præstantior; cujus a me corpus crematum est, animus vero non me deserens sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum; quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quod æquo animo ferrem; sed me ipse consolabar, existimans, non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore."*

* For the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

* De Senect.

A DISCOURSE
OF
NATURAL THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION.

ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECTS AND EXPLANATION OF TERMS.

THE words *Theology* and *Religion* are often used as synonymous. Thus, *Natural Theology* and *Natural Religion* are by many confounded together. But the more accurate use of the words is that which makes *Theology* the science, and *Religion* its subject; and in this manner are they distinguished when we speak of a "professor of theology," and a "sense of religion."

There is, however, as regards *Natural Theology*, a more limited use of the word, which confines it to the knowledge and attributes of the Deity, and regards the speculation concerning his will, and our own hopes from and duties towards him, as another branch of the science, termed *Natural Religion*, in contradistinction to the former. Dr. Paley hardly touches on this latter branch in his book, there being only about one-sixtieth part devoted to it, and that incidentally in treating of the attributes. Indeed, though in the dedication he uses the word *Religion* as synonymous with *Theology*, the title and the arrangement of his discourse show that he generally employed the term *Natural Theology* in its restricted sense. Bishop Butler, on the other hand, seems to have used *Natural Religion* in a sense equally restricted, but certainly little warranted by custom; for that portion of his work which treats of Natural Religion is confined to a future state and the moral government of God, as if he either held Natural Religion and Natural Theology to be two branches of one subject, or Natural Religion to be a branch of Natural Theology. The older writers, Clarke, Bentley, Derham, seem to have sometimes used the words indifferently, but never to have regarded Natural Religion in the restricted acceptation. The ancients generally used *Religion* in a qualified sense, either as connected with an obligation, or as synonymous with superstition.

This Discourse is not a treatise of Natural Theology: it has not for its design an exposition of the doctrines whereof Natural Theology consists. But its object is, first, to explain the nature of the evidence upon which it rests—to show that it is a science, the truths of which are discovered by induction, like the truths of Natural and Moral Philosophy—that it is a branch of science partaking of the nature of each of those great divisions of human knowledge, and not merely closely allied to them both. Secondly, the object of the Discourse is to explain the advantages attending this study. The work, therefore, is a *Logical one*.

We have commented upon the use of the terms *Theology* and *Religion*. As it is highly desirable to keep scientific language precise, and always to use the same terms in the same sense, we shall now further observe upon the word "*moral*" in relation to science or faculties. It is sometimes used to denote the whole of our mental faculties, and in opposition to natural and physical, as when we speak of "*moral science*," "*moral truths*;" "*moral philosophy*." But it is also used in contradistinction to "*intellectual*" or "*mental*," and in connection with or in reference to obligation; and then it relates to rights and duties, and is synonymous with *ethical*. It seems advisable to use it always in this sense, and to employ the words *spiritual* and *mental* in opposition to *natural* and *material*; and *psychological*, as applied to the science of mind, in opposition to *physical*. Again, a distinction is sometimes made between the *intellectual* and *moral* powers or faculties —the former being directly those of the understanding, the latter those of the will, or, as they are often called, the "*active powers*,"—that is, the passions and feelings. It seems better to use the word *active* for this purpose as opposed to *intellectual*. Thus, we shall have these general terms, *spiritual* or *mental*, as applied to the immaterial part of the creation, and *psychological*, as applied to the science which treats of it. We shall next have a subdivision of the mental faculties into *intellectual* and *active*; both form the subjects of *psychological* science. *Moral* science, in its restricted sense, and properly so called, will then denote that branch which treats of duties, and of what is implied in those duties, their correlative rights; it will, in short, be *ethical* science.

Thus, the science of mind—say *Metaphysical* science—may be said to consist of two great branches, the one of which treats of existences, the other of duties. The one accordingly has been termed, with great accuracy, *Ontology*, speaking of that which *is*; the other, *Deontology*, speaking of that which *ought to be*. The former, however, comprehends properly all physical, as well as mental science.—The division which appears upon the whole most convenient is this: That *metaphysical* science, as contradistinguished from *physical*, is either *psychological*, which treats of the faculties both intellectual and active, but treats of existences only; or *moral*, which treats of rights and duties, and is distinguishable from psychological, though plainly connected with it nearly as corollaries are with the propositions from whence they flow. Then physical truths, in one respect, come under the same head with the first branch of metaphysical truths. Physical as well as psychological science treats of existences, while moral science alone treats of duties.

According to a like arrangement, Natural Theology consists of two great branches, one resembling *Ontology*, the other analogous to *Deontology*. The former comprehends the discovery of the existence and attributes of a Creator, by investigating the evidences of design in the works of the creation, material as well as spiritual. The latter relates to the discovery of his will and probable intentions with regard to his creatures, their conduct, and their duty. The former resembles the physical and psychological sciences, and treats of the evidences of design, wisdom, and goodness exhibited both in the natural and spiritual worlds. The latter resembles rather the department of moral science, as distinguished from both physical and psychological. We may thus consider the science of Natural Theology as consisting, like all inductive science, of three compartments, Natural, Mental, and Moral; or, taking the Greek terms, Physical, Psychological, and Ethical.

This classification is convenient, and its grounds

are very fit to be premised—at the same time that we must admit the question to be one only of classification and technology. Having so stated the divisions of the subject and the meaning of the terms used in relation to those divisions, I shall assume this arrangement and adhere to this phraseology, as convenient, though far from representing it to be the best. In such discussions it is far more important to employ one uniform and previously explained language or arrangement, than to be very curious in adopting the best. No classification, indeed, can, from the nature of things, be rigorously exact. All the branches of science, even of natural philosophy, much more of metaphysical, run into each other, and are separated by gradations rather than by lines of demarcation. Nor could any scientific language we possess help breaking down under us in an attempt to maintain a perfectly logical arrangement.*

ANALYSIS OF THE WORK.

The order of this Discourse is thus set out:

The First Part treats of the nature of the subject, and the kind of evidence upon which Natural Theology rests.

The Second Part treats of the advantages derived from the study of the science.

The former part is divided into seven sections.—The *first* is introductory, and treats of the kind of evidence by which the truths of Physical and Psychological science are investigated, and shows that there is as great an appearance of diversity between the manner in which we arrive at the knowledge of different truths in those inductive sciences, as there is between the nature of any such inductive investigation, and the proofs of the ontological branches of Natural Theology. But that diversity is proved to be only apparent; and hence it is inferred, that the supposed difference of the proofs of Natural Theology may also be only apparent.

The *second* section continues the application of this argument to the Physical branch of Natural Theology, and shows further proofs that the first branch of Natural Theology is as much an inductive science, as Physics or Natural Philosophy.—The first section compares the ontological branches of Natural Theology with all inductive science, physical as well as psychological. The second compares the physical branch of Natural Theology with physical science only.

The *third* section compares the psychological branch of Natural Theology with psychological science, and shows that both rest alike upon induction.

The *fourth* section shows that the *argumentum a priori* is unsound in a great degree—that it is insufficient for the purpose to which it is applied—that it serves only to a limited extent—and that to this extent it is in reality not distinguishable from induction, or the *argumentum a posteriori*.

The *fifth* section treats of the second or Moral, the *deontological* branch of Natural Theology, and shows that it rests upon the same kind of evidence with moral science, and is, strictly speaking, as much a branch of inductive knowledge.

The *sixth* section examines the doctrines of Lord Bacon respecting Final Causes, and shows that he was not adverse to the speculation when kept within due bounds.

The *seventh* section examines the true nature of inductive analysis and synthesis, and shows some important errors prevailing on this subject.

In treating of the proofs of design displayed by the mental constitution of living creatures, and in treating of the Soul's Immortality, it becomes necessary to enter more at large into the subject, and therefore, the *third* and the *fifth* sections are not, like the others, mere logical discourses in which the doctrines of Natural Theology are assumed rather than explained. The subjects of those two sections have not been sufficiently handled in professed treatises upon Natural Theology, which have been almost wholly confined to the first branch of the science—the proofs of the Deity's existence and attributes—and to the physical portion of that branch. This defect I have endeavored to supply.

The Second Part, which treats of the advantages of the study, consists of the sections.

The *first* shows that the precise kind of pleasure derived from the investigation of scientific truths is derived from this study.

The *second* treats of the pleasures which are peculiar to this study.

The *third* treats of the connection of Natural with Revealed Religion.

PART THE FIRST.

NATURE OF THE SCIENCE, AND OF ITS EVIDENCES.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION PURSUED IN THE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

The faculties, as well as the feelings of the human mind, its intellectual, as well as its active powers, are employed without any intermission, although with varying degrees of exertion, in one of two ways; either in regard to some object immediately connected with the supply of our wants, or in regard to subjects of mere contemplation. The first class of exertions relates to all the objects of necessity, of comfort, or of physical enjoyment: in the pursuit of these, the powers of the understanding, or the passions, or both together, are with nearly the whole of mankind employed during the greater portion of their existence, and with the bulk of mankind, during almost the whole of their existence. The other class of mental exertions, which engrosses but a very few men for the greater part of their lives, and occupies the majority only occasionally and at considerable intervals, comprehends within its scope all the subjects of meditation and reflection, of merely speculative reasoning and discussion: it is composed of all the efforts which our understanding can make, and all the desires which we can feel upon subjects of mere science or taste, matters which begin and end in intellectual or moral gratification.

It is unquestionably true that these two grand branches of exertion have an intimate connection with each other. The pursuits of science lend constant assistance to those of active life; and the practical exercise of the mental powers constantly furthers the progress of science merely speculative. But the two provinces are nevertheless perfectly distinguishable, and ought not to be confounded.—The corollary from a scientific discovery may be the improvement of a very ordinary machine or a common working tool; yet the establishment of the speculative truth may have been the primary object of the philosopher who discovered it; and to learn that truth is the immediate purpose of him

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* Note I.

who studies the philosopher's system. So, the better regulation of the affections or the more entire control of the passions, may be the result of an acquaintance of our mental constitution; but the object of him who studies the laws of mind is merely to become acquainted with the spiritual part of our nature. In like manner, it is very possible that the knowledge of a scientific truth may force itself upon one whose faculties or feelings are primarily engaged in some active exertion. Some physical law, or some psychological truth, may be discovered by one only intent upon supplying a physical want, or obtaining a mental enjoyment. But here, as in the former case, the scientific or speculative object is incidental to the main pursuit; the matter of contemplation is the corollary, the matter of action the proposition.

The merely contemplative pursuits, which thus form one of the great branches of mental exertion, seem again to be divisible into two classes, by a line that, to a careless observer, appears sufficiently defined. The objects of our inquiry and meditation appear to be either those in the physical and spiritual worlds, with which we are conversant through our senses, or by means of our internal consciousness; or those things with which we are made acquainted only by reasoning—by the evidence of things unseen and unfelt. We either discuss the properties and relations of actually perceived and conceived beings, physical and mental—that is, the objects of sense and of consciousness; or we carry our inquiries beyond those things which we see and feel; we investigate the origin of them and of ourselves; we rise from the contemplation of nature and of the spirit within us, to the first cause of all, both of body and of mind. To the one class of speculation belong the inquiries how matter and mind are framed, and how they act; to the other class belong the inquiries whence they proceed, and whither they tend. In a word, the structure and relations of the universe form the subject of the one branch of philosophy, and may be termed *Human Science;* the origin and destiny of the universe form the subject of its other branch, and is termed *Divine Science*, or *Theology*.

It is not to be denied that this classification may be convenient; indeed, it rests upon some real foundation, for the speculations which compose these two branches have certain common differences and common resemblances. Yet it is equally certain, that nothing but an imperfect knowledge of the subject, or a superficial attention to it, can permit us to think that there is any well-defined boundary which separates the two kinds of philosophy; that the methods of investigation are different in each; and that the kind of evidence varies by which the truths of the one and of the other class are demonstrated. The error is far more extensive in its consequences than a mere inaccuracy of classification, for it materially impairs the force of the proofs upon which Natural Theology rests. The proposition which we would place in its stead is, that this science is strictly a branch of inductive philosophy, formed and supported by the same kind of reasoning upon which the Physical and Psychological sciences are founded. This important point will be established by a fuller explanation; and we shall best set about this task by showing, in the first place, that the same apparent diversity of evidence exists in the different subjects or departments of the branch which we have termed Human science. It seems to exist there on a superficial examination: if a closer scrutiny puts that appearance to flight, the inference is legitimate, that there may be no better ground for admitting an essential difference between the foundations of Human science and Divine.

The careless inquirer into physical truth would certainly think he had seized on a sound principle of classification, if he should divide the objects with which philosophy, Natural and Mental, is conversant, into two classes—those objects of which we know the existence by our senses or our consciousness; that is, external objects which we see, touch, taste, and smell, internal ideas which we conceive or remember, or emotions which we feel—and those objects of which we only know the existence by a process of reasoning, founded upon something originally presented by the senses or by consciousness. This superficial reasoner would range under the first of these heads the members of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; the heavenly bodies; the mind—for we are supposing him to be so far capable of reflection, as to know that the proof of the mind's separate existence is, at the least, as short, plain, and direct as that of the body, or of external objects. Under the second head he would range generally whatever objects of examination are not directly perceived by the senses, or felt by consciousness.

But a moment's reflection will show both how very short a way this classification would carry our inaccurate logician, and how entirely his principle fails to support him even during that little part of the journey. Thus, the examination of certain visible objects and appearances enables us to ascertain the laws of light and of vision. Our senses teach us that colors differ, and that their mixture forms other hues; that their absence is black, their combination in certain proportions, white. We are in the same way enabled to understand that the organ of vision performs its functions by a natural apparatus resembling, though far surpassing, certain instruments of our own constructing, and that therefore it works on the same principles. But that light, which can be perceived directly by none of our senses, exists, as a separate body, we only infer by a process of reasoning from things which our senses do perceive. So we are acquainted with the effects of heat; we know that it extends the dimensions of whatever matter it penetrates; we feel its effects upon our own nerves when subjected to its operation; and we see its effects in augmenting, liquefying, and decomposing other bodies; but its existence as a separate substance we do not know, except by reasoning and by analogy. Again, to which of the two classes must we refer the air? Its existence is not made known by the sight, the smell, the taste; but is it by the touch? Assuredly a stream of it, blown upon the nerves of touch, produces a certain effect; but to infer from thence the existence of a rare, light, invisible, and impalpable fluid, is clearly an operation of reasoning, as much as that which enables us to infer the existence of light or heat from their perceptible effects. But furthermore, we are accustomed to speak of seeing motion; and the reasoner whom we are supposing would certainly class the phenomena of mechanics, and possibly of dynamics generally, including astronomy, under his first head, of things known immediately by the senses. Yet assuredly nothing can be more certain than that the knowledge of motion is a deduction of reasoning, not a perception of sense; it is derived from the comparison of two positions; the idea of a change of place is the result of that comparison attained by a short process of reasoning; and the estimate of velocity is the result of another process of reasoning and of recollection. Thus, then, there is at once excluded from the first class almost the whole range of natural philosophy. But are we quite sure that any thing remains which, when severely examined, will stand the test? Let us attend a little more closely to the things which we have passed over hastily, as if admitting that they belonged to the first class.

It is said that we do not see light, and we certainly can know its existence directly by no other sense but that of sight, but that we see objects variously illuminated, and therefore that the existence of light is an inference of reason, and the diversity of color an object of sense. But the very idea of diversity implies reasoning, for it is the result of a comparison, and when we affirm that white light is composed of the seven primary colors in certain proportions, we state a proposition which is the result of much reasoning—reasoning, it is true, founded upon sensations or impressions upon the senses; but not less founded upon such sensations is the reasoning which makes us believe in the existence of a body called light. The same may be said of heat, and the phenomena of heated bodies. The existence of heat is an inference from certain phenomena, that is, certain effects produced on our external senses by certain bodies or certain changes which those senses undergo in the neighborhood of those bodies; but it is not more an inference of reason than the proposition that heat extends or liquefies bodies; for that is merely a conclusion drawn from comparing our sensations occasioned by the external objects placed in varying circumstances.

But can we say that there is no process of reasoning even in the simplest case which we have supposed our reasoner to put; the existence of the three kingdoms, of nature, of the heavenly bodies, of the mind? It is certain that there is in every one of these cases a process of reasoning. A certain sensation is excited in the mind through the sense of vision; it is an inference of reason that this must have been excited by something, or must have had a cause. That the cause must have been external, may possibly be allowed to be another inference which reason could make unaided by the evidence of any other sense. But to discover that the cause was at any the least distance from the organ of vision, clearly required a new process of reasoning, considerable experience, and the indications of other senses; for the young man whom Mr. Cheselden couched for a cataract, at first believed that every thing he saw touched his eye. Experience and reasoning, therefore, are required to teach us the existence of external objects; and all that relates to their relations of size, color, motion, habits, in a word, the whole philosophy of them, must of course be the result of still longer and more complicated processes of reasoning. So of the existence of the mind: although undoubtedly the process of reasoning is here the shortest of all, and the least liable to deception, yet so connected are all its phenomena with those of the body, that it requires a process of abstraction alien from the ordinary habits of most men, to be persuaded that we have a more undeniable evidence of its separate existence than we even have of the separate existence of the body.

It thus clearly appears that we have been justified in calling the classifier whose case we have been supposing, a careless inquirer, a superficial reasoner, an imperfect logician; that there is no real foundation for the distinction which we have supposed him to take between the different objects of scientific investigation; that the evidence upon which our assent to both classes of truths reposes is of the same kind, namely, the inferences drawn by reasoning from sensations or ideas, originally presented by the external senses or by our inward consciousness.

If, then, the distinction which at first appeared solid, is found to be without any warrant in the different kinds of Humane Science, has it any better grounds when we apply it to draw the line between that branch of philosophy itself, and the other which has been termed Divine, or Theology? In other words, is there any real, any specific difference between the method of investigation, the nature of the evidence, in the two departments of speculation? Although this Preliminary Discourse, and indeed the work itself which it introduces, and all the illustrations of it, are calculated throughout to furnish the answer to the question, we shall yet add a few particulars in this place, in order to show how precisely the same fallacy which we have been exposing, in regard to the classification of objects in ordinary scientific research, gives rise to the more general classification or separation of all science into two distinct branches, Human and Divine, and how erroneous it is to suppose that these two branches rest upon different foundations.

SECTION II.

COMPARISON OF THE PHYSICAL BRANCH OF NATURAL THEOLOGY WITH PHYSICS.

The two inquiries—that into the nature and constitution of the universe, and that into the evidence of design which it displays; in a word, physics and psychology, philosophy, whether natural or mental, and the fundamental branch of Natural Theology, are not only closely allied one to the other, but are to a very considerable extent identical. The two paths of investigation for a great part of the way completely coincide. The same induction of facts which leads us to a knowledge of the structure of the eye, and its functions in the animal economy, leads us to the knowledge of its adaptation to the properties of light. It is a truth of physics, in the strictest sense of the word, that vision is performed by the eye refracting light, and making it converge to a focus upon the retina; and that the peculiar combination of its lenses, and the different materials they are composed of, correct the indistinctness which would otherwise arise from the different refrangibility of light; in other words, make the eye an achromatic instrument. But if this is not also a truth in Natural Theology, it is a position from which, by the shortest possible process of reasoning, we arrive at theological truth; namely, that the instrument so successfully performing a given service by means of this curious structure, must have been formed with a knowledge of the properties of light. The position from which so easy a step brings us to this doctrine of Natural Theology was gained by strict induction. Upon the same evidence which all natural science rests on, reposes the knowledge that the eye is an optical instrument: this is a truth common to both physics and theology. Before the days of Sir Isaac Newton, men knew that they saw by means of the eye, and that the eye was constructed upon optical principles; but the reason of its peculiar conformation they knew not, because they were ignorant of the different refrangibility of light. When his discoveries taught this truth, it was found to have been acted upon, and consequently known by the Being who created the eye. Still our knowledge was imperfect; and it was reserved for Mr. Dollond to discover another law of nature—the different dispersive powers of different substances, which enabled him to compound an object-glass that more effectually corrected the various refrangibility of the rays. It was now observed that this truth also must have been known to the maker of the eye; for upon its basis is that instrument, far more perfect than the achromatic glass of Dollond, framed.—These things are truths in both physics and theology; they are truths taught us by the self-same process of investigation, and resting upon the self-same kind of evidence.

When we extend our inquiries, and observe the varieties of this perfect instrument, we mark the adaptation of changes to the diversity of circum-

stances; and the truths thus learnt are in like manner common to Physical and Theological science; that is, to Natural History, or Comparative Anatomy, and Natural Theology.

That beautiful instrument, so artistly contrived that the most ingenious workman could not imagine an improvement of it, becomes still more interesting and more wonderful, when we find that its conformation is varied with the different necessities of each animal. If the animal prowls by night, we see the opening of the pupil, and the power of concentration in the eye increased. If an amphibious animal has occasionally to dive into the water, with the change of the medium through which the rays pass, there is an accommodation in the condition of the humors, and the eye partakes of the eye both of the quadruped and the fish.

So, having contemplated the apparatus for protection in the human eye, we find that in the lower animals, who want both the accessory means of cleaning the eye and the ingenuity to accomplish it by other modes than the eyelids, an additional eyelid, a new apparatus, is provided for this purpose.

Again, in fishes, whose eye is washed by the element in which they move, all the exterior apparatus is unnecessary, and is dismissed; but in the crab, and especially in that species which lies in mud, the very peculiar and horny prominent eye, which every body must have observed, would be quite obscured were it not for a particular provision. There is a little brush of hair above the eye, against which the eye is occasionally raised to wipe off what may adhere to it. The form of the eye, the particular mode in which it is moved, and, we may say, the coarseness of the instrument compared with the parts of the same organ in the higher class of animals, make the mechanism of eyelids and of lachrymal glands unsuitable. The mechanism used for this purpose is discovered by observation and reasoning; that it is contrived for this purpose is equally a discovery of observation and reasoning. Both propositions are strictly propositions of physical science.

The same remarks apply to every part of the animal body. The use to which each member is subservient, and the manner in which it is enabled so to perform its functions as to serve that appointed use, is learnt by an induction of the strictest kind. But it is impossible to deny, that what induction thus teaches forms the great bulk of all Natural Theology. The question which the theologian always puts upon each discovery of a purpose manifestly accomplished, is this: "Suppose I had this operation to perform by mechanical means, and were acquainted with the laws regulating the action of matter, should I attempt it in any other way than I here see practised?" If the answer is in the negative, the consequence is irresistible that some power, capable of acting with design, and possessing the supposed knowledge, employed the means which we see used. But this negative answer is the result of reasoning founded upon induction, and rests upon the same evidence whereon the doctrines of all physical science are discovered and believed. And the inference to which that negative answer so inevitably leads is a truth in Natural Theology; for it is only another way of asserting that design and knowledge are evinced in the works and functions of nature. It may further illustrate the argument to take one or two other examples. When a bird's egg is examined, it is found to consist of three parts; the chick, the yelk in which the chick is placed, and the white in which the yelk swims. The yelk is lighter than the white; and it is attached to it at two points, joined by a line or rather plane, *below* the centre of gravity of the yelk. From this arrangement, it must follow that the chick is always uppermost, roll the egg how you will; consequently, the chick is always kept nearest to the breast or belly of the mother while she is sitting. Suppose, then, that any one acquainted with the laws of motion had to contrive things so as to secure this position for the little speck or sac in question, in order to its receiving the necessary heat from the hen—could he proceed otherwise than by placing it in the lighter liquid, and suspending that liquid in the heavier, so that its centre of gravity should be above the line or plane of suspension? Assuredly not; for in no other way could this purpose be accomplished. This position is attained by a strict induction; it is supported by the same kind of evidence on which all physical truths rest. But it leads, by a single step, to another truth in Natural Theology; that the egg must have been formed by some hand skilful in mechanism, and acting under the knowledge of dynamics. The forms of the bones and joints, and the tendons or cords which play over them, afford a variety of instances of the most perfect mechanical adjustment. Sometimes the power is sacrificed for rapidity of motion, and sometimes rapidity is sacrificed for power. Our knee-pan, or patella, throws off the tendon which is attached to it from the centre of motion, and therefore adds to the power of the muscles of the thigh, which enable us to rise or to leap. We have a mechanism of precisely the same kind in the lesser joints, where the bones, answering the purposes of the patella, are formed of a diminutive size.* In the toes of the ostrich, the material is different, but the mechanism is the same. An elastic cushion is placed between the tendon and the joint, which, whilst it throws off the tendon from the centre of motion, and therefore adds to the power of the flexor muscle, gives elasticity to the bottom of the foot. And we recognise the intention of this when we remember that this bird does not fly, but runs with great swiftness, and that the whole weight rests upon the foot, which has but little relative breadth; these elastic cushions serving, in some degree, the same office as the elastic frog of the horse's hoof, or the cushion in the bottom of the camel's foot.

The web-foot of the water-fowl is an inimitable paddle; and all the ingenuity of the present day exerted to improve our steam-boats makes nothing to approach it. The flexor tendon of the toes of the duck is so directed over the heads of the bones of the thigh and leg, that it is made tight when the creature bends its leg, and is relaxed when the leg is stretched out. When the bird draws its foot up, the toes are drawn together, in consequence of the bent position of the bones of the leg pressing on the tendon. When, on the contrary, it pushes the leg out straight, in making the stroke, the tendons are relieved from the pressure of the heel-bone, and the toes are permitted to be fully extended, and at the same time expanded, so that the web between them meets the resistance of a large volume of water.

In another class of birds, those which roost upon the branch of a tree, the same mechanism answers another purpose. The great length of the toes of these birds enables them to grasp the branch; yet were they supported by voluntary effort alone, and were there no other provision made, their grasp would relax in sleep. But, on the contrary, we know that they roost on one foot, and maintain a firm attitude. Borelli has taken pains to explain how this is. The muscle which bends the toes lies on the fore part of the thigh, and runs over the joint which corresponds with our knee-joint: from the fore part its tendon passes to the back part of the leg, and over the joint equivalent to our heel-bone: it

* Hence called *Sesamoid* from *Sesamum*, a kind of grain.

then splits, and extends in the bottom of the foot to the toes. The consequence of this singular course of the tendon is, that when the mere weight of the bird causes these two joints to bend under it, the tendon is stretched, or would be stretched, were it not that its divided extremities, inserted into the last bones of the toes, draw these toes so that they contract, and grasp the branch on which the bird roosts, without any effort whatever on its part.

These are facts learnt by induction; the inductive science of dynamics shows us that such mechanism is calculated to answer the end which, in point of fact, is attained. To conclude from thence that the mechanist contrived the means with the intention of producing this end, and with the knowledge of the science, is also strictly an inference of induction.

Examine now, in land animals, the structure of the larynx, the upper part of which is so contrived as to keep the windpipe closely shut by the valve thrown over its orifice, while the food is passing into the stomach, as it were, over a drawbridge, and, but for that valve, would fall into the lungs. No one can hesitate in ascribing this curious mechanism to the intention that the same opening of the throat and mouth should serve for conveying food to the stomach and air to the lungs, without any interference of the two operations. But that structure would not be sufficient for animals which live in the water, and must therefore, while they breathe at the surface, carry down their food to devour it below. In them accordingly, as in the whale and the porpoise, we find the valve is not flat, but prominent and somewhat conical, rising towards the back of the nose, and the continuation of the nostril by means of a ring (or *sphyncter*) muscle embraces the top of the windpipe so as to complete the communication between the lungs and the blow-hole, while it cuts off all communication between those lungs and the mouth.

Again, if we examine the structure of a porpoise's head, we find its cavities capable of great distention, and such that he can fill them at pleasure with air or with water, according as he would mount, float, or sink. By closing the blow-hole, he shuts out the water; by letting in the water, he can sink; by blowing from the lungs against the cavities, he can force out the water, and fill the hollows with air, in order to rise. No one can doubt that such facts afford direct evidence of an apt contrivance directed towards a specific object, and adopted by some power thoroughly acquainted with the laws of hydrostatics, as well as perfectly skilful in workmanship.

To draw an example from a very different source, let us observe the structure of the Planetary System. There is one particular arrangement which produces a certain effect—namely, the stability of the system,—produces it in a manner peculiarly adapted for perpetual duration, and produces it through the agency of an influence quite universal, pervading all space, and equally regulating the motions of the smallest particles of matter and of its most prodigious masses. This arrangement consists in making the planets move in orbits more or less elliptical, but none differing materially from circles, with the sun near the centre, revolving almost in one plane of motion, and moving in the same direction —those whose eccentricity is the most considerable having the smallest masses, and the larger ones deviating hardly at all from the circular path. The influence of gravitation, which is inseparably connected with all matter as far as we know, extends over the whole of this system; so that all those bodies which move round the sun—twenty-three planets including their satellites, and six or seven comets—are continually acting upon each by two kinds of force,—the original projection which sends them forward, and is accompanied with a similar and probably a coeval rotatory motion in some of them round their axis, and the attraction of each towards every other body, which attraction produces three several effects—consolidating the mass of each, and, in conjunction with the rotatory motion, moulding their forms—retaining each planet in its orbit round the sun, and each satellite in its orbit round the planet—altering or disturbing what would be the motion of each round the sun, if there were no other bodies in the system to attract and disturb. Now it is demonstrated by the strictest process of mathematical reasoning, that the result of the whole of these mutual actions, proceeding from the universal influence of gravitation, must necessarily, in consequence of the peculiar arrangement which has been described of the orbits and masses, and in consequence of the law by which gravitation acts, produce a constant alteration in the orbit of each body, which alteration goes on for thousands of years, very slowly making that orbit bulge, as it were, until it reaches a certain shape, when the alteration begins to take the opposite direction, and for an equal number of years goes on constantly, as it were, flattening the orbit, till it reaches a certain shape, when it stops, and then the bulging again begins; and that this alternate change of bulging and flattening must go on for ever by the same law, without ever exceeding on either side a certain point. All changes in the system are thus periodical, and its perpetual stability is completely secured. It is manifest that such an arrangement, so conducive to such a purpose, and so certainly accomplishing that purpose, could only have been made with the express design of attaining such an end—that some power exists capable of thus producing such wonderful order, so marvellous and wholly admirable a harmony, out of such numberless disturbances—and that this power was actuated by the intention of producing this effect.* The reasoning upon this subject, I have observed, is purely mathematical; but the facts respecting the system on which all the reasoning rests are known to us by induction alone: consequently, the grand truth respecting the secular disturbance, or the periodicity of the changes in the system—that discovery which makes the glory of Lagrange and Laplace, and constitutes the triumph of the Integral Calculus, whereof it is the fruit, and of the most patient course of astronomical observation whereon the analysis is grounded—may most justly be classed as a truth both of the Mixed Mathematics and of Natural Theology—for the theologian only adds a single short link to the chain of the physical astronomer's demonstration in order to reach the great Artificer from the phenomena of his system.

But let us examine further this matter. The position which we reach by a strict process of induction, is common to Natural Philosophy and Natural Theology—namely, that a given organ performs a given function, or a given arrangement possesses a certain stability, by its adaptation to mechanical laws. We have said that the process of reasoning is short and easy, by which we arrive at the doctrine more peculiar to Natural Theology—namely, that some power acquainted with and acting upon the knowledge of those laws, fashioned the organ with the intention of having the function performed, or constructed the system so that it might endure. Is not this last process as much one of strict induction as the other? It is plainly only a gene-

* Earum autem perenes cursus atque perpetui cum admirabili incredibilique constantia, declarant in his vim et mentem esse divinam, ut hæc ipsa qui non sentiat deorum vim habere, is nihil omnino sensurus esse videatur. *Cicero De Nat. Deo.* II. 21.

ralization of many particular facts; a reasoning from things known to things unknown; an inference of a new or unknown relation from other relations formerly observed and known. If, to take Dr. Paley's example, we pass over a common and strike the foot against a stone, we do not stop to ask who placed it there; but if we find that our foot has struck on a watch, we at once conclude that some mechanic made it, and that some one dropt it on the ground. Why do we draw this inference? Because all our former experience had told us that such machinery is the result of human skill and labor, and that it nowhere grows wild about, or is found in the earth. When we see that a certain effect, namely, distinct vision, is performed by an achromatic instrument, the eye, why do we infer that some one must have made it? Because we nowhere and at no time have had any experience of any one thing fashioning itself, and indeed cannot form to ourselves any distinct idea of what such a process as self-creation means; and further, because when we ourselves would produce a similar result, we have recourse to like means. Again, when we perceive the adaptation of natural objects and operations to a perceived end, and from thence infer design in the maker of these objects and superintender of these operations, why do we draw this conclusion? Because we know by experience that if we ourselves desired to accomplish a similar purpose, we should do so by the like adaptation; we know by experience that this is design in us, and that our proceedings are the result of such design; we know that if some of our works were seen by others, who neither were aware of our having made them, nor of the intention with which we made them, they would be right should they, from seeing and examining them, both infer that we had made them, and conjecture why we had made them. The same reasoning, by the help of experience, from what we know to what we cannot know, is manifestly the foundation of the inference, that the members of the body were fashioned for certain uses by a maker acquainted with their operations, and willing that those uses should be served.

Let us consider a branch of science which, if not wholly of modern introduction, has received of late years such vast additions that it may really be said to have its rise in our own times—I allude to the sublime speculations in Osteology prosecuted by Cuvier, Buckland, and others, in its connection with Zoological and Geological researches.

A comparative anatomist, of profound learning and marvellous sagacity, has presented to him what to common eyes would seem a piece of half-decayed bone, found in a wild, in a forest, or in a cave. By accurately examining its shape, particularly the form of its extremity or extremities (if both ends happen to be entire,) by close inspection of the texture of its surface, and by admeasurement of its proportions, he can with certainty discover the general form of the animal to which it belonged, its size as well as its shape, the economy of its viscera, and its general habits. Sometimes the investigation in such cases proceeds upon chains of reasoning where all the links are seen and understood; where the connection of the parts found, with other parts and with habitudes, is perceived, and the reason understood—as that the animal had a trunk, because the neck was short compared with its height; or that it ruminated, because its teeth were imperfect for complete mastication. But, frequently, the inquiry is as certain in its results, although some links of the chain are concealed from our view, and the conclusion wears a more empirical aspect—as, gathering that the animal ruminated, from observing the print of a cloven hoof, or that he had horns, from his wanting certain teeth, or that he wanted the collar-bone, from his having cloven hoofs. Limited experience having already shown such connections as facts, more extended experience will assuredly one day enable us to comprehend the reason of the connection.

The discoveries already made in this branch of science are truly wonderful, and they proceed upon the strictest rules of induction. It is shown that animals formerly existed on the globe, being unknown varieties of *species* still known; but it also appears that *species* existed, and even *genera*, wholly unknown for the last five thousand years. These peopled the earth, as it was, not before the general deluge, but before some convulsion long prior to that event had overwhelmed the countries then dry, and raised others from the bottom of the sea. In these curious inquiries, we are conversant not merely with the world before the flood, but with a world which, before the flood, was covered with water, and which, in far earlier ages, had been the habitation of birds, and beasts, and reptiles. We are carried, as it were, several worlds back, and we reach a period when all was water, and slime, and mud, and the waste, without either man or plants, gave resting place to enormous beasts like lions and elephants and river-horses, while the water was tenanted by lizards, the size of a whale, sixty or seventy feet long, and by others with huge eyes having shields of solid bone to protect them, and glaring from a neck ten feet in length, and the air was darkened by flying reptiles covered with scales, opening the jaws of the crocodile, and expanding wings, armed at the tips with the claws of the leopard.

No less strange, and yet no less proceeding from induction, are the discoveries made respecting the former state of the earth; the manner in which those animals, whether of known or unknown tribes, occupied it; and the period when, or, at least, the way in which they ceased to exist. Professor Buckland has demonstrated the identity with the hyena's of the animal's habits that cracked the bones which fill some of the caves, in order to come at the marrow; but he has also satisfactorily shown that it inhabited the neighborhood, and must have been suddenly exterminated by drowning. His researches have been conducted by experiments with living animals, as well as by observation upon the fossil remains.*

That this branch of scientific inquiry is singularly attractive all will allow. Nor will any one dispute that its cultivation demands great knowledge and skill. But this is not our chief purpose in referring to it. There can be as little doubt that the investigation, in the strictest sense of the term, forms a branch of physical science, and that this

* The researches both of Cuvier and Buckland, far from impugning the testimony to the great fact of a deluge borne by the Mosaic writings, rather fortify it; and bring additional proofs of the fallacy which, for some time, had led philosophers to ascribe a very high antiquity to the world we now live in.

The extraordinary sagacity of Cuvier is, perhaps, in no instance more shown, nor the singular nature of the science better illustrated, than in the correction which it enabled him to give the speculation of President Jefferson upon the *Megalonyx*—an animal which the President, from the size of a bone discovered, supposed to have existed, four times the size of an ox, and with the form and habits of the lion. Cuvier has irrefragably shown, by an acute and learned induction, that the animal was a sloth, living entirely upon vegetable food, but of enormous size, like a rhinoceros, and whose paws could tear up huge trees.

branch sprang legitimately from the grand root of the whole—induction; in a word, that the process of reasoning employed to investigate—the kind of evidence used to demonstrate its truths, is the modern analysis or induction taught by Bacon and practised by Newton. Now wherein, with reference to its nature and foundations, does it vary from the inquiries and illustrations of Natural Theology? When from examining a few bones, or it may be a single fragment of a bone, we infer that, in the wilds where we found it, there lived and ranged, some thousands of years ago, an animal wholly different from any we ever saw, and from any of which any account, any tradition, written or oral, has reached us, nay, from any that ever was seen by any person, of whose existence we ever heard, we assuredly are led to this remote conclusion, by a strict and rigorous process of reasoning; but, as certainly, we come through that process to the knowledge and belief of things unseen, both of us and of all men—things respecting which we have not, and cannot have, a single particle of evidence, either by sense or by testimony. Yet we harbor no doubt of the fact; we go farther, and not only implicitly believe the existence of this creature, for which we are forced to invent a name, but clothe it with attributes, till, reasoning step by step, we come at so accurate a notion of its form and habits, that we can represent the one, and describe the other, with unerring accuracy; picturing to ourselves how it looked, what it fed on, and how it continued its kind.

Now, the question is this: What perceivable difference is there between the kind of investigations we have just been considering, and those of Natural Theology—except, indeed, that the latter are far more sublime in themselves, and incomparably more interesting to us? Where is the logical precision of the arrangement, which would draw a broad line of demarcation between the two speculations, giving to the one the name and the rank of a science, and refusing it to the other, and affirming that the one rested upon induction, but not the other? We have, it is true, no experience directly of that Great Being's existence in whom we believe as our Creator; nor have we the testimony of any man relating such experience of his own. But so, neither we, nor any witnesses in any age, have ever seen those works of that Being, the lost animals that once peopled the earth; and yet the lights of inductive science have conducted us to a full knowledge of their nature, as well as a perfect belief in their existence. Without any evidence from our senses, or from the testimony of eye-witnesses, we believe in the existence and qualities of those animals, because we infer by the induction of facts that they once lived, and were endowed with a certain nature. This is called a doctrine of inductive philosophy. Is it less a doctrine of the same philosophy, that the eye could not have been made without a knowledge of optics, and as it could not make itself, and as no human artist, though possessed of the knowledge, has the skill and power to fashion it by his handiwork, that there must exist some being of knowledge, skill, and power, superior to our own, and sufficient to create it?

SECTION III.

COMPARISON OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BRANCH OF NATURAL THEOLOGY WITH PSYCHOLOGY.

HITHERTO, our argument has rested upon a comparison of the truths of Natural Theology with those of Physical Science. But the evidences of design presented by the universe are not merely those which the material world affords; the intellectual system is equally fruitful in proofs of an intelligent cause, although these have occupied little of the philosopher's attention, and may, indeed, be said never to have found a place among the speculations of the Natural Theologian. Nothing is more remarkable than the care with which all the writers upon this subject, at least among the moderns, have confined themselves to the proofs afforded by the visible and sensible works of nature, while the evidence furnished by the mind and its operations has been wholly neglected.* The celebrated book of Ray on the Wonders of the Creation seems to assume that the human soul has no separate existence—that it forms no part of the created system. Derham has written upon Astro-theology and Physico-theology as if the heavens *alone* proclaimed the glory of God, and the earth *only* showed forth his handiwork; for his only mention of intellectual nature is in the single chapter of the Physico-theology on the soul, in which he is content with two observations: one, on the variety of man's inclinations, and another, on his inventive powers—giving nothing which precisely proves design. Dr. Paley, whose work is chiefly taken from the writings of Derham, deriving from them its whole plan and much of its substance, but clothing the harsher statement of his original in an attractive and popular style,† had so little of scientific habits, so moderate a power of generalizing, that he never once mentions the mind, or any of the intellectual phenomena, nor ever appears to consider them as forming a portion of the works or operations of nature. Thus, all these authors view the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, the structure of animals, the organization of plants, and the various operations of the material world which we see carried on around us, as indicating the existence of design, and leading to a knowledge of the Creator. But they pass over in silence, unaccountably enough, by far the most singular work of divine wisdom and power—the mind itself. Is there any reason whatever to draw this line; to narrow within these circles the field of Natural Theology; to draw from the constitution and habits of matter alone the proof that one Intelligent Cause formed and supports the universe? Ought we not rather to consider the phenomena of the mind as more peculiarly adapted to help this inquiry, and as bearing a nearer relation to the Great Intelligence which created and which maintains the system?

There cannot be a doubt that this extraordinary omission had its origin in the doubts which men are prone to entertain of the mind's existence independent of matter. The eminent persons above named‡ were not materialists, that is to say, if you had asked them the question, they would have answered in the negative; they would have gone farther, and asserted their belief in the separate existence of the

* Note II.

† This observation in nowise diminishes the peculiar merit of the style, and also of the homely, but close and logical, manner in which the argument is put; nor does it deny the praise of bringing down the facts of former writers, and adapting them to the improved state of physical science—a merit the more remarkable, that Paley wrote his Natural Theology at the close of his life.

‡ Some have thought, unjustly, that the language of Paley rather savors of materialism; but it may be doubted whether he was fully impressed with the evidence of mental existence. His limited and unexercised powers of abstract discussion, and the natural predilection for what he handled so well—a practical argument level to all comprehensions—appear not to have given him any taste for metaphysical speculations.

soul independent of the body. But they never felt this as strongly as they were persuaded of the natural world's existence. Their habits of thinking led them to consider matter as the only certain existence—as that which composed the universe—as alone forming the subject of our contemplations—as furnishing the only materials for our inquiries, whether respecting structure or habits and operations. They had no firm, definite, abiding, precise idea of any other existence respecting which they could reason and speculate. They saw and they felt external objects; they could examine the lenses of the eye, the valves of the veins and arteries, the ligaments and the sockets of the joints, the bones and the drum of the ear; but though they now and then made mention of the mind, and, when forced to the point, would acknowledge a belief in it, they never were fully and intimately persuaded of its separate existence. They thought of it and of matter very differently; they gave *its* structure, and *its* habits, and *its* operations, no place in their inquiries; their contemplations never rested upon it with any steadiness, and, indeed, scarcely ever even glanced upon it at all. That this is a very great omission, proceeding, if not upon mere carelessness, upon a grievous fallacy, there can be no doubt whatever.

The evidence for the existence of mind is to the full as complete as that upon which we believe in the existence of matter. Indeed, it is more certain and more irrefragable. The consciousness of existence, the perpetual sense that we are thinking, and that we are performing the operation quite independently of all material objects, proves to us the existence of a being different from our bodies, with a degree of evidence higher than any we can have for the existence of those bodies themselves, or of any other part of the material world. It is certain—proved, indeed, to demonstration—that many of the perceptions of matter which we derive through the senses are deceitful, and seem to indicate that which has no reality at all. Some inferences which we draw respecting it are confounded with direct sensation or perception, for example, the idea of motion; other ideas, as those of hardness and solidity, are equally the result of reasoning, and often mislead. Thus, we never doubt, on the testimony of our senses, that the parts of matter touch—that different bodies come in contact with one another, and with our organs of sense; and yet nothing is more certain than that there still is some small distance between the bodies which we think we perceive to touch. Indeed, it is barely possible that all the sensations and perceptions which we have of the material world may be only ideas in our own minds; it is barely possible, therefore, that matter should have no existence. But that mind—that the sentient principle—that the thing or the being we call "*I*" and "*we*," and which thinks, feels, reasons—should have no existence, is a contradiction in terms. Of the two existences, then, that of mind as independent of matter is more certain than that of matter apart from mind. In a subsequent branch of this discourse,* we shall have occasion to treat again of this question, when the constitution of the soul with reference to its future existence becomes the subject of discussion. At present we have only to keep steadily in view the undoubted fact, that mind is quite as much an integral part of the universe as matter.

It follows that the constitution and functions of the mind are as much the subjects of inductive reasoning and investigation, as the structure and actions of matter. The mind equally with matter is the proper subject of observation, by means of consciousness, which enables us to arrest and examine our own thoughts: it is even the subject of experiment, by the power which we have, through the efforts of abstraction and attention, of turning those thoughts into courses not natural to them, not spontaneous, and watching the results.* Now the phenomena of mind, at the knowledge of which we arrive by this inductive process, the only legitimate intellectual philosophy, afford as decisive proofs of design as do the phenomena of matter, and they furnish those proofs by the strict method of induction. In other words, we study the nature and operations of the mind, and gather from them evidences of design, by one and the same species of reasoning, the induction of facts. A few illustrations of these positions may be useful, because this branch of the science has, as we have seen, been unaccountably neglected by philosophers and theologians.

First. The structure of the mind, in every way in which we can regard it, affords evidences of the most skilful contrivance. All that adapts it so admirably to the operations which it performs, all its faculties, are plainly means working to an end.—Among the most remarkable of these is the power of *reasoning*, or first comparing ideas and drawing conclusions from the comparison, and then comparing together those conclusions or judgments. In this process, the great instrument is *attention*, as indeed it is the most important of all the mental faculties. It is the power by which the mind fixes itself upon a subject, and its operations are facilitated by many contrivances of nature, without which the effort would be painful, if not impossible—voluntary attention being the most difficult of all acts of the understanding.

Observe, then, in the *second* place, the helps which are provided for the exertion of this faculty. *Curiosity*, or the thirst of knowledge, is one of the chief of these. This desire renders any new idea the source of attraction, and makes the mind almost involuntarily, and with gratification rather than pain, bend and apply itself to whatever has the quality of novelty to rouse it. But *association* gives additional facilities of the same kind, and makes us attend with satisfaction to ideas which formerly were present and familiar, and the revival of which gives pleasure oftentimes as sensible as that of novelty, though of an opposite kind. Then, again, *habit*, in this, as in all other operations of our faculties, has the most powerful influence, and enables us to undergo intellectual labor with ease and comfort.

Thirdly. Consider the phenomena of *memory*.—This important faculty, without which no intellectual progress whatever could be made, is singularly adapted to its uses. The tenacity of our recollection is in proportion to the attention which has been exercised upon the several objects of contemplation at the time they were submitted to the mind.—Hence it follows, that by exerting a more vigorous attention, by detaining ideas for some time under our view, as it were, while they pass through the mind or before it, we cause them to make a deeper impression upon the memory, and are thus enabled to recollect those things the longest which we most desire to keep in mind. Hence, too, whatever facilitates attention, whatever excites it, as we sometimes say, helps the memory; so that we recollect those things the longest which were most striking at the time. But those things are, generally speaking, most striking, and most excite the attention, which are in themselves most important. In proportion, therefore, as any thing is most useful, or for

* Sec. V. and Note IV.

* An instance will occur in the *Fifth* Section of this Part, in which experiments upon the course of our thoughts in sleep are described.

any reason most desirable to be remembered, it is most easily stored up in our memory.

We may observe, however, in the *fourth* place, that readiness of memory is almost as useful as tenacity—quickness of bringing out as power of retention. *Habit* enables us to tax our recollection with surprising facility and certainty; as any one must be aware who has remarked the extraordinary feats performed by boys trained to learn things by heart, and especially to recollect numbers in calculating. From the same force of habit we derive the important power of forming artificial or conventional associations between ideas—of tacking, as it were, one to the other, in order to have them more under our control; and hence the relation between arbitrary signs and the things signified, and the whole use of language, whether ordinary or algebraical: hence, too, the formation of what is called artificial memory, and of all the other helps to recollection. But a help is provided for quickness of memory, independent of any habit or training, in what may be termed the natural association of ideas, whereby one thing suggests another from various relations of likeness, contrast, contiguity, and so forth. The same association of ideas is of constant use in the exercise of the inventive faculty, which mainly depends upon it, and which is the great instrument not only in works of imagination, but in conducting all processes of original investigation by pure reasoning.

Fifthly. The effect of *habit* upon our whole intellectual system deserves to be further considered, though we have already adverted to it. It is a law of our nature that any exertion becomes more easy the more frequently it is repeated. This might have been otherwise; it might have been just the contrary, so that each successive operation should have been more difficult; and it is needless to dwell upon the slowness of our progress, as well as the painfulness of all our exertions, say, rather, the impossibility of our making any advances in learning, which must have been the result of such an intellectual conformation. But the influence of habit upon the exercise of all our faculties is valuable beyond expression. It is indeed the great means of our improvement both intellectual and moral, and it furnishes us with the chief, almost the only, power we possess of making the different faculties of the mind obedient to the will. Whoever has observed the extraordinary feats performed by calculators, orators, rhymers, musicians, nay, by artists of all descriptions, can want no further proof of the power that man derives from the contrivances by which habits are formed in all mental exertions. The performances of the Italian *Improvvisatori*, or makers of poetry off-handed upon any presented subject, and in almost any kind of stanza, are generally cited as the most surprising efforts in this kind. But the power of *extempore speaking* is not less singular, though more frequently displayed, at least in this country. A practised orator will declaim in measured and in various periods—will weave his discourse into one texture—form parenthesis within parenthesis—excite the passions, or move to laughter—take a turn in his discourse from an accidental interruption, making it the topic of his rhetoric for five minutes to come, and pursuing in like manner the new illustrations to which it gives rise—mould his diction with a view to attain or to shun an epigrammatic point, or an alliteration, or a discord; and all this with so much assured reliance on his own powers, and with such perfect ease to himself, that he shall even plan the next sentence while he is pronouncing off-hand the one he is engaged with, adapting each to the other, and shall look forward to the topic which is to follow and fit in the close of the one he is handling to be its introducer; nor shall any auditor be able to discover the least difference between all this and the portion of his speech which he has got by heart, or tell the transition from the one to the other.

Sixth. The feelings and the passions with which we are moved or agitated are devised for purposes apparent enough, and to effect which their adaptation is undeniable. That of love tends to the continuance of the species; the *affections*, to the rearing of the young; and the former are fitted to the difference of sex, as the latter are to that of age. Generally there are feelings of *sympathy* excited by distress and by weakness, and these beget attachment towards their objects, and a disposition to relieve them or to support. Both individuals and societies at large gain by the effects thence arising of union and connection, and mutual help. So *hope*, of which the seeds are indigenous in all bosoms, and which springs up like certain plants in the soil as often as it is allowed to repose, encourages all our labors, and sustains us in every vicissitude of fortune, as well as under all the toils of our being. *Fear*, again, is the teacher of caution, prudence, circumspection, and preserves us from danger. Even *anger*, generally so painful, is not without its use; for it stimulates to defence, and it oftentimes assuages the pain given to our more tender feelings by the harshness of ingratitude, or injustice, or treachery of those upon whom our claims were the strongest, and whose cruelty or whose baseness would enter like steel into the soul, were no reaction excited to deaden and to protect it. *Contempt*, or even *pity*, is calculated to exercise the same healing influence.* Then, to go no further, *curiosity* is implanted in all minds to a greater or a less degree; it is proportioned to the novelty of objects, and consequently to our ignorance, and its immediate effects are to fix our attention, to stimulate our apprehensive powers, by deepening the impressions of all ideas on our minds, to give the memory a hold over them; to make all intellectual exertion easy, and convert into a pleasure the toil that would otherwise be a pain. Can any thing be more perfectly contrived as an instrument of instruction, and an instrument precisely adapted to the want of knowledge, by being more powerful in proportion to the ignorance in which we are? Hence it is the great means by which, above all in early infancy, we are taught every thing most necessary for our physical as well as moral existence. In riper years it smooths the way for further acquirements to most men; to some, in whom it is strongest, it opens the paths of science; but in all, without any exception, it prevails at the beginning of life so powerfully as to make them learn the faculties of their own bodies, and the general properties of those around them—an amount of knowledge which, for its extent and its practical usefulness, very far exceeds, though the most ignorant possess it, whatever additions the greatest philosophers are enabled to build upon it in the longest course of the most successful investigations.

Nor is it the curiosity natural to us all that alone tends to the acquirement of knowledge; the *desire of communicating* it is a strong propensity of our nature, and conduces to the same important end. There is a positive pleasure as well in teaching others what they knew not before, as in learning what we did not know ourselves; and it is undeniable that all this might have been differently arranged without a material alteration of our intellect-

* "Atque illi (Crantor et Panætius) quidem etiam utiliter a natura dicebant permotiones istas animis nostris datas, metum cavendi causa; misericordiam ægritudinemque clementiæ; ipsam iracundiam fortitudinis quasi cotem esse dicebant."—*Acad. Quæst.* iv. 44.

ual and moral constitution in other respects. The propensity might have been, like the perverted desires of the miser, to retain what we know without communication, as it might have been made painful instead of pleasurable to acquire new ideas, by novelty being rendered repulsive, and not agreeable. The stagnation of our faculties, the suspension of mental exertion, the obscuration of the intellectual world, would have followed as certainly as universal darkness would veil the universe on the extinction of the sun.

Thus far we have been considering the uses to which the mental faculties and feelings are subservient, and their admirable adaptation to these ends. But view the intellectual world as a whole, and surely it is impossible to contemplate without amazement the extraordinary spectacle which the mind of man displays, and the immense progress which it has been able to make in consequence of its structure, its capacity, and its propensities, such as we have just been describing them. If the brightness of the heavenly bodies, the prodigious velocity of their motions, their vast distances and mighty bulk, fill the imagination with awe, there is the same wonder excited by the brilliancy of the intellectual powers—the inconceivable swiftness of thought—the boundless range which our fancy can take—the vast objects which our reason can embrace. That we should have been able to resolve the elements into their more simple constituents—to analyze the subtile light which fills all space—to penetrate from that remote particle in the universe, of which we occupy a speck, into regions infinitely remote—ascertain the weight of bodies at the surface of the most distant worlds—investigate the laws that govern their motions, or mould their forms—and calculate to a second of time the periods of their re-appearance during the revolution of centuries,—all this is in the last degree amazing, and affords much more food for admiration than any of the phenomena of the material creation. Then what shall we say of that incredible power of generalization which has enabled some even to anticipate by ages the discovery of truths the farthest removed above ordinary apprehension, and the most savoring of improbability and fiction—not merely of a Clairaut conjecturing the existence of a seventh planet, and the position of its orbit, but of a Newton learnedly and sagaciously inferring, from the refraction of light, the inflammable quality of the diamond, the composition of apparently the simplest of the elements, and the opposite nature of the two ingredients, unknown for a century after, of which it is composed ?* Yet there is something more marvellous still in the processes of thought, by which such prodigies have been performed, and in the force of the mind itself, when it acts wholly without external aid, borrowing nothing whatever from matter, and relying on its own powers alone. The most abstruse investigations of the mathematician are conducted without any regard to sensible objects; and the helps he derives in his reasonings from material things at all, are absolutely insignificant, compared with the portion of his work which is altogther of an abstract kind—the aid of figures and letters being only to facilitate and abridge his labor, and not at all essential to his progress. Nay, strictly speaking, there are no truths in the whole range of the pure mathematics which might not, by possibility, have been discovered and systematized by one deprived of sight and touch, or immured in a dark chamber, without the use of a single material object. The instrument of Newton's most sublime speculations, the *calculus* which he invented, and the astonishing systems reared by its means, which have given immortality to the names of Euler, Lagrange, Laplace, all are the creatures of pure abstract thought, and all might, by possibility, have existed in their present magnificence and splendor, without owing to material agency any help whatever, except such as might be necessary for their recording and communication. These are, surely, the greatest of all the wonders of nature, when justly considered, although they speak to the understanding and not to the sense. Shall we, then, deny that the eye could be made without skill in optics, and yet admit that the mind could be fashioned and endowed without the most exquisite of all skill, or could proceed from any but an intellect of infinite power?

At first sight, it may be deemed that there is an essential difference between the evidence from mental and from physical phenomena. It may be thought that mind is of a nature more removed beyond our power than matter—that over the masses of matter man can himself exercise some control—that, to a certain degree, he has a plastic power—that into some forms he can mould them, and can combine into a certain machinery—that he can begin and can continue motion, and can produce a mechanism by which it may be begun, and maintained, and regulated—while mind, it may be supposed, is wholly beyond his reach; over it he has no grasp; its existence alone is known to him, and the laws by which it is regulated; and thus, it may be said, the great First Cause, which alone can call both matter and mind into existence, has alone the power of modulating intellectual nature. But, when the subject is well considered, this difference between the two branches of science disappears with all the rest. It is admitted, of course, that we can no more create matter than we can mind; and we can influence mind in a way altogether analogous to our power of modulating matter. By means of the properties of matter we can form instruments, machines, and figures. So, by availing ourselves of the properties of mind, we can affect the intellectual faculties—exercising them, training them, improving them, producing, as it were, new forms of the understanding. Nor is there a greater difference between the mass of rude iron from which we make steel, and the thousands of watch-springs into which that steel is cut, or the chronometer which we form of this and other masses equally inert—than there is between the untutored indocile faculties of a rustic, who has grown up to manhood without education, and the skill of the artist who invented that chronometer, and of the mathematician who uses it to trace the motions of the heavenly bodies.

Although writers on Natural Theology have altogether neglected, at least in modern times, that branch of the subject at large with which we have now been occupied, there is one portion of it which has always attracted their attention—the *Instincts* of animals. These are unquestionably mental faculties, which we discover by observation and consciousness, but which are themselves wholly unconnected with any exercise of reason. They exhibit, however, the most striking proofs of design, for they all tend immediately to the preservation or to the comfort of the animals endowed with them. The lower animals are provided with a far greater variety of instincts, and of a more singular kind than man, because they have only the most circumscribed range and feeblest powers of reason, while to reason man is in almost every thing indebted. Yet it would be as erroneous to deny that we are endowed with any instincts, because so much is ac-

* Further induction may add to the list of these wonderful conjectures, the thin ether, of which he even calculated the density and the effects upon planetary motion. Certainly the acceleration of Encke's comet does seem to render this by no means improbable.

complished by reason, as it would be rash to conclude that other animals are wholly destitute of reasoning, because they owe so much to instinct.—Granting that infants learn almost all those animal functions which are of a voluntary nature, by an early exercise of reason, it is plain that instinct alone guides them in others which are necessary to continue their life, as well as to begin their instruction; for example, they suck, and even swallow by instinct, and by instinct they grasp what is presented to their hands. So, allowing that the brutes exercise but very rarely, and in a limited extent, the reasoning powers, it seems impossible to distinguish from the operations of reason those instances of sagacity which some dogs exhibit in obeying the directions of their master, and indeed generally the docility shown by them and other animals; not to mention the ingenuity of birds in breaking hard substances by letting them drop from a height, and in bringing the water of a deep pitcher nearer their beaks by throwing in pebbles. These are different from the operations of instinct, because they are acts which vary with circumstances novel and unexpectedly varying; they imply therefore the adaptation of means to an end, and the power of varying those means when obstacles arise: we can have no evidence of design, that is of reason, in other men, which is not similar to the proof of reason in animals afforded by such facts as these.

But the operations of pure instinct, by far the greater portion of the exertions of brutes, have never been supposed by any one to result from reasoning, and certainly they do afford the most striking proofs of an intelligent cause, as well as of a unity of design in the world. The work of bees is among the most remarkable of all facts in both these respects. The form is in every country the same—the proportions accurately alike—the size the very same to the fraction of a line, go where you will; and the form is proved to be that which the most refined analysis has enabled mathematicians to discover as of all others the best adapted for the purposes of saving room, and work, and materials. This discovery was only made about a century ago; nay, the instrument that enabled us to find it out—the *fluxional calculus*—was unknown half a century before that application of its powers. And yet the bee had been for thousands of years, in all countries, unerringly working according to this fixed rule, choosing the same exact angle of 120 degrees for the inclination of the sides of its little room, which every one had for ages known to be the best possible angle, but also choosing the same exact angles of 110 and 70 degrees, for the parallelograms of the roof, which no one had ever discovered till the 18th century, when Maclaurin solved that most curious problem of *maxima* and *minima*, the means of investigating which had not existed till the century before, when Newton invented the *calculus* whereby such problems can now be easily worked. It is impossible to conceive any thing more striking as a proof of refined skill than the creation of such instincts, and it is a skill altogether applied to the formation of intellectual existence.

Now, all the inferences drawn from the examination which we have just gone through of psychological phenomena, are drawn according to the strict rules of inductive science. The facts relating to the velocity of mental operations—to the exercise of attention—to its connection with memory—to the helps derived from curiosity and from habit—to the association of ideas—to the desires, feelings, and passions—and to the adjoining provinces of reason and instinct—are all discovered by consciousness or by observation; and we even can make experiments upon the subject by varying the circumstances in which the mental powers are exercised by ourselves and others, and marking the results. The facts thus collected and compared together we are enabled to generalize, and thus to show that certain effects are produced by an agency calculated to produce them. Aware that if we desired to produce them, and had the power to employ this agency, we should resort to it for accomplishing our purpose, we infer both that some being exists capable of creating this agency, and that he employs it for this end. The process of reasoning is not like, but identical with, that by which we infer the existence of design in others (than ourselves) with whom we have daily intercourse. The kind of evidence is not like, but identical with, that by which we conduct all the investigations of intellectual and of natural science.

Such is the process of reasoning by which we infer the existence of design in the natural and moral world. To this abstract argument an addition of great importance remains to be made. The whole reasoning proceeds necessarily upon the assumption that there exists a being or thing separate from, and independent of, matter, and conscious of its own existence, which we call *mind*. For the argument is—"Had I to accomplish this purpose, I should have used some such means;" or, "Had I used these means, I should have thought I was accomplishing some such purpose." Perceiving the adaptation of the means to the end, the inference is, that some being has acted as we should ourselves act, and with the same views. But when we so speak, and so reason, we are all the while referring to an intelligent principle or existence; we are referring to our mind, and not to our bodily frame. The agency which we infer from this reasoning is, therefore, a spiritual and immaterial agency—the working of something like our own mind—an intelligence like our own, though incomparably more powerful and more skilful. The being of whom we thus acquire a knowledge, and whose operations as well as existence we thus deduce from a process of inductive reasoning, must be a spirit, and wholly immaterial. But his being such is only inferred because we set out with assuming the separate existence of our own mind, independently of matter. Without that we never could conclude that superior *intelligence* existed or acted. The belief that mind exists is essential to the whole argument by which we infer that the Deity exists. This belief we have shown to be perfectly well grounded, and further occasions of confirming the truth of it will occur under another head of discourse.* But at any rate it is the foundation of Natural Theology in all its branches; and upon the scheme of materialism no rational, indeed no intelligible, account can be given of a first cause, or of the creation or government of the universe.†

* Sect. V., and Note IV.

† It is worthy of observation, that not the least allusion is made in Dr. Paley's work to the argument here stated, although it is the foundation of the whole of Natural Theology. Not only does this author leave entirely untouched the argument *a priori* (as it is called,) and also all the inductive arguments derived from the phenomena of mind, but he does not even advert to the argument upon which the inference of design must of necessity rest—that design which is the whole subject of his book. Nothing can more evince his distaste or incapacity for metaphysical researches. He assumes the very position which alone skeptics dispute. In combating him they would assert that he begged the whole question; for certainly they do not deny, at least in modern times, the *fact* of adaptation. As to the fundamental doctrine of causation, not the least allusion is ever made to it in any of his writings, even in his Moral Philosophy. This doctrine is discussed in Note III.

The preceding observations have been directed to the inquiries respecting the design exhibited in the universe. But the other parts of the first great branch of natural theology come strictly within the scope of the same reasoning. Thus, all the proofs of the Deity's *personality*, that is, his individuality, his unity; all the evidence which we have of his works, showing throughout not only that they proceeded from design, but that the design is of one distinctive kind—that they come from the hand not only of an intelligent being, but of a being whose intellect is specifically peculiar, and always of the same character; all these proofs are in the most rigorous sense inductive.

SECTION IV.

OF THE ARGUMENT A PRIORI.

Hitherto we have confined our attention to the evidence of Natural Religion afforded by the phenomena of the universe—what is commonly termed the argument *a posteriori*. But some ingenious men, conceiving that the existence and attributes of a Deity are discoverable by reasoning merely, and without reference to facts, have devised what they term the argument *a priori*, of which it is necessary now to speak.

The *first* thing that strikes us on this subject is the consequence which must inevitably follow from admitting the possibility of discerning the existence of the Deity and his attributes *a priori*, or wholly independent of facts. It would follow that this is a necessary, not a contingent truth, and that it is not only as impossible for the Deity not to exist, as for the whole to be greater than the sum of its parts, but that it is equally impossible for his attributes to be other than the argument is supposed to prove they are. Thus, the reasoners in question show by the argument *a priori*, that he is a being of perfect wisdom and perfect benevolence. Dr. Clarke is as clear of this as he is clear that his existence is proved by the same argument. Now, first, it is impossible that any such truths can be necessary; for their contraries are not things wholly inconceivable, inasmuch as there is nothing at all inconceivable in the Maker of the universe existing as a being of limited power and of mixed goodness, nay, of malevolence. We never, before all experience, could pronounce it mathematically impossible that such a being should exist, and should have created the universe. But next, the facts, when we came to examine them, *might* disprove the conclusions drawn *a priori*. The universe *might* by possibility be so constructed that every contrivance might fail to produce the desired effect—the eye might be chromatic and give indistinct images—the joints might be so unhinged as to impede motion—every smell, as Paley has it, might be a stink, and every touch a sting. Indeed, we know that, perfect as the frame of things actually is, a few apparent exceptions to the general beauty of the system have made many disbelieve the perfect power and perfect goodness of the Deity, and invent Manichean theories to account for the existence of evil. Nothing can more clearly show the absurdity of those arguments by which it is attempted to demonstrate the truths of this science as mathematical or necessary, and cognizable *a priori*.

But, *secondly*, let us see whether the argument in question be really one *a priori*, or only a very imperfect process of induction—an induction from a limited number of facts.

Dr. Clarke is the chief patron of this kind of demonstration, as he terms it; and though his book contains it more at large, the statement of his fundamental argument is, perhaps, to be found most distinctly given in the letters subjoined to that celebrated work. The fundamental propositions in the discourse itself are, That something must have existed from all eternity, and that this something must have been a being independent and self-existent. In the letters he condenses, perhaps explains, certainly illustrates, these positions, (see Answers to Letters 3, 4, and 5,) by arguing that the existence of space and time (or, as he terms it, duration) proves the existence of something whereof these are qualities, for they are not themselves substances; he cites the celebrated *Scholium Generale* of the *Principia;* and he concludes that the Deity must be the infinite being of whom they are qualities.

But to argue from the existence of space and time to the existence of any thing else, is assuming that those two things have a real being independent of our conceptions of them: for the existence of certain ideas in our minds cannot be the foundation on which to build a conclusion that any thing external to our minds exists. To infer that space and time are qualities of an infinite and eternal being is surely assuming the very thing to be proved, if a proposition can be said to have a distinct meaning at all which predicates space and time as qualities of any thing. What, for example, is time but the succession of ideas, and the consciousness and the recollection which we have of that succession? To call it a quality is absurd, as well might we call motion a quality, or our ideas of absent things and persons a quality.

Again, if space is to be deemed a quality, and if infinite space be the quality of an infinite being, finite space must also be a quality, and must, by parity of reason, be the quality of a finite being. Of what being? Here is a cube of one foot within an exhausted receiver, or a cylinder of half an inch diameter and three inches high in the Torricellian vacuum. What is the being of whom that square and that cylindrical space are to be deemed as qualities? Is distance, that is, the supposed movement of a point in a straight line *ad infinitum*, a quality? It must be so, if infinite space is. Then of what is it a quality? If infinite space is the quality of an infinite being, infinite distance must be the quality of an infinite being also. But can it be said to be the quality of the same infinite being? Observe that the mind can form just as correct an idea of infinite distance as of infinite space, or, rather, it can form a somewhat more distinct idea. But the being to be inferred from this infinite distance cannot be exactly the same in kind with that to be inferred from space infinite in all directions. Again, if infinite distance shows an infinite being of whom it is the quality, finite distance must be the quality of a finite being. What being? Of what kind of being is the distance between two trees or two points a quality? There can be no doubt that this argument rests either upon the use of words without meaning, or it is a disguised form of the old doctrine of the *anima mundi*, or of the hypothesis that the whole universe is a mere emanation of the Deity.

But it deserves to be remarked that this argument, which professes to be *a priori*, and wholly independent of all experience, is, strictly speaking, inductive, and nothing more. We can have no idea whatever of space apart from experience. The experience of space filled with matter enables us, by means of abstraction, to conceive space without the matter; and a farther abstraction and generalization enable us to conceive infinite space by imagining the limits indefinitely removed of a particular portion of space. But the foundation of the whole reasoning is the experience of certain finite portions of space first observed in connection with matter. Therefore our ideas of space are the result of our experience as to external objects. Even if we could

fancy figure (which is possible) without having seen or touched any objects external to ourselves, still it would be the experience of our own ideas that had given us this idea. So of time; it is the succession of our ideas, and we have the notion of it from consciousness and memory. From hence we form an idea of indefinite time or eternal duration. But the basis of the whole is the observation which we have made upon the actual succession of our ideas; and this is inductive, though the process of reasoning be very short. It is as much a process of inductive reasoning as that by which we arrive at the knowledge of the mind's existence. There is, therefore, great inaccuracy in denominating the argument in question, were it ever so sound, an argument *a priori*, for it is a reasoning founded on experience, and it is to be classed with the arguments derived from the observation of external objects, the ground of our reasoning *a posteriori* as to matter, or, at the utmost, with the information given by consciousness, the whole ground of our reasoning *a posteriori* as to mind.

When, however, Dr. Clarke has once fixed the propositions to which we have been adverting, he deduces from them the whole qualities of the Deity —those which we learn from experience—and thinks he can derive them all from the simple propositions that lie at the foundation of his argument. It is truly astonishing to find so profound a thinker, and, generally speaking, so accurate a reasoner, actually supposing that he can deduce from the proposition, that a self-existent being must have existed from all time, this other proposition that, therefore, this being must be infinitely wise, (Prop. XI.) and that he "must of necessity be a being of infinite goodness, justice, and truth, and all other moral perfections, such as become the supreme *governor* and *judge* of the world." (Prop. XII.) With the general texture of this argument we have at present nothing to do, further than to show how little it can by possibility deserve the name either of an argument *a priori*, or be regarded as the demonstration of a necessary truth. For surely, prior to all experience, no one could ever know that there were such things as either judges or governors; and without the previous idea of a finite or worldly ruler and judge, we could never gain any idea of an eternal and infinitely just ruler or judge; and equally certain it is that this demonstration, if it proves the existence of an infinite and eternal ruler or judge to be a necessary and not a contingent truth (which is Dr. Clarke's whole argument,) would just as strictly prove the existence of finite rulers and judges to be a necessary and not a contingent truth; or, in other words, it would follow, that the existence of governors and judges in the world is a necessary truth, like the equality of the three angles in a triangle to two right angles, and that it would be a contradiction in terms, and so an impossibility, to conceive the world existing without governors and judges.

I believe it may safely be said, that very few men have ever formed a distinct apprehension of the nature of Dr. Clarke's celebrated argument, and that hardly any person has ever been at all satisfied with it. The opinion of Dr. Reid is well known upon this subject, and it has received the full acquiescence of no less an authority than that of Mr. Stewart.

"These," says Dr. Reid, "are the speculations of men of superior genius; but whether they be as solid as they are sublime, or whether they be the wanderings of imagination in a region beyond the limits of human understanding, I am unable to determine."

To this Mr. Stewart adds—"After this candid acknowledgment from Dr. Reid, I need not be ashamed to confess my own doubts and difficulties on the same subject."*

That the argument *a priori* has been most explicitly handled by Dr. Clarke, and that its acceptation rests principally upon his high authority, cannot be denied. Nevertheless, other great men preceded him in this field; and besides Sir Isaac Newton, whose *Scholium Generale* is thought to have suggested it, the same reasoning is to be found in the writings of others of Dr. Clarke's predecessors.

The tenth chapter of Mr. Locke's fourth book does not materially differ, in its fundamental position, from the "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes." The argument is all drawn from the truth, assumed as self-evident, "Nothing can no more produce any real being than it can be equal to two right angles." From this, and the knowledge we have of our own existence, it is shown to follow, that "from eternity there has been something:" and again, "that this eternal being must have been most powerful and most knowing," and "therefore God." The only difference between this argument and Dr. Clarke's is, that Mr. Locke states, as one of his propositions, our knowledge of our own existence. But this difference is only in appearance; for Dr. Clarke really has assumed what Mr. Locke has more logically made a distinct proposition. Dr. Clarke's first proposition, that something must have existed from all eternity, is demonstrated by showing the absurdity of the supposition that "the things which now are were produced out of nothing." He therefore assumes the existence of those things, while Mr. Locke more strictly assumes the existence of ourselves only, and indeed states it as a proposition. The other arguments of Mr. Locke are more ingenious than Dr. Clarke's, and the whole reasoning is more rigorous, although he does not give it the name of a demonstration, and scarcely can be said to treat it as proving the Deity's existence to be a necessary truth. Were it to be so considered, the objections formerly stated would apply to it. Indeed, if Dr. Clarke had stated the different steps of his reasoning as distinctly as Mr. Locke, he would have perceived it to be inconclusive beyond a very limited extent, and to that extent inductive.†

Dr. Cudworth, in the fifth chapter of his great work,‡ has, in answering the Democritick arguments, so plainly anticipated Dr. Clarke, that it is hardly possible to conceive how the latter should have avoided referring to it.§ "If space be indeed a nature distinct from body, and a thing really incorporeal, then will it undeniably follow, from this very principle of theirs (the Democritists.) that there must be incorporeal space; and (this space being supposed by them also to be infinite) an infinite incorporeal Deity. Because if space be not the extension of body, nor an affection thereof, then must it of necessity be, either an accident existing alone by itself, without a substance, which is impossible; or else the extension or affection of some other incorporeal substance that is infinite." He then supposes a reply (founded on the doctrines of Gassendi,) that space is of a middle nature and

* Philosophy of the Active Powers, i. 334.

† See particularly Mr. Locke's proofs of his first position. (Hum. Understanding, IV. x. sec. 2.)

‡ Intellectual System, Book I., c. v., s. 3. par. 4. The profound learning of this unfinished work, and its satisfactory exposition of the ancient philosophers, are above all praise. Why are the manuscripts of the author still buried in the British Museum?

§ Cudworth's book was published in 1678. The "Demonstration" was delivered in 1704–5 at the Boyle Lecture.

essence, and proceeds to observe upon it:—"Whatsoever is, or hath any kind of entity, doth either subsist by itself, or else is an attribute, affection, or mode of something that doth subsist by itself. For it is certain that there can be no mode, accident, or affection of nothing; and, consequently, that nothing cannot be extended nor mensurable. But if space be neither the extension of body, nor yet of substance incorporeal, then must it of necessity be the extension of nothing, and the affection of nothing, and nothing must be measurable by yards and poles. We conclude, therefore, that from this very hypothesis of the Democritick and Epicurean atheists, that space is a nature distinct from body, and positively infinite; it follows undeniably that there must be some incorporeal sustance whose affection its extension is; and because there can be nothing infinite but only the Deity, that it is the infinite extension of our incorporeal Deity." The statement of Dr. Clarke's argument, given in his correspondence, is manifestly, if not taken from this, at least coincident with it in every important respect. Dr. Cudworth, indeed, confines his reasoning to the consideration of space and immensity, and Dr. Clarke extends his to time and eternity also. But of the two portions of the argument this has been shown to be the most fallacious.

The arguments of the ancient theists were in great part drawn from metaphysical speculations, some of which resembled the argument *a priori*.* But they were pressed by the difficulty of conceiving the possibility of creation, whether of matter or spirit; and their inaccurate views of physical science made them consider this difficulty as peculiar to the creative act. They were thus driven to the hypothesis that matter and mind are eternal, and that the creative power of the Deity is only plastic. They supposed it easy to comprehend how the divine mind should be eternal and self-existing, and matter also eternal and self-existing. They found no difficulty in comprehending how that mind could, by a wish or a word, reduce chaos to order, and mould all the elements of things into the present form; but how every thing could be made out of nothing they could not understand. When rightly considered, however, there is no more difficulty in comprehending the one than the other operation—the existence of the plastic, than of the creative power; or rather, the one is as incomprehensible as the other. How the Supreme Being made matter out of the void is not easily comprehended. This must be admitted; but is it more easy to conceive how the same Being, by his mere will, moved and fashioned the primordial atoms of an eternally existing chaos into the beauty of the natural world, or the regularity of the solar system? In truth, these difficulties meet us at every step of the argument of Natural Theology, when we would penetrate beyond those things, those facts which our faculties can easily comprehend; but they meet us just as frequently, and are just as hard to surmount, in our steps over the field of Natural Philosophy. How matter acts on matter—how motion is begun, or, when begun, ceases—how impact takes place—what are the conditions and limitations of contact—whether or not matter consists of ultimate particles, endowed with opposite powers of attraction and repulsion, and how these act—how one planet acts upon another at the distance of a hundred million of miles—or how one piece of iron attracts and repels another at a distance less than any visible space—all these, and a thousand others of the like sort, are questions just as easily put, and as hard to answer, as how the universe could be made out of nothing, or how, out of chaos, order could be made to spring.

* Notes VI. and VII.

In concluding these observations upon the argument *a priori*, I may remark, that although it carries us but a very little way, and would be unsafe to build upon alone, it is yet of eminent use in two particulars. First, it illustrates, if it does not indeed prove, the possibility of an Infinite Being existing beyond and independent of us, and of all visible things; and, secondly, the fact of those ideas of immensity and eternity, forcing themselves, as Mr. Stewart expresses it, upon our belief, seems to furnish an additional argument for the existence of an Immense and Eternal Being. At least we must admit that excellent person's remark to be well-founded, that after we have, by the argument *a posteriori*, (I should rather say the *other parts* of the argument *a posteriori*,) satisfied ourselves of the existence of an intelligent cause, we naturally connect with this cause those impressions which we have derived from the contemplation of infinite space and endless duration, and hence we clothe with the attributes of immensity and eternity the awful Being whose existence has been proved by a more rigorous process of investigation.*

SECTION V.

MORAL OR ETHICAL BRANCH OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

If we now direct our attention to the other great branch of Natural Theology, that which we have termed the moral or ethical portion, which treats of the probable designs of the Deity with respect to the future destiny of his creatures, we shall find that the same argument applies to the nature of its truths, which we have been illustrating in its application to the first or ontological branch of the science, or that relating to the existence and attributes of the Creator, whether proved by physical or by psychological reasoning. The second branch, like the first, rests upon the same foundation with all the other inductive sciences, the only difference being that the one belongs to the inductive science of Natural and Mental, and the other to the inductive science of Moral Philosophy.

The means which we have of investigating the probable designs of the Deity are derived from two sources—the nature of the human mind, and the attributes of the Creator.

To the consideration of these we now proceed; but in discussing them, and especially the first, there is this difference to be marked as distinguishing them from the former branch of Natural Theology. They are far less abundant in doctrine; they have been much less cultivated by scientific inquirers, and the truths ascertained in relation to them are fewer in number: in a word, our knowledge of the Creator's designs in the order of nature is much more limited than our acquaintance with his existence and attributes, But, on the other hand, the identity of the evidence with that on which the other inductive sciences rest is far more conspicuous in what may be termed the psychological part of the second branch of Natural Theology than in any portion of the first branch, it being much less apparent that the inferences drawn from facts in favor of the Deity's existence and attributes are of the same nature with the ordinary deductions of physical science—in other words, that this part of Natural Theology is a branch of Natural Philosophy—than it is that the deductions from the nature of the mind in favor of its separate and future existence are a branch of Metaphysical science.

* Lord Spencer, who has deeply studied these adstruse subjects, communicated to me, before he was aware of my opinion, that he had arrived at nearly the same conclusion upon the merits of the argument *a priori*.

From this diversity it follows, that in treating this second branch of the subject, there will be more necessity for entering at large into the subject of the Deity's probable designs in regard to the soul, especially those to be inferred from its constitution, than we found for entering into the evidences of his existence and attributes, although there will not be so much labor required for proving that this is a branch of inductive science.

I. PSYCHOLOGICAL ARGUMENT, OR EVIDENCE OF THE DEITY'S DESIGNS DRAWN FROM THE NATURE OF THE MIND.

The Immateriality of the Soul is the foundation of all the doctrines, relating to its Future State. If it consists of material parts, or if it consists of any modification of matter, or if it is inseparably connected with any combination of material elements, we have no reason whatever for believing that it can survive the existence of the physical part of our frame; on the contrary, its destruction seems to follow as a necessary consequence of the dissolution of the body. It is true that the body is not destroyed in the sense of being annihilated; but it is equally true that the particular conformation, the particular arrangement of material particles with which the soul is supposed to have been inseparably connected, or in which it is supposed to consist, is gone and destroyed even in the sense of annihilation; for that arrangement or conformation has no longer an existence, any more than a marble statue can be said to have an existence when it is burned into a mass of quicklime. Now, it is to the particular conformation and arrangement, and not to the matter itself, that the soul is considered as belonging by any theory of materialism, there being none of the theories of materialists so absurd as to make the total mass of the particles themselves, independent of their arrangement, the seat of the soul. Therefore, the destruction of that form and organization as effectually destroys the soul which consists in it, as the beauty or the intellectual expression of the statue is gone when the marble is reduced to lime-dust.

Happily, however, the doctrines of materialism rest upon no solid foundation, either of reason or experience. The vague and indistinct form of the propositions in which they are conveyed, affords one strong argument against their truth. It is not easy to annex a definite meaning to the proposition that mind is inseparably connected with a particular arrangement of the particles of matter; it is more difficult to say what they mean who call it a modification of matter; but to consider it as consisting in a combination or matter, as coming into existence the instant that the particles of matter assume a given arrangement, appears to be a wholly unintelligible collocation of words.

Let us, however, resort to experience, and inquire what results may be derived from that safe guide whom modern philosophers most willingly trust, though despised as too humble a helpmate by most of the ancient sages.

We may *first* of all observe that if a particular combination of matter gives birth to what we call mind, this is an operation altogether peculiar and unexampled. We have no other instance of it; we know of no case in which the combination of certain elements produces something quite different, not only from each of the simple ingredients, but also different from the whole compound. We can, by mixing an acid and an alkali, form a third body, having the qualities of neither, and possessing qualities of its own different from the properties of each; but here the third body consists of the other two in combination. There are not two things—two different existences—the neutral salt composed of the acid and the alkali, and another thing different from that neutral salt, and engendered for the first time by that salt coming into existence. So when, by chiselling, "the marble softened into life grows warm," we have the marble new-moulded, and endowed with the power of agreeably affecting our senses, our memory, and our fancy; but it is all the while the marble: there is the beautiful and expressive marble instead of the amorphous mass, and we have not, besides the marble, a new existence created by the form which has been given to that stone. But the materialists have to maintain that, by matter being arranged in a particular way, there is produced both the organized body and something different from it, and having not one of its properties—neither dimensions, nor weight, nor color, nor form. They have to maintain that the chemist who mixed the aqua fortis and potash produced both nitre and something quite different from all the three, and which began to exist the instant that the nitre crystalized; and that the sculptor who fashioned the Apollo, not only made the marble into a human figure, but called into being something different from the marble and the statue, and which exists at the same time with both and without one property of either. If, therefore, their theory is true, it must be admitted to rest upon nothing which experience has ever taught us; it supposes operations to be performed and relations to exist of which we see nothing that bears the least resemblance in any thing we know.

But *secondly*, the doctrine of the materialists, in every form which it assumes, is contradicted by the most plain and certain deductions of experience. The evidence which we have of the existence of the mind is complete in itself, and wholly independent of the qualities or existence of matter. It is not only as strong and conclusive as the evidence which makes us believe in the existence of matter, but more strong and more conclusive; the steps of the demonstration are fewer; the truth to which they conduct the reason is less remote from the axiom, the intuitive or self-evident position whence the demonstration springs. We believe that matter exists because it makes a certain impression upon our senses, that is, because it produces a certain change or a certain effect, and we argue, and argue justly, that this effect must have a cause, though the proof is, by no means, so clear that this cause is something external to ourselves. But we know the existence of mind by our consciousness of, or reflection on what passes within us, and our own existence as sentient and thinking beings implies the existence of the mind which has sense and thought. To know, therefore, that we are, and that we think, implies a knowledge of the soul's existence. But this knowledge is altogether independent of matter, and the subject of it bears no resemblance whatever to matter in any one of its qualities, or habits, or modes of action. Nay, we only know the existence of matter through the operations of the mind; and were we to doubt of the existence of either, it would be far more reasonable to doubt that matter exists than that mind exists. The existence and the operations of mind, supposing it to exist, will account for all the phenomena which matter is supposed to exhibit. But the existence and action of matter, vary it how we may, will never account for one of the phenomena of mind. We do not believe more firmly in the existence of the sensible objects around us when we are well and awake, than we do in the reality of those phantoms which the imagination conjures up in the hours of sleep, or the season of derangement. But no effect produced by material agency ever produced a spiritual existence, or engendered the belief of such an existence; indeed, the thing is almost a contradiction in terms. That all around us should only be the creatures of our

fancy, no one can affirm to be impossible. But that our mind—that which remembers, compares, imagines; in a word, that which thinks—that of the existence of which we are perpetually conscious—that which cannot but exist, if we exist—that which can make its own operations the subject of its own thoughts; that this should have no existence is both impossible, and, indeed, a contradiction in terms. We have, therefore, evidence of the strictest kind, induction of facts the most precise and unerring, to justify the conclusion that the mind exists, and is different from and independent of matter altogether.*

Now this proposition not only destroys the doctrine of the materialists, but leads to the strongest inferences in favor of the mind surviving the body with which it is connected through life. All our experience shows us no one instance of annihilation. Matter is perpetually changing—never destroyed; the form and manner of its existence is endlessly and ceasingly varying—its existence never terminates. The body decays, and is said to perish; that is, it is resolved into its elements, and becomes the material of new combinations, animate and inanimate, but not a single particle of it is annihilated; nothing of us or around us ever ceases to exist. If the mind perishes, or ceases to exist at death, it is the only example of annihilation which we know.

But, it may be said, why should it not, like the body, be changed, or dissipated, or resolved into its elements? The answer is plain: it differs from the body in this, that it has no parts; it is absolutely one and simple; therefore, it is incapable of resolution or dissolution. These words, and the operations or events they refer to, have no application to a simple and immaterial existence.

Indeed, our idea of annihilation is wholly derived from matter, and what we are wont to call destruction means only change of form and resolution into parts, or combination into new forms. But for the example of the changes undergone by matter, we should not even have any notion of destruction or annihilation. When we come to consider the thing itself, we cannot conceive it to be possible; we can well imagine a parcel of gunpowder or any other combustible substance ceasing to exist as such by burning or exploding; but that its whole elements should not continue to exist in a different state, and in new combinations, appears inconceivable. We cannot follow the process so far; we can form no conception of any one particle that once is, ceasing wholly to be. How then can we form any conception of the mind which we now know to exist ceasing to be? It is an idea altogether above our comprehension. True, we no longer, after the body is dissolved, perceive the mind, because we never knew it by the senses; we only were aware of its existence in others by its effects upon matter, and had no experience of it unconnected with the body. But it by no means follows that it should not exist, merely because we have ceased to perceive its effects upon any portion of matter. It had connection with the matter which it used to act upon, and by which it used to be acted on; when its entire severance took place that matter underwent a great change, but a change arising from its being of a composite nature. The same separation cannot have affected the mind in the like manner, because its nature is simple and not composite. Our ceasing to perceive any effects produced by it on any portion of matter, the only means we can have of ascertaining its existence is, therefore, no proof that it does not still exist; and even if we admit that it no longer does produce any effect upon any portion of matter, still this will offer no proof that it has ceased to exist. Indeed, when we speak of its being annihilated, we may be said to use a word to which no precise meaning can be attached by our imaginations. At any rate, it is much more difficult to suppose that this annihilation has taken place, and to conceive in what way it is effected, than to suppose that the mind continues in some state of separate existence, disencumbered of the body, and to conceive in what manner this separate existence is maintained.

It may be further observed that the material world affords no example of creation, any more than of annihilation. Such as it was in point of quantity since its existence began, such it still is, not a single particle of matter having been either added to it or taken from it. Change—unceasing change—in all its parts, at every instant of time, it is for ever undergoing; but though the combinations or relations of these parts are unremittingly varying, there has not been a single one of them created or a single one destroyed. Of mind, this cannot be said: it is called into existence perpetually before our eyes. In one respect this may weaken the argument for the continued existence of the soul, because it may lead to the conclusion that, as we see mind created, so may it be destroyed; while matter, which suffers no addition, is liable to no loss. Yet the argument seems to gain in another direction more force than it loses in this; for nothing can more strongly illustrate the diversity between mind and matter, or more strikingly show that the one is independent of the other.

Again, the mind's independence of matter and capacity of existence without it, appears to be strongly illustrated by whatever shows the entire dissimilarity of its constitution. The inconceivable rapidity of its operations is, perhaps, the most striking feature of the diversity; and there is no doubt that this rapidity increases in proportion as the interference of the senses, that is, the influence of the body, is withdrawn. A multitude of facts, chiefly drawn from and connected with the Phenomena of Dreams, throw a strong light upon this subject, and seem to demonstrate the possible disconnection of mind and matter.

The bodily functions are in part suspended during sleep, that is, all those which depend upon volition. The senses, however, retain a portion of their acuteness; and those of touch* and hearing especially, may be affected without awakening the sleeper. The consequence of the cessation which takes place of all communication of ideas through the senses, is that the action of the mind, and, above all, of those powers connected with the imagination, becomes much more vigorous and uninterrupted. This is shown in two ways; first by the celerity with which any impression upon the senses, strong enough to be felt without awaking, is caught up and made the groundwork of a new train of ideas, the mind instantly accommodating itself to the suggestions of the impression, and making all its thoughts chime in with that; and, secondly, by the prodigiously long succession of images that pass through the mind, with perfect distinctness and liveliness, in an instant of time.

The facts upon this subject are numerous, and of undeniable certainty, because of daily occurrence. Every one knows the effect of a bottle of hot water applied during sleep to the soles of the feet: you in-

* See on the Hypothesis of Materialism—Note IV.

* The common classification of the senses which makes the touch comprehend the sense of heat and cold, is here adopted; though, certainly, there seems almost as little reason for ranging this under touch, as for ranging sight, smell, hearing, and taste under the same head.

stantly dream of walking over hot mould, or ashes, or a stream of lava, or having your feet burned by coming too near the fire. But the effect of falling asleep in a stream of cold air, as in an open carriage, varies this experiment in a very interesting, and indeed, instructive manner. You will, instantly that the wind begins to blow, dream of being upon some exposed point, and anxious for shelter, but unable to reach it; then you are on the deck of a ship, suffering from the gale; you run behind a sail for shelter, and the wind changes, so that it still blows upon you; you are driven to the cabin, but the ladder is removed, or the door locked. Presently you are on shore, in a house with all the windows open, and endeavor to shut them in vain; or, seeing a smith's forge, you are attracted by the fire, and suddenly a hundred bellows play upon it, and extinguish it in an instant, but fill the whole smithy with their blast, till you are as cold as on the road. If you from time to time awake, the moment you fall asleep again the same course of dreaming succeeds in the greatest variety of changes that can be rung on our thoughts.

But the rapidity of these changes, and of the succession of ideas, cannot be ascertained by this experiment: it is most satisfactorily proved by another. Let any one who is extremely overpowered with drowsiness, as after sitting up all night, and sleeping none the next day, lie down, and begin to dictate: he will find himself falling asleep after uttering a few words, and he will be awakened by the person who writes repeating the last word, to show he has written the whole; not above five or six seconds may elapse, and the sleeper will find it at first quite impossible to believe that he has not been asleep for hours, and will chide the amanuensis for having fallen asleep over his work—so great apparently will be the length of the dream which he has dreamed, extending through half a life-time. This experiment is easily tried: again and again the sleeper will find his endless dream renewed; and he will always be able to tell in how short a time he must have performed it. For suppose eight or ten seconds required to write the four or five words dictated, sleep could hardly begin in less than four or five seconds after the effort of pronouncing the sentence; so that, at the utmost, not more than four or five seconds can have been spent in sleep. But indeed, the greater probability is, that not above a single second can have been so passed; for a writer will easily finish two words in a second; and suppose he has to write four, and half the time is consumed in falling asleep, one second only is the duration of the dream, which yet seems to last for years, so numerous are the images that compose it.

Another experiment is still more striking, and affords a more remarkable proof both of the velocity of thought, and of the quickness with which its course is moulded to suit any external impression made on the senses. But this experiment is not so easily tried. A puncture made will immediately produce a long dream, which seems to terminate in some such accident as that the sleeper has been wandering through a wood, and received a severe wound from a spear, or the tooth of a wild animal, which at the same instant awakens him. A gun fired in one instance, during the alarm of invasion, made a military man at once dream the enemy had landed, so that he ran to his post, and repairing to the scene of action, was present when the first discharge took place, which also the same moment awakened him.*

Now, these facts show the infinite rapidity of thought; for the puncture and the discharge of the gun took place in an instant, and their impression on the senses was as instantaneous; and yet, during that instant, the mind went through a long operation of fancy suggested by the first part of the impression, and terminated, as the sleep itself was, by the continuation—the last portion of the same impression. Mark what was done in an instant—in a mere point of time. The sensation of the pain or noise beginning is conveyed to the mind, and sets it a thinking of many things connected with such sensations. But that sensation is lost or forgotten for a portion of the short instant during which the impression lasts; for the conclusion of the same impression gives rise to a new set of ideas. The walk in the wood, and the hurrying to the post, are suggested by the sensation beginning. Then follow many things unconnected with that sensation, except that they grew out of it; and, lastly, comes the wound and the broadside, suggested by the continuance of the sensation, while, all the time, this continuance has been producing an effect on the mind wholly different from the train of ideas the dream consists of, nay, destructive of that train; namely, the effect of rousing it from the state of sleep, and restoring its dominion over the body. Nay, there may be said to be a third operation of the mind going on at the same time with these two—a looking forward to the *denouement* of the plot,—for the fancy is all along so contriving as to fit that, by terminating in some event, some result, consistent with the impression made on the senses, and which has given rise to the whole train of ideas.

There seems every reason to conclude from these facts, that we only dream during the instant of transition into and out of sleep. That instant is quite enough to account for the whole of what appears a night's dream. It is quite certain we remember no more than ought, according to these experiments, to fill an instant of time; and there can be no reason why we should only recollect this one portion if we had dreamt much more. The fact that we never dream so much as when our rest is frequently broken, proves the same proposition almost to demonstration. An uneasy and restless night passed in bed, is always a night studded full with dreams. So, too, a night passed on the road in travelling, by such as sleep well in a carriage, is a night of constant dreams. Every jolt that awakens or half-awakens us, seems to be the cause of a dream. If it be said that we always or generally dream when asleep, but only recollect a portion of our dream, then the question arises, why we recollect a dream each time we fall asleep, or are awakened, and no more? If we can recall twenty dreams in a night of interrupted sleep, how is it that we can only recall one or two when our sleep is continued? The length of time occupied by the dream we recollect is the only reason that can be given for our forgetting the rest; but this reason fails if, each time we are roused, we remember separate dreams.

Nothing can be conceived better calculated than these facts to demonstrate the extreme agility of the mental powers, their total diversity from any material substances or actions; nothing better adapted to satisfy us that the nature of the mind is consistent with its existence apart from the body.

The changes which the mind undergoes in its activity, its capacity, its mode of operation, are matter of constant observation, indeed of every man's experience. Its essence is the same; its fundamental nature is unalterable; it never loses the distinguishing peculiarities which separate it from matter; never acquires any of the properties of the latter: but it undergoes important changes, both in the progress of time, and by means of exercise

* The ingenious Eastern tale, in the Spectator, of the magician who made the prince plunge his head into a pail of water, is founded on facts like those to which we have been referring.

and culture. The development of the bodily powers appears to affect it, and so does their decay; but we rather ought to say that, in ordinary cases, its improvement is contemporaneous with the growth of the body, and its decline generally is contemporaneous with that of the body, after an advanced period of life. For it is an undoubted fact, and almost universally true, that the mind, before extreme old age, becomes more sound, and is capable of greater things, during nearly thirty years of diminished bodily powers; that, in most cases, it suffers no abatement of strength during ten years more of bodily decline; that in many cases, a few years more of bodily decrepitude produce no effect upon the mind; and that, in some instances, its faculties remain bright to the last, surviving the almost total extinction of the corporeal endowments. It is certain that the strength of the body, its agility, its patience of fatigue, indeed all its qualities, decline from thirty at the latest; and yet the mind is improving rapidly from thirty to fifty; suffers little or no decline before sixty; and therefore is better when the body is enfeebled, at the age of fifty-eight or fifty-nine, than it was in the acme of the corporeal faculties thirty years before. It is equally certain, that while the body is rapidly decaying, between sixty or sixty-three and seventy, the mind suffers hardly any loss of strength in the generality of men: that men continue to seventy-five or seventy-six in the possession of all their mental powers, while few can boast then of more than the remains of physical strength; and instances are not wanting of persons who, between eighty and ninety, or even older, when the body can hardly be said to live, possess every faculty of the mind unimpaired. We are authorized to conclude, from these facts, that unless some unusual and violent accident interferes, such as a serious illness or a fatal contusion, the ordinary course of life presents the mind and the body running courses widely different, and in great part of the time in opposite directions; and this affords strong proof, both that the mind is independent of the body, and that its destruction in the period of its entire vigor is contrary to the analogy of nature.

The strongest of all the arguments both for the separate existence of mind, and for its surviving the body, remains, and it is drawn from the strictest induction of facts. The body is constantly undergoing change in all its parts. Probably no person at the age of twenty has one single particle in any part of his body which he had at ten; and still less does any portion of the body he was born with continue to exist in or with him. All that he before had has now entered into new combinations, forming parts of other men, or of animals, or of vegetables or mineral substances, exactly as the body he now has will afterwards be resolved into new combinations after his death. Yet the mind continues one and the same, "without change or shadow of turning." None of its parts can be resolved; for it is one and single, and it remains unchanged by the changes of the body. The argument would be quite as strong though the change undergone by the body were admitted not to be so complete, and though some small portion of its harder parts were supposed to continue with us through life.

But observe how strong the inferences arising from these facts are, both to prove that the existence of the mind is entirely independent of the existence of the body, and to show the probability of its surviving! If the mind continues the same while all or nearly all the body is changed, it follows that the existence of the mind depends not in the least degree upon the existence of the body; for it has already survived a total change of, or, in the common use of the words, an entire destruction of that body. But again, if the strongest argument to show that the mind perishes with the body, nay, the only argument be, as it indubitably is, derived from the phenomena of death, the fact to which we have been referring affords an answer to this. For the argument is, that we know of no instance in which the mind has ever been known to exist after the death of the body. Now here is exactly the instance desiderated, it being manifest that the same process which takes place on the body more suddenly at death, is taking place more gradually, but as effectually in the result, during the whole of life, and that death itself does not more completely resolve the body into its elements and form it into new combinations than living fifteen or twenty years does destroy, by like resolution and combination, the self-same body. And yet after those years have elapsed, and the former body has been dissipated and formed into new combinations, the mind remains the same as before, exercising the same memory and consciousness, and so preserving the same personal identity as if the body had suffered no change at all. In short, it is not more correct to say that all of us who are now living have bodies formed of what were once the bodies of those who went before us, than to say that some of us who are now living at the age of fifty have bodies which in part belonged to others now living at that and other ages. The phenomena are precisely the same, and the operations are performed in like manner, though with different degrees of expedition. Now all would believe in the separate existence of the soul if they had experience of its existing apart from the body. But the facts referred to proves that it does exist apart from one body with which it once was united, and though it is in union with another, yet as it is not adherent to the same, it is shown to have an existence separate from, and independent of that body. So all would believe in the soul surviving the body, if after the body's death its existence were made manifest. But the facts referred to prove that after the body's death, that is, after the chronic dissolution which the body undergoes during life, the mind continues to exist as before. Here, then, we have that proof so much desiderated—the existence of the soul after the dissolution of the bodily frame with which it was connected. The two cases cannot, in any soundness of reasoning, be distinguished: and this argument, therefore, one of pure induction, derived partly from physical science, through the evidence of our senses, partly from psychological science, by the testimony of our consciousness, appears to prove the possible Immortality of the Soul almost as rigorously as "if one were to rise from the dead."

Now we have gone through the first division of this second branch of the subject, and have considered the proofs of the separate and future existence of the soul afforded by the nature of mind. It is quite clear that all of them are derived from a strict induction of facts, and that the doctrines rest upon precisely the same kind of evidence with that upon which the doctrines respecting the constitution and habits of the mind are founded. In truth, the subjects are not to be distinguished as regards the species of demonstration applicable to them—the process by which the investigation of them is to be conducted. That mind has an existence perceivable and demonstrable as well as matter, and that it is wholly different from matter in its qualities, is a truth proved by induction of facts. That mind can exist independent of matter and survive the dissolution of the body, is a truth proved exactly in the same manner, by induction of facts. The phenomena of dreams which lead to important conclusions touching the nature of the mind, lead, and by the self-same kind of reasoning, to important conclusions of a similar description, touching the mind's existence independent of the body. The facts, partly

physical, partly psychological, which show the mind to be unaffected by the decay and by even the total though gradual change of the body during life, likewise show that it can exist after the more sudden change of a similar kind, which we term the dissolution of the body by death. There is no means of separating the two classes of truths, those of Psychology and those of Natural Theology; they are parts of one and the same science; they are ascertained by one and the same process of investigation; they repose upon one and the same kind of evidence; nor can any person, without giving way to a most groundless and unphilosophical prejudice, profess his belief in the former doctrines, and reject the latter. The only difference between the two is that the Theological propositions are of much greater importance to human happiness than the Metaphysical.

II. MORAL ARGUMENT, OR EVIDENCE OF THE DEITY'S DESIGNS DRAWN FROM HIS ATTRIBUTES IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONDITION OF THE SPECIES.

The probable designs of Divine Providence with respect to the future lot of man are to be gathered in part from the nature of the mind itself, the work of the Deity, and in part from the attributes of the Deity, ascertained by an examination of his whole works. It thus happens that a portion of this head of the argument has been anticipated in treating the other head, the nature of the mind. Whatever qualities of the soul show it to differ from matter, both make it improbable that it should perish with the body, and make it improbable that the Deity should destine it to such a catastrophe; and whatever facts show that it can survive a total change of the body during life, show, likewise, the probability that the same being who endowed it with that capacity will suffer it, in like manner, to continue in being after the more sudden change which the body undergoes at death.

The argument built upon the supposed designs of the Creator, requires to be handled in an humble and submissive spirit; but, if so undertaken, there is nothing in it which can be charged with presumption, or deemed inconsistent with perfect though rational devotion. In truth, all the investigations of Natural Theology are equally liable to such a charge; for to trace the evidences of design in the works of nature, and inquire how far benevolence presides over their formation and maintenance—in other words, to deduce from what we see, the existence of the Deity, and speculate upon His wisdom and goodness in the creation and government of the universe—is just as daring a thing, and exactly of the same kind of audacity, as to speculate upon His probable intentions with respect to the future destiny of man.

The contemplation of the Deity's goodness, as deducible from the great preponderance of instances in which benevolent design is exhibited, when accompanied with a consideration of the feelings and wishes of the human mind, gives rise to the first argument which is usually adduced in favor of the Immortality of the Soul. There is nothing more universal or more constant than the strong desire of immortality which possesses the mind, and compared with which its other wishes and solicitudes are but faint and occasional. That a benevolent being should have implanted this propensity without the intention of gratifying it, and to serve no very apparent purpose, unless it be the proving that it is without an object, appears difficult to believe: for certainly the instinctive fear of death would have served all the purposes of self-preservation without any desire of immortality being connected with it, although there can be no doubt that this desire, or at least the anxiety about our future destiny, is intimately related to our dread of dissolution. But the inference acquires additional strength from the consideration that the faculties of the mind ripen and improve almost to the time of the body's extinction, and that the destruction of the soul at the moment of its being fitter than ever for worthy things seems quite inconceivable.

The tender affections so strongly and so universally operating in our nature afford another argument of a like kind. No doubt the purpose to which they are subservient in this life is much more distinctly perceivable; yet still it is inconsistent with the provisions of a benevolent Power to suppose that we should be made susceptible of such vehement feelings, and be suffered to indulge in them, so as to make our happiness chiefly consist in their gratification, and that then we should suddenly be made to undergo the bitter pangs of separation, while, by our surviving, those pains are lengthened out without any useful effect resulting from our sufferings. That such separations should be eternal appears irreconcilable with the strength of the affections wounded, and with the goodness so generally perceived in the order of the universe. The supposition of a re-union hereafter overcomes the difficulty, and reconciles the apparent inconsistency.

The unequal distribution of rewards and punishments in this world, that is, the misery in which virtue often exists, and the prosperity not seldom attendant upon vice, can in no way be so well accounted for, consistently with the scheme of a benevolent Providence, as by the supposition of a Future State.

But perhaps there is nothing more strongly indicative of such a design in the Creator than the universal prevalence of religion amongst men. There can hardly be found a tribe so dark and barbarous as to be without some kind of worship, and some belief in a future state of existence. Now all religions are so far of God that he permits them; he made and preserves the faculties which have invented the false ones, as well as those which comprehend and treasure up the true faith. Religious belief, religious observance, the looking forward to a future existence, and pointing to a condition in which the deeds done on earth shall be visited with just recompense, are all facts of universal occurence in the history and intellectual habits of the species. Are they all a mere fiction? Do they indeed signify nothing? Is that a mere groundless fancy, which in all places, in all ages, occupies and has occupied the thoughts, and mingled itself with the actions of all mankind, whether barbarous or refined?*

But if it be said that the belief of such a state is subservient to an important use, the restraining the passions and elevating the feelings, it is obvious to reply that so great a mechanism to produce this effect very imperfectly and precariously, appears little consistent with the ordinary efficacy and simplicity of the works of Providence, and that the disposition to shun vice and debasement could have been more easily and more certainly implanted by making them disgusting. True, there would then have been little merit in the restraint; but of what value is the production of such merit, if the mind which attains it and becomes adorned by it has no sooner approached perfection than it ceases to exist at all? The supposition of a Future State at once reconciles all inconsistencies here as before, and enables us to comprehend why virtue is taught by the hopes of another life, as well as why those hopes, and the grounds they rest on, form so large a portion of human contemplation.

That the existence of the soul in a new state after the entire dissolution of the body—nay, that the

* Note VIII. and IX.

existence of the body itself in a new state, after passing through death, is nothing contrary to the analogies which nature presents, has been oftentimes observed, and is a topic much dwelt upon, especially by the ancient philosophers. The extraordinary transformations which insects undergo have struck men's imaginations so powerfully in contemplating this subject, that the soul itself was deemed of old to be aptly designated under the emblematical form of a butterfly, which having emerged from the chrysalis state, flutters in the air, instead of continuing to crawl on the earth, as it did before the worm it once was ceased to exist. The instance of the fœtus of animals, and especially of the human embryo, has occupied the attention of modern inquirers into this interesting subject. Marking the entire difference in one state of existence before and after birth, and the diversity of every one animal function at these two periods, philosophers have inferred, that, as, on passing from the one to the other state of existence so mighty a change is wrought, without any destruction either of the soul or body, a like transition may take place at death, and the event which appears to close our being may only open the portals of a new, and higher, and more lasting condition. As far as such considerations suggest analogies, they furnish a matter of pleasing contemplation, perhaps lend even some illustration to the argument. Nevertheless, they must be regarded as exceedingly feeble helps in this latter respect, if indeed their aid be not of a doubtful, and even dangerous kind. They are all drawn from material objects—all rest upon the properties and the fortunes of corporeal existences. Now the stronghold of those who maintain the Immortality of the Soul, and, indeed, all the doctrines of Natural Theology, is the entire difference between mind and matter, and the proofs we have constantly around us, and within us, of existences as real as the bodies which affect our outward senses, but resembling those perishable things in no one quality, no one habit of action, no one mode of being.

Upon the particulars of a future state—the kind of existence reserved for the soul—the species of its occupations and enjoyments—Natural Theology is, of course, profoundly silent, but not more silent than Revelation. We are left wholly to conjecture, and in a field on which our hopelessness of attaining any certain result is quite equal to our interest in the success of the search. Indeed, all our ideas of happiness in this world are such as rather to disqualify us for the investigation or what may more fitly be termed the imagination. Those ideas are, for the most part, either directly connected with the senses, or derived from our condition of weakness here which occasions the formation of connections for mutual comfort and support, and gives to the feebler party the feeling of allegiance, to the stronger the pleasure of protection. Yet may we conceive that, hereafter, such of our affections as have been the most cherished in life shall survive and form again the delight of meeting those from whom death has severed us—that the soul may enjoy the purest delights in the exercise of its powers, above all for the investigation of truth—that it may expatiate in the full discovery of whatever has hitherto been most sparingly revealed, or most carefully hidden from its view—that it may be gratified with the sight of the useful harvest reaped by the world from the good seed which it helped to sow. We can only conjecture or fancy. But these, and such as these, are pleasures in which the gross indulgences of sense have no part, and which are even removed above the less refined of our moral gratifications: they may, therefore, be supposed consistent with a pure and faultless state of spiritual being.

Perhaps the greatest of all the difficulties which we feel in forming such conjectures, regards the endless duration of an immortal existence. All our ideas in this world are so adapted to a limited continuance of life—not only so moulded upon the scheme of a being incapable of lasting beyond a few years, but so inseparably connected with a constant change even here—a perpetual termination of one stage of existence and beginning of another—that we cannot easily, if at all, fancy an eternal, or even a long-continued, endurance of the same faculties, the same pursuits, and the same enjoyments. All here is in perpetual movement—ceaseless change. There is nothing in us or about us that abides an hour—nay, an instant. Resting-place there is none for the foot—no haven is provided where the mind may be still. How then shall a creature, thus wholly ignorant of repose—unacquainted with any continuation at all in any portion of his existence—so far abstract his thoughts from his whole experience as to conceive a long, much more a perpetual, duration of the same powers, pursuits, feelings, pleasures? Here it is that we are the most lost in our endeavors to reach the seats of the blessed with our imperfect organs of perception, and our inveterate and only habits of thinking.*

It remains to observe, that all the speculations upon which we have touched under this second subdivision of the subject, the moral argument, are similar to the doctrines of inductive science—at least to such of those doctrines as are less perfectly ascertained; but the investigation is conducted upon the same principles. The most satisfactory proofs of the soul's immortality are those of the first, or psychological class, derived from studying the nature of mind; those of the second class which we have last been surveying, derived from the condition of man in connection with the attributes of the Deity, are less distinct and cogent; nor would they be sufficient of themselves; but they add important confirmation to the others; and both are as truly parts of legitimate inductive science as any branch—we may rather say, any *other* branch—of moral philosophy.

* The part of Dean Swift's satire which relates to the *Stulbrugs* may possibly occur to some readers as bearing upon this topic. That the stanch admirers of that singularly gifted person should have been flung into ecstasies on the perusal of this extraordinary part of his writings, needs not surprise us. Their raptures were full easily excited; but I am quite clear they have given a wrong gloss to it, and heaped upon its merits a very undeserved praise. They think that the picture of the Stulbrugs was intended to wean us from a love of life, and that it has well accomplished its purpose. I am very certain that the Dean never had any such thing in view, because his sagacity was far too great not to perceive that he only could make out this position by a most undisguised begging of the question. How could any man of the most ordinary reflection expect to wean his fellow-creatures from love of life by describing a sort of persons who at a given age lost their faculties, and became doting, drivelling idiots? Did any man breathing ever pretend that he wished to live, not only for centuries, but even for three-score years and ten, bereaved of his understanding, and treated by the law and by his fellow men as in hopeless, incurable dotage? The passage in question is much more likely to have proceeded from Swift's exaggerated misanthropy, and to have been designed as an antidote to human pride, by showing that our duration is necessarily limited—if, indeed, it is not rather to be regarded as the work of mere whim and caprice.

SECTION VI.

LORD BACON'S DOCTRINE OF FINAL CAUSES.*

It now appears, that when we said that Natural Theology can no more be distinguished from the physical, psychological, and ethical sciences, in respect of the evidence it rests upon and the manner in which its investigations are to be conducted, than the different departments of those sciences can be distinguished from each other in the like respect, we were only making an assertion borne out by a close and rigorous examination of the subject. How, then, comes it to pass, it may be asked, that the father of Inductive Philosophy has banished the speculation of Final Causes from his system, as if it were no branch of inductive science? A more attentive consideration of the question will show, *first*, that the sentence which he pronounced has been not a little misunderstood by persons who looked only at particular aphorisms, without duly regarding the context and the occasion; and, *secondly*, that Lord Bacon may very probably have conceived a prejudice against the subject altogether, from the abuses, or indeed perversions, to which a misplaced affection for it had given rise in some of the ancient schools of philosophy.

That Lord Bacon speaks disparagingly of the inquiry concerning final causes, both when he handles it didactically, and when he mentions it incidentally, is admitted. He enumerates it among the errors that spring from the restlessness of mind (*impotentia mentis*,) which forms the fourth class of the idols of the species (*idola tribus*,) or causes of false philosophy connected with the peculiarities of the human constitution.† In other parts of the same work he descants upon the mischiefs which have arisen in the schools from mixing the doctrines of natural religion with those of natural philosophy;‡ and he more than once treats of the inquiry concerning final causes as a barren speculation, comparing it to a nun or a vestal consecrated to heaven.§ But a nearer examination of this great authority will show that it is not adverse to our doctrine.

1. First of all it is to be remarked, that Lord Bacon does not disapprove of the speculation concerning final causes absolutely, and does not undervalue the doctrines of Natural Religion, so long as that speculation and those doctrines are kept in their proper place. His whole writings bear testimony to the truth of this proposition. In the *Parasceve* to natural and experimental history, which closes the *Novum Organum*, he calls the history of the phenomena of nature a volume of the work of God, and as it were another Bible—"volumen operum Dei, et tanquam altera scriptura."‖ In the first book of the *De Dignitate*, he says there are two books of religion to be consulted—the Scriptures, to tell the will of God, and the book of creation, to show his power.¶ Accordingly he maintains elsewhere,** that a miracle was never yet performed to convert atheists, because these might always arrive at the knowledge of a Deity by the light of nature. Nor ought we to pass over the remarkable passage of the *Cogitata et Visa*, in which he propounds the use of Natural Philosophy as the cure for superstition and the support of true religion. "Naturalem Philosophiam, post verbum Dei, certissimam superstitionis medicinam, eandem probaptissimam, fidei alimentum esse. Itaque merito religioni tanquam fidatissimam et acceptissimam ancillam attribui, cum altera volentatem Dei, altera potestatem manifestet."* If the earlier part of the passage left any doubt of the kind of service which religion was to derive from inductive science, the last words clearly show that it could only be by the doctrine of final causes.

2. But further, he distinctly classes natural religion among the branches of legitimate science; and it is of great and decisive importance to our present inquiry that we should mark the particular place which he assigns to it. He first divides science into two great branches, Theology and Philosophy—comprehending under the former description only the doctrines of revelation, and under the latter all human science. Now after expressly excluding Natural Religion† from the first class, he treats it as a part of the second. The second, or philosophy, is divided into three parts, according as its object is the Deity, Nature, or Man. The first of these subdivisions constitutes Natural Religion, which he says may be termed Divine knowledge, if you regard its object, but Natural knowledge, if you consider its nature and evidence, ("ratione informationis scientia naturalis censeri potest."‡) That he places it in a different subdivision from Natural Philosophy proves nothing; for he classes anatomy, medicine, and intellectual philosophy also in a different subdivision; they come under the head of Human Philosophy, or the science of man, as contradistinguished from Natural Theology and Natural Philosophy, or the science of God and of external objects. Many objections may undoubtedly be made to this classification, of which it is perhaps enough to say, that it leads to separating optics as well as anatomy and medicine§ from natural philosophy. But, at all events, it shows both that Lord Bacon deemed Natural Theology a fit object of philosophical inquiry, and that he regarded the inductive method as furnishing the means by which the inquiry was to be conducted.

3. The general censure upon the doctrine of final causes to which we have in the outset adverted, as conveyed by certain incidental remarks, is manifestly directed against the abuse of such speculations, and more especially in the ancient schools of philosophy. Lord Bacon justly objects to the confounding of final with efficient or physical causes; he marks the loose and figurative language to which this confusion has given rise; he asks if it is philosophical to describe the eye as Aristotle, Galen, and others do, with the eyelids and eyelashes as a wall and a hedge to protect it; or the bones as so many beams and pillars to support the body;‖ and he is naturally apprehensive of the danger which may result from men introducing fancies of their own into science, and above all, from their setting out with such fancies, and then making the facts bend to humor them. This is indeed the great abuse of the doctrine of final causes; and the more to be dreaded in its consequences, because of the religious feelings which are apt to mix themselves with such speculations, and to consecrate error.¶

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* Note .

† Nov. Org. lib. i. Aph. 48.

‡ Ib. Aph. 96; and De Dig. et Aug. lib. i.

§ "Sterilis et tanquam virgo deo sacra non parit." c. 5. De Dig. lib. iii.

‖ Parasceve, c. 9. ¶ Lib. i. ** Ib. lib. iii. c. 13.

* Francisci Baconi, Cogitata et Visa.

† De Dig. lib. iii. c. 1.

‡ De Dig. lib. iii. c. 2.

§ Ib. lib. iv. c. 3. He treats of the desiderata in optics, under the head of the human mind—the senses.

‖ De Dig. lib. iii. c. 4.

¶ This idea is expressed by Bacon, with his wonted felicity, in the 75th Aphorism. "Pessima enim res est errorum apotheosis; et pro peste intellectus habenda est, si vanis accedat veneratio." (Nov. Org. lib. i.) He gives an instance of this folly in

4. The objections of Lord Bacon are the more clearly shown to be levelled against the abuse only, that we find him speaking in nearly similar terms of logic and the mathematics as having impeded the progress of natural science. In the passage already referred to, and which occurs twice in his books, where the Platonists are accused of mixing Natural Religion with Philosophy, the latter Platonists (or Eclectics) are in the same works charged with corrupting it by the mathematics, and the Peripatetics by logic.* Not certainly that the greatest logician of modern times could undervalue either his own art or the skill of the analyst, but because Aristotle through dialectic, and Proclus through geometrical pedantry, neglected that humbler but more useful province of watching and interpreting nature, and used the instruments furnished by logic, and the mathematics, not to assist them in classifying facts, in or reasoning from them, but to construct phantastic theories, to which they made the facts bend.

When rightly examined, then, the authority of Lord Bacon appears not to oppose the doctrine which we are seeking to illustrate. Yet it is possible that a strong impression of the evils occasioned by the abuse of these speculations may have given him a less favorable opinion of them than they deserved. It appears that he had even conceived some prejudice against logic and the mathematics from a similar cause; and he manifests it, not only in the passages already referred to, but in that portion of his treatise *De Dig. et Aug.*, in which he treats of mathematical as an appendix to physical science, expressing much hesitation whether to rank it as a science, and delivering himself with some asperity against both logicians and mathematicians.† High as is the authority of this great man—and upon the subject of the present inquiry the highest of all—yet, if it clearly appears that the argument from Final Causes comes within the scope of inductive science, we are bound to admit it within the circle of legitimate human knowledge, even if we found the father of that science had otherwise judged. It is clear that, had he now lived, he would himself have rejected some speculations as wholly beyond the reach of the human faculties, which he unhesitatingly ranges among the objects of sound philosophy.‡ It is equally undeniable that he would have treated others with greater respect than he has shown them.* Above all, it is certain that he would never have suffered that the veneration due to his own name should enshrine an idol† to obstruct the progress of truth, and alienate her votaries from the true worship which he himself had founded.

That Lord Bacon has not himself indulged in any speculations akin to those of Natural Theology is, beyond all dispute, true. There is hardly any writer upon moral or natural science, in whose works fewer references can be found to the power or wisdom of a superintending Providence. It would be difficult to find in any other author, ancient or modern, as much of very miscellaneous matter upon almost all physical subjects as he has brought together in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, without one allusion to Final Causes. But it must also be admitted, that it would not be easy to find in any other writer of the least name upon physical subjects so little of value, and so much that is wholly unworthy of respect. That work is, indeed, a striking instance of the inequalities of the human faculties. Among the one thousand observations of which it consists, hardly one—of the two hundred and eighteen pages certainly not one—can be found in which there is not some instance of credulity, superstition, groundless hypothesis, manifest error of some kind or other; and nothing at any time given to the world ever exhibited a more entire disregard of all his own rules of philosophizing: for a superficial examination of facts, a hasty induction, and a proneness to fanciful theory, form the distinguishing characters of the whole book. Assuredly it is a proof that the doctrine of Final Causes is not the only parent of a "phantastic philosophy," though the other base undergrowth of "heretical religion"‡ may not be found in the recesses of the Sylva.

Descartes, whose original genius for the abstract sciences fixed an era in the history of pure mathematics, as remarkable as Bacon's genius did in that of logic, like him failed egregiously as a cultivator of natural philosophy; and he excluded Final Causes altogether from his system as a preposterous speculation—an irreverent attempt to penetrate mysteries hidden from human eyes by the imperfection of our nature. But it is to be observed, that all the successful cultivators of physical science have, as if under the influence of an irresistible impulsion, indulged in the sublime contemplations of Natural Religion. Nor have they fallen into this track from feeling and sentiment; they have pursued it as one of the paths which inductive philosophy opens to the student of nature. To say nothing of Mr. Boyle, one of the earliest cultivators of experimental philosophy, whose works are throughout imbued with this spirit, and who has left a treatise expressly on the subject of Final Causes, let us listen to the

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the perverted use made of some portions the Bible history—"Hinc vanitat nonnulli ex modernis summa levitate ita indulserunt, ut in primo capitulo Geneseos et in libro Job et aliis scripturis sacris, Philosophiam Naturalem fundare conati sint; *inter viva quærentes mortua.*"

* Nov. Org. lib. i. Aph. 96; De Dig. lib. i.

† De Dig. lib. iii. c. 6.—Delicias et fastum mathematicorum, qui hanc scientiam physicæ fieri imperare cupiunt. Nescic enim quo fato fiat ut mathematica et logica quæ ancillarum loca erga physicam se gerere debebant, nihilominus, certitudinem, præ se jactantes, dominationem exercere petunt."

‡ He distinctly considers the "doctrine of angels and spirits" as an "appendix to Natural Theology," and holds that their nature may be investigated by science, including that of unclean spirits or demons, which he says hold in this inquiry the same place as poisons do in physics, or vices in ethics.—(De Dig. lib. iii. c. 2.) Natural magic, the doctrine of fascination, the discovery of futurity from dreams and ecstasies, especially in bad health from death-bed glimpses—in a word, divination—he holds to be branches of science deserving of cultivation; though he warns against sorcery, or the practice of witchcraft.—(Ib. lib. iv. c. 3, and lib. ii. c. 2.)

* He complains of treatises of Natural History being "swelled with figures of animals and plants, and other superfluous matter, instead of being enriched with solid observations."—De Dig. lib. ii. c. 3.

† Idolum theatri.

‡ This striking and epigrammatic antithesis occurs more than once in his writings. Thus, in the Nov. Org. lib. i. aph. 65—"Ex divinorum et humanorum malesana admixtione, non solum educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam Religio hæretica;" and again, in De Dig. and Aug. lib. iii. c. 2, speaking of the abuse of speculations touching natural religion, he remarks on the "incommoda et pericula quæ ex eo (abusu) tum religioni, tum philosophiæ impendent, utpote qui religionem hæreticam procudit et philosophiam phantasticam et superstitiosam."

words of Sir Isaac Newton himself. The greatest work of man, the Principia, closes with a swift transition from its most difficult investigation, the determination and correction of a comet's trajectory upon the parabolic hypothesis,* to that celebrated scholium, upon which Dr. Clarke's argument *a priori* for the existence of a Deity is built. But whatever may be deemed the soundness of that argument, or the intrinsic value of the eloquent and sublime passages which lay its foundation, its illustrious author at the same time points our attention to the demonstration from induction, and in the most distinct and positive terms sanctions the doctrine, that this is a legitimate branch of natural knowledge. "Hunc (Deum) cognoscimus per proprietates ejus et attributa et per sapientissimas et optimas rerum structuras et causas finales, et admiramur ob prospectiones."—"Deus sine dominio, providentia, et causis finalibus, nihil alind est quam fatum et natura."—"Et hæc de Deo de quo utique ex phænomenis disserere ad philosophiam naturalem pertinet."—(*Scholium Generale.*)

And if he could not rest from his immortal labors in setting forth the system of the Universe, without raising his mind to the contemplation of Him who "weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance," so neither could he pursue the more minute operations of the most subtile material agent, without again rising towards Him who said "Let there be light." The most exquisite investigation ever conducted by man of the laws of nature by the means of experiment abounds in its latter portion, with explicit references to the doctrines of Natural Theology, and with admissions that the business of physical science is "to deduce causes from effects till we come to the very First Cause," and "that every true step made in inductive philosophy is to be highly valued, because it brings us nearer to the First Cause."†

SECTION VII.

OF SCIENTIFIC ARRANGEMENT, AND THE METHODS OF ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS.

HAVING shown that Natural Theology is a branch of inductive science—partly physical, partly intellectual and moral—it is of comparatively little importance to inquire whether or not it can be kept apart from the other branches of those sciences. In one view of this question we may say, that there is no more ground for the separation than there would be for making a distinct science of all the propositions in Natural Philosophy which immediately relate to the human body—whereby we should have portions of dynamics, pneumatics, optics, chemistry, electricity, and all human anatomy and pathology as contradistinguished from comparative, reduced under one and the same head—a classification, indeed, resembling Lord Bacon's. But in another, and, as it seems, the more just view, there is a sufficient number of resemblances and differences, and the importance of the subject is sufficient, to justify the making a separate head of Natural Theology. The question is entirely one of convenience; nothing of essential moment turns upon the classification; and there is obviously an advantage in having the truths collected in one body, though they are culled from the various parts of Physical and Metaphysical science to which they naturally belong.—All that is needful is, constantly to keep in mind the identity of the evidence on which these truths rest, with that which is the groundwork of those other parts of philosophy.

Although, however, convenience and the paramount importance of the subject seem to require such a separation, it is manifest that much of theology must still be found intermingled with physics and psychology, and there only; for the truths of Natural Theology being sufficiently demonstrated by a certain induction of facts—a certain number of experiments and observations—no farther proof is required; and to assemble all the evidence, if it were possible, would be only encumbering the subject with superfluous proofs, while the collection would still remain incomplete, as every day is adding to the instances discovered of design appearing in the phenomena of the natural and moral world. It has been said, indeed, that a single well-established proof of design is enough, and that no additional strength is gained to the argument by multiplying the instances. We shall afterwards show with what limitations this proposition is to be received; but for our present purpose it is sufficient, that, at all events, a certain definite number of instances are of force enough to work out the demonstration; and yet in every branch of physics and psychology new instances are presented at each step we make. These instances are of great importance; they are to be carefully noted and treasured up; they form most valuable parts of those scientific inquiries, conveying, in its purest form and in its highest degree, the gratification of contemplating abstract truths, in which consists the whole of the pleasure derived from science, properly so called—that is, from science as such, and as independent of its application to uses or enjoyments of a corporeal kind.

An apprehension has frequently been entertained by learned and pious men—men of a truly philosophical spirit—lest the natural desire of tracing design in the works of nature should carry inquirers too far, and lead them to give scope to their imagination rather than contain their speculations within the bounds of strict reasoning. They have dreaded the introduction of what Lord Bacon calls a "phantastic philosophy," and have also felt alarm at the injuries which religion may receive from being exposed to ridicule, in the event of the speculations proving groundless upon a closer examination. But it does not appear reasonable that philosophers should be deterred by such considerations from anxiously investigating the subject of Final Causes, and giving it the place which belongs to it in all their inquiries; provided they do not suffer fancy to intermix with and disturb their speculations. If they do, they commit the greatest error of which reasoners can be guilty—an error against which it is the very object of inductive philosophy to guard; but it is no more an error in this, than in the other investigations of science. He who imagines design where there is none; he who either assumes facts in order to build upon them an inference favorable to Natural Religion, or from admitted facts draws such an inference fancifully, and not logically, comes within the description of a false philosopher: he prefers the hypothetical to the inductive method; he cannot say with his master, "*hypotheses non fingo*;"* he renounces the modern, and recurs to the exploded modes of philosophizing. But he is not the more a false philosopher, and does not the more sin against the light of improved science, for committing the offence in the pursuit of theological truth. He would have been liable to the same

* Principia, lib. iii. Prop. xli. and xlii.

† Optics, Book iii. Query 28.—"How came the bodies of animals to be contrived with so much art, and for what ends were the several parts? Was the eye contrived without skill in optics, and the ear without knowledge of sound?" (See, too, Query 31.)

* Principia, lib. iii. Sch. Gen.

charge if he had resorted to his fancy instead of observation and experiment while in search of any other scientific truth, or had hypothetically assumed a principle of classifying admitted phenomena, instead of rigorously deducing it from examining their circumstances of resemblance and of diversity.

That any serious discredit can be brought upon the science of Natural Theology itself, from the failures to which such hypothetical reasonings may lead, seems not very easy to conceive. Vain and superficial minds may take any subject for their ridicule, and may laugh at the mechanician and the chemist as well as the theologian, when they chance to go astray in their searches after truth. Yet no one ever thought of being discouraged from experimental inquiries, because even the strictest prosecution of the inductive method cannot always guard against error. It is of the essence of all investigations of merely contingent truth, that they are exposed to casualties which do not beset the paths of the geometrician and the analyst. A conclusion from one induction of facts may be well warranted until a larger induction obliges us to abandon it, and adopt another. Yet no one deems chemistry discredited because a body considered in one state of our knowledge to be a compound acid has since appeared rather to be a simple substance, bearing to the acids no resemblance in its composition; nor would the optical discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton be discredited, much less the science he cultivated be degraded, if the undulatory hypothesis should, on a fuller inquiry, become established by strict proof. Yet such errors, or rather such imperfect and partial views, were the result of a strict obedience to the inductive rules of philosophizing. How much less ground for cavil against either of those rules, or the sciences to which they are applicable, would be afforded by the observations of those who had mistaken their way through a neglect of inductive principle, and by following blindly false guides!

While, then, on the one hand, we allow Natural Theology to form a distinct head or branch, the other sciences must of necessity continue to class its truths among their own; and thus every science may be stated to consist of *three* divisions—1. The truths which it teaches relative to the constitution and action of matter or of mind;—2. The truths which it teaches relative to theology; and 3. The application of both classes of truths to practical uses, physical or moral. Thus, the science of pneumatics teaches, under the *first* head, the doctrine of the pressure of the atmosphere, and its connection with respiration, and with the suspension of weights by the formation of a vacuum. Under the *second* head, it shows the adaptation of the lungs of certain animals to breathe the air, and the feet of others to support their bodies, in consequence of both being framed in accordance with the former doctrine—that is, with the law of pressure—and thus demonstrates a wise and beneficent design. Under the *third* head, it teaches the construction of barometers, steam-engines, &c., while the contemplation of the Divine wisdom and goodness inculcates piety, patience, and hope.

But it may be said, that in this classification of the objects of science, we omit one ordinarily reckoned essential—the explanation of phenomena. The answer is, that such a classification is not strictly accurate, as no definite line can be drawn between the explanation of phenomena and the analytical process by which the truths themselves are established: in a word, between analysis and synthesis in the sciences of contingent truth. For the same phenomena which form the materials of the analytical investigation—the steps that lead us to the proposition or discovery—would, in a reversed order, become the subjects of the synthetical operation: that is, the things to be explained by means of the proposition or discovery, if we had been led to it by another route; in other words, if we had reached it by means of other phenomena of the like kind, referrible to the same class, and falling within the same principle or rule. Thus, the experiments upon the prismatic spectrum prove the sun's light to be composed of rays of different refrangibility.—This being demonstrated, we may explain by means of it the phenomena which form the proofs of the first proposition of the "*Optics*," that lights which differ in color differ in refrangibility—as that a parallelogram of two colors refracted through a prism has its sides no longer parallel; or, having shown the different refrangibility by the prismatic phenomena, we may explain why a lens has the focus of violet rays nearer than the focus of red, while this experiment is of itself one of the most cogent proofs of the different refrangibility. It is plain that in these cases, the same phenomenon may be made indiscriminately the subject of matter either of analysis or synthesis. So, one of the proofs given of latent heat is that after you heat a bar of iron once or twice by hammering it, the power of being thus heated is exhausted, until by exposing it to the fire that power is restored. Yet, suppose we had proved the doctrine of the absorption of heat by other experiments—as by the effects on the thermometer of liquids of different temperatures mixed together—the phenomenon of the iron bar would be explicable by that doctrine thus learnt. Again, another proof of the same truth is the production of heat by the sudden condensation of gaseous fluids, and of cold by evaporation, the evolution of heat being inferred from the former, and its absorption from the latter operation. But if the experiments upon the mixture of fluids of different temperatures, and other facts, had sufficiently proved the disappearance of heat in its sensible form, and its being held in a state in which it did not affect the thermometer, we should by means of that doctrine have been able to account for the refrigerating effect of evaporation, and the heating power of condensation.

It cannot, then, be a real and an accurate distinction, or one founded on the nature of the thing, which depends on the accident of the one set of facts having been chosen for the instruments of the analytical, and the other set for the subjects of the synthetical operation, each set being alike applicable to either use. For, in order that the synthesis may be correct, nay, in order that it may be strict and not hypothetical, it is obviously necessary that the phenomena should be of such a description as might have made them subservient to the analysis. In truth, both the operations are essentially the same—the generalization of particulars—the arranging or classifying facts so as to obtain a more general or comprehensive fact; and the explanation of phenomena, is just as much a process of generalization or classification, as the investigation of the proposition itself, by means of which you are to give the explanation. We do not perform two operations, but one, in these investigations. We do not in reality first find by the prism that light is differently refrangible, and then explain the rainbow—or show by the air-pump that the atmosphere presses with the weight of so many pounds upon a square foot, and then explain the steam-engine and the fly's foot—or prove, by burning the two weighed gases together and burning iron in one of them, that water is composed of them both, and that rust is the metal combined with one, and then explain why iron rusts in water. But we observe all these several facts, and find that they are related to each other, and resolvable into three classes—that the phenomena of the prism and of the shower are the same, the spectrum and the rainbow being varieties

of the same fact, more general than either, and comprehending many others, all reducible within its compass—that the air-pump, the steam-engine, the fly's foot, are all the same fact, and come within a description still more general and compendious—that the rusting of iron, the burning of inflammable air, and the partial consumption of the blood in the lungs, are likewise the same fact in different shapes, and resolvable into a fact much more comprehensive.

If, then, the distinction of investigation and explanation, or the analytical and synthetical process, is to be retained, it can only be nominal; and it is productive of but little if any convenience. On the contrary, it is calculated to introduce inaccurate habits of philosophizing, and holds out a temptation to hypothetical reasoning. Having obtained a general law, or theory, we are prone to apply it where no induction shows that it is applicable; and perceiving that it would account for the observed phenomena, if certain things existed, we are apt to assume their existence, that we may apply our explanation. Thus, we know that if the walrus's foot, or the fly's, make a vacuum, the pressure of the air will support the animal's weight, and hence we assume that the vacuum is made. Yet it is clear that we have no right whatever to do so; and that the strict rules of induction require us to prove the vacuum before we can arrange this fact in the same class with the other instances of atmospheric pressure. But when we have proved it by observation, it will be said we have gained nothing by our general doctrine. True; but all that the science entitles us to do is, not to draw facts we are half acquainted with under the arbitrary sway of our rule, but to examine each fact in all its parts, and bring it legitimately within the rule by means of its ascertained resemblances—that is, classify it with those others to which it bears the common relation. Induction gives us the right to expect that the same result will always happen from the same action operating in like circumstances; but it is of the essence of this inference that the similarity be first shown.

It may be worth while to illustrate this further, as it is an error very generally prevailing, and leads to an exceedingly careless kind of inquiry. The fundamental rule of inductive science is, that no hypothesis shall be admitted—that nothing shall be assumed merely because, if true, it would explain the facts. Thus, the magnetic theory of Æpinus is admitted by all to be admirably consistent with itself, and to explain all the phenomena—that is, to tally exactly with the facts observed. But there is no proof at all of the accumulation of electrical or magnetic fluid at the one pole, and other fundamental positions; on the contrary, the facts are rather against them: therefore, the theory is purely gratuitous; and although it would be difficult to find any other, on any subject, more beautiful in itself, or more consistent with all the phenomena, it is universally rejected as a mere hypothesis, of no use or value in scientific research. The inductive method consists in only admitting those things which the facts prove to be true, and excludes the supposing things merely because they square with the facts. Whoever makes such suppositions upon observing a certain number of facts, and then varies those suppositions when new facts come to his knowledge, so as to make the theory tally with the observation—whoever thus goes on, touching and re-touching his theory each time a new fact is observed which does not fall within the original proposition, is a mere framer of hypotheses, not an inductive inquirer—a fancier, and not a philosopher.

Now, this being the undoubted rule, does not the course of those fall exactly within it, who, having upon a certain class of phenomena, built a conclusion legitimately and by strict induction, employ that conclusion to explain other phenomena, which they have not previously shown to fall within the same description? Take the example of the Torricellian vacuum. Having by that experiment proved the weight of the atmosphere, we have a right to conclude that a tube filled with water forty feet high, would have a vacuum in the uppermost seven feet—because we know the relative specific gravities of water and mercury, and might predict from thence that the lighter fluid would stand at the height of thirty-three feet; and this conclusion we have a right to draw, without any experiments to ascertain the existence of a vacuum in the upper part of the tube. But we should have no right whatever to draw this conclusion, without ascertaining the specific gravities of the two fluids: for if we did, it would be assuming that the two facts belonged to the same class. So respecting the power of the walrus or the fly to walk up a vertical plane. We know the effects of exhausting the air between any two bodies, and leaving the external atmosphere to press against them: they will cohere. But if from thence we explain the support given to the walrus or the fly without examining their feet, and ascertaining that they do exhaust or press out the air—if, in short, we assume the existence of a vacuum under their feet, merely because, were there a vacuum, the pressure of the air would produce the cohesion, and thus account for the phenomena—we really only propound an hypothesis.—We suppose certain circumstances to exist, in order to classify the fact with other facts actually observed, and the existence of which circumstances is necessary, in order that the phenomena may be reducible under the same head.

There is no reason whatever for asserting that this view of the subject restricts the use of induction by requiring too close and constant a reference to actual observation. The inductive principle is this—that from observing a number of particular facts, we reason to others of the same kind—that from observing a certain thing to happen in certain circumstances, we expect the same thing to happen in the like circumstances. This is to generalize; but then this assumes that we first show the identity of the facts, by proving the similarity of the circumstances. If not, we suppose or fancy, and do not reason or generalize. The tendency of the doctrine that a proposition being demonstrated by one set of facts, may be used to explain another set, has the effect of making us suppose or assume the identity or resemblance which ought to be proved. The true principle is, that induction is the generalizing or classifying of facts by observed resemblances, and diversities.

Nothing here stated has any tendency to shackle our experimental inquiries, by too rigidly narrowing the proof. Thus, although we are not allowed to suppose any thing merely because, if it existed, other things would be explained; yet, when no other supposition will account for the appearances, the hypothesis is no longer gratuitous; and it constantly happens, that an inference drawn from an imperfect induction, and which would be, on that state of the facts, unauthorized because equivocal, and not the only supposition on which the facts could be explained, becomes legitimate on a further induction, whereby we show that, though the facts first observed might be explained by some other supposition, yet those facts newly observed could to no other supposition be reconciled. Thus, the analytical experiment on the constitution of water, by passing steam over red hot iron, is not conclusive, because, although it tallies well with the position

that water consists of oxygen and hydrogen, yet it would also tally with another supposition that those gases were produced in the process, and not merely separated from each other; so that neither oxygen nor hydrogen existed in the water, any more than acid and water exist in coal and wood, but only their elements, and that, like the acid and water, the products of the destructive distillation of those vegetable substances, the oxygen and hydrogen, were compounded, and in fact produced by the process. But when, besides the analytical, we have the synthetical experiments of Mr. Cavendish and Dr. Priestley*—when we find that by burning the two gases in a close vessel, they disappear, and leave a weight of water equal to their united weights—we have a fact not reconcileable to any other supposition, except that of the composition of this fluid. It is as when, in solving a problem, we fix upon a point in one line, curved or straight, because it answers one of the conditions—it may be the right point, or it may not, for all the other points of the line equally answer that condition; but when we also show that the remaining conditions require the point to be in another line, and that this other intersects the former in the very point we had assumed, then no doubt can exist, and the point is evidently the one required, none other fulfilling all the conditions.

We have used the words *analytical* and *synthetical* as applicable to the experiments of resolution and composition; and in this sense these terms are strictly correct in reference to inductive operations. But the use of the terms *analysis* and *synthesis* as applicable to the processes of induction—the former being the investigation of truths by experiment or observation, and the latter the explaining other facts by means of the truths so ascertained—is by no means so correct, and rests upon an extremely fallacious analogy, if there be, indeed, any analogy, for identity, or even resemblance, there is none. The terms are borrowed from mathematical science, where they denote the two kinds of investigation employed in solving problems and investigating theorems. When, in order to solve a problem, we suppose a thing done which we know not how to do, we reason upon the assumption that the prescribed conditions have been complied with, and proceed till we find something which we already possess the means of doing. This gives us the construction; and the synthetical demonstration consists in merely retracing the steps of the analysis. And so of a theorem: we assume it to be true, and reasoning on that assumption, we are led to something which we know from other sources to be true, the synthesis being the same operation reversed. The two operations consist here, of manifest necessity, of the very same steps—the one being the steps of the other taken in the reverse order. In Physics, to make the operations similar to these, the same facts should be the ground or component parts of both. In analysis, we should ascend not only from particulars to generals, but from the same particulars, and then the synthesis would be a descent through the same steps to the particular phenomena from the general fact. But it is a spurious synthesis, unlike the mathematical, and not warranted by induction, to prove the proposition by one set of facts, and by that proposition to explain—that is, classify—another set, without examining it by itself. If we do examine it by itself, and find that it is such as the proposition applies to, then also is it such as might prove the proposition; and the synthesis is here, as in the case of the mathematical investigation, the analysis reversed. As far as any resemblance or analogy goes, there is even a greater affinity between the inductive analysis and the geometrical synthesis, than between those operations which go by the same name; and I hardly know any thing in experimental investigation resembling the mathematical analysis, unless it be when, from observing certain facts, we assume a position, and then infer, that if this be true, some other facts must also exist, which we find (from other proofs) really do exist. This bears a resemblance rather to the analytical investigation than to the composition or synthetical demonstration of theorems in the ancient geometry. It is not the course of reasoning frequently pursued in experimental sciences; but a most beautiful example of it occurs in the Second Part of Dr. Black's Experiments on Magnesia Alba and Quick Lime, the foundation of the modern gaseous chemistry.

Upon the whole, the use of these terms is apt to mislead; and, for the reasons which have been assigned, there seems no solidity in the division of inductive inquiry into the two classes.*

PART THE SECOND.

OF THE ADVANTAGES OF THE STUDY OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

THE uses of studying the science to which our inquiries have been directed, now demand some consideration. These consist of the pleasures which attend all scientific pursuits, the pleasures and the improvement peculiar to the study of Natural Theology, and the service rendered by this study to the doctrines of Revelation.

SECTION I.

OF THE PLEASURES OF SCIENCE.

As we have established the position that Natural Theology is a branch of Inductive Science, it follows that its truths are calculated to bestow the same kind of gratification which the investigation and the contemplation of scientific truth generally is fitted to give.

That there is a positive pleasure in such researches and such views, wholly independent of any regard to the advantages derived from their

* Dr. Priestley drew no conclusion of the least value from his experiments. But Mr. Watt, after thoroughly weighing them, by careful comparison with other facts, arrived at the opinion that they proved the composition of water. This may justly be said to have been the discovery of that great truth in chemical science. I have examined the evidence, and am convinced that he was the first discoverer, in point of time, although it is very possible that Mr. Cavendish may have arrived at the same truth from his own experiments, without any knowledge of Mr. Watt's earlier process of reasoning.

* When this section was written, I had not seen Mr. Stewart's learned remarks upon analysis and synthesis in the second volume of his Elements, nor was aware of the observations of Dr. Hook, quoted by him, and which show a remarkable coincidence with one of the observations in the text. Mr. Stewart's speculations do not come upon the same ground with mine; but Dr. Hook having reversed the use of the terms analysis and synthesis in experimental science, affords a strong confirmation of the remark which I have ventured to make upon the inaccuracy of this application of mathematical language.—(See Elem. of Phil. of Human Mind, vol. ii. p. 354, 4to.)

application to the aid of man in his physical necessities, is quite undeniable. The ascertaining by demonstration any of the great truths in the mathematics, or proving by experiment any of the important properties of matter, would give a real and solid pleasure, even were it certain that no practical use could be made of either the one or the other. To know that the square of the hypotenuse is always exactly equal to the sum of the squares of the sides of a right-angled triangle, whatever be its size, and whatever the magnitude of the acute angles, is pleasing; and to be able to trace the steps by which the absolute certainty of this proposition is established, is gratifying, even if we were wholly ignorant that the art of guiding a ship through the pathless ocean mainly depends upon it. Accordingly, we derive pleasure from rising to the contemplation of the much more general truth, of which the discovery of Pythagoras (the forty-seventh proposition of the First Book of Euclid) is but a particular case, and which is also applicable to all similar triangles, and indeed to circles and ellipses also, described on the right-angled triangle's sides; and yet that general proposition is of no use in navigation, nor indeed in any other practical art. In like manner the pleasure derived from ascertaining that the pressure of the air and the creation of a vacuum alike cause the rise of the mercury in the barometer, and give the power to flies of walking on the ceiling of a room, is wholly independent of any practical use obtained from the discovery, inasmuch as it is a pleasure superadded to that of contemplating the doctrine proved by the Torricellian experiment, which had conferred all its practical benefits long before the cause of the fly's power was found out. Thus, again, it is one of the most sublime truths in science, and the contemplation of which, as mere contemplation, affords the greatest pleasure, that the power which makes a stone fall to the ground keeps the planets in their course, moulds the huge masses of those heavenly bodies into their appointed forms, and reduces to perfect order all the apparent irregularities of the system: so that the handful of sand which for an instant ruffles the surface of the lake, acts by the same law which governs, through myriads of ages, the mighty system composed of myriads of worlds. There is a positive pleasure in generalizing facts and arguments; in perceiving the wonderful production of most unlike results from a few very simple principles; in finding the same powers or agents reappearing in different situations, and producing the most diverse and unexpected effects; in tracing unexpected resemblances and differences; in ascertaining that truths or facts apparently unlike are of the same nature, and observing wherein those apparently similar are various: and this pleasure is quite independent of all considerations relating to practical application—nay, the additional knowledge that those truths are susceptible of a beneficial application, gives a further gratification of the like kind to those who are certain never to have the opportunity of sharing the benefits obtained, and who indeed may earnestly desire never to be in the condition of being able to share them. Thus, in addition to the pleasure received from contemplating a truth in animal physiology, we have another gratification from finding that one of its corollaries is the construction of an instrument useful in some painful surgical operation. Yet, assuredly, we have no desire ever to receive advantage from this corollary; and our scientific gratification was wholly without regard to any such view. In truth, generalizing—the discovery of remote analogies—of resemblances among unlike objects—forms one of the most pleasing employments of our faculties in every department of mental exertion, from the most severe investigation of the mathematician to the lightest efforts of the wit. To trace the same equality, or other relation between figures apparently unlike, is the chief glory of the geometrician; to bring together ideas of the most opposite description, and show them in unexpected, yet when suddenly pointed out, undeniable connection, is the very definition of wit. Nay, the proposition which we have just enunciated, is a striking instance of the same general truth; for we have been surveying the resemblance, or rather the identity, in one important particular of two pursuits, in all other respects the most widely remote from each other—mathematics and wit.

If the mere contemplation of scientific truth is the source of real gratification, there is another pleasure alike remote from all reference to practical use or benefit, and which is obtained by tracing the investigations and demonstration—the steps that lead analytically to the discovery, and synthetically to the proof of those truths. This is a source of pleasure, both by giving the assurance that the propositions of generalization—the statements of resemblance and diversity are true in themselves, and also by the consciousness of power which it imparts and the feeling of difficulty overcome which it involves. We feel gratified when we have closely followed the brilliant induction which led Newton to the discovery that white is the union of all colors; and when we have accompanied him in the series of profound researches, from the invention of a new calculus or instrument of investigation, through innumerable original geometrical lemmas, to the final demonstration that the force of gravitation deflects the comet from the tangent of its elliptical orbit; and we feel the gratification because the pursuit of these investigations assures us that the marvellous propositions are indeed true—because there is a consciousness of man's power in being able to penetrate so far into the secrets of nature, and search so far into the structure of the universe—and because there is a pleasure, which we enjoy individually, in having accomplished a task of considerable difficulty. In these gratifications, derived from the contemplation and the investigation of general laws, consists the Pleasure of Science properly so called, and apart from all views of deriving particular advantages from its application to man's use.

This pleasure is increased as often as we find that any scientific discovery is susceptible of practical applications. The contemplation of this adaptation is pleasing, independent of any regard to our own individual advantage, and even though we may desire never to be in a condition to reap benefit from it. We sympathise, perhaps, with those who may be so unfortunate as to require the aid afforded by such applications to relieve and assuage pain; but the mere knowledge that such a corollary follows from the discovery of the scientific truth, is pleasing. Of course the gratification is increased, if we know that individually we shall profit by it, and we may perhaps always more or less contemplate this possibility; but this is a pleasure, properly speaking, of a different kind from that which science, as such, bestows.

The branch of science which we are here particularly considering differs in no respect from the other departments of philosophy in the kind of gratification which it affords to those who cultivate it.—Natural Theology, like the other sciences, whether physical or mental, bestows upon the student the pleasures of contemplation—of generalization; and it bestows this pleasure in an eminent degree. To trace design in the productions and in the operations of nature, or in those of the human understanding, is, in the strictest sense of the word, generalization, and consequently produces the same pleasure with the generalizations of physical and of psychological

science. Every part of the foregoing reasoning, therefore, applies closely and rigorously to the study of Natural Theology. Thus, if it is pleasing to find that the properties of two curves so exceedingly unlike as the ellipse and the hyperbola closely resemble each other, or that appearances so dissimilar as the motion of the moon and the fall of an apple from the tree are different forms of the same fact, it affords a pleasure of the same kind to discover that the light of the glow-worm and the song of the nightingale are both provisions of nature for the same end of attracting the animal's mate, and continuing its kind—that the peculiar law of attraction pervading all matter, the magnitude of the heavenly bodies, the planes they move in, and the directions of their courses, are all so contrived as to make their mutual actions, and the countless disturbances thence arising all secure a perpetual stability to the system which no other arrangement could attain. It is a highly pleasing contemplation of the self-same kind with those of the other sciences to perceive every where design and adaptation—to discover uses even in things apparently the most accidental—to trace this so constantly, that where peradventure we cannot find the purpose of nature, we never for a moment suppose there was none, but only that we have hitherto failed in finding it out—and to arrive at the intimate persuasion that all seeming disorder is harmony—all chance, design—and that nothing is made in vain; nay, things which in our ignorance we had overlooked as unimportant, or even complained of as evils, fill us afterwards with contentment and delight, when we find that they are subservient to the most important and beneficial uses. Thus, inflammation and the generation of matter in a wound we find to be the effort which Nature makes to produce new flesh, and effect the cure; the opposite hinges of the valves in the veins and arteries are the means of enabling the blood to circulate; and so of innumerable other arrangements of the animal economy. So, too, there is the highest gratification derived from observing that there is a perfect unity, or, as it has been called, a *personality*, in the kind of the contrivances in which the universe abounds; and truly this peculiarity of character, or of manner, as other writers have termed it, affords the same species of pleasure which we derive from contemplating general resemblances in the other sciences.

We may close this branch of the subject with the observation that those other sciences have often in their turn derived aid from Natural Theology, at least from the speculation of Final Causes, for which they, generally speaking, lay the foundation. Many discoveries in the physiology both of animals and plants owe their origin to some arrangement or structure being remarked, the peculiar object of which was not known, and the ascertaining of which led to the knowledge of an important truth. The well-known anecdote of Harvey, related by Mr. Boyle, is the best example of this which can be given. In his tract on Final Causes he thus writes:—"I remember that when I asked our famous Harvey, in the only discourse I had with him, (which was but a while before he died,) what were the things that induced him to think of a circulation of the blood, he answered me, that when he took notice that the valves in the veins of so many parts of the body were so placed that they gave free passage to the blood towards the heart, but opposed the passage of the veinal blood the contrary way, he was incited to imagine that so provident a cause as Nature had not so placed so many valves without design, and no design seemed more probable than that since the blood could not well, because of the interposing valves, be sent by the veins to the limbs, it should be sent through the arteries, and return through the veins whose valves did not oppose its course that way."* Even the arts have borrowed from the observation of the animal economy. Those valves—the hollow bones of birds—the sockets of the joints—have all furnished suggestions upon which some of our most useful machinery is constructed. Nor can any abuse arise from this employment of the argument, so long as we take care only to let it occupy the subordinate place of a suggestor—an originator of inquiry—and never suffer it to usurp the station of a sole guide, or a substitute for that induction which alone can be relied on in forming our conclusions. The ancients were ignorant of this caution, and would probably have rested satisfied with the consideration which only set Harvey upon making experiments, instead of proving in this way what the argument from Final Causes only rendered probable. Hence, much of what, we have already explained, Lord Bacon has said upon the subject of this speculation, abused as it certainly has been in all ages, but especially in ancient times.

SECTION II.

OF THE PLEASURE AND IMPROVEMENT PECULIAR TO NATURAL THEOLOGY.

HITHERTO we have only shown that the gratification which the contemplation of scientific truth is calculated to bestow belongs to Natural Theology, in common with the other branches of Philosophy. But there are several considerations which make it plain that the pleasure must be greater which flows from the speculations of this than any which the other sciences confer.

In the *first* place, the nature of the truths with which Natural Theology is conversant is to be considered. They relate to the evidences of design, of contrivance, of power, of wisdom, of goodness—but let us only say, of design or contrivance. Nothing can be more gratifying to the mind than such contemplations: they afford great scope to the reasoning powers; they exercise the resources of our ingenuity; they give a new aspect to the most ordinary appearances; they impart life as it were to dead matter; they are continually surprising us with novel and unexpected proofs of intentions plainly directed to a manifest object. If some scoffers and superficial persons despise the enthusiasm with which these investigations have at times been pursued, and hold the exercise given by them to the ingenuity of inquirers to be rather a play of imagination than of reasoning, it is equally undeniable that in some of the most important and most practically useful of the sciences, design, so far from being a matter of fanciful conjecture, is always assumed as incontestable, and the inquiry, often with a merely practical view, is confined to discovering what the object of the design is. Thus, when the physiologist has discovered some part of the animal body before unknown, or observed some new operation of the known organs, he never doubts that design exists, and that some end is to be answered.—This he takes for granted without any reasoning; and he only endeavors to find out what the purpose is—what use the part can have—what end the operation is intended to accomplish; never supposing it possible that either the part could be created, or the function appointed, without an object. The investigation conducted upon the assumption of this postulate has frequently led to the most brilliant discoveries—among others, as we have just seen, to by far the most important ever made in physiological science. For the mere exercise of the intellectual

* Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things.—Works, v. 427. 4to.

faculties, or gratification of scientific curiosity, we may refer to almost all the singular phenomena which form the bases of the reasonings as to design —the structure of the ear, and still more of the eye —the circulation of the blood—the physiology of the fœtus in the uterus, as contrasted with the economy of the born animal, and the prospective contrivances of a system which until the birth is to be wholly useless—the structure of the eye and the nictitating membrane in different birds, and the haw in certain quadrupeds—the powers of the eye in birds of prey—perhaps more than any thing else, the construction of their cells by bees, according to the most certain principles discovered by men only with the help of the most refined analytical calculus. The atheist can only deny the wonderful nature of such operations of instinct by the violent assumption that the bee works as the heavenly bodies roll, and that its mathematically correct operations are no more to be wondered at than the equally mathematically adjusted movements of the planets—a truly violent assumption, and especially of those who angrily deny that men have a soul differing in kind from the sentient principle in the lower animals.

Secondly. The universal recurrence of the facts on which Natural Theology rests deserves to be regarded as increasing the interest of this science.—The other sciences, those of Physics at least, are studied only when we withdraw from all ordinary pursuits, and give up our meditations to them.—Those which can only be prosecuted by means of experiment can never be studied at all without some act of our own to alter the existing state of things, and place nature in circumstances which force her, by a kind of question, as Lord Bacon phrases it, to reveal her secrets. Even the sciences which depend on observation have their fields spread only here and there, hardly ever lying in our way, and not always accessible when we would go out of our way to walk in them. But there is no place where the evidences of Natural Religion are not distributed in ample measure. It is equally true that those evidences continually meet us in all the other branches of science. A discovery made in these almost certainly involves some new proofs of design in the formation and government of the universe.

Thirdly, and chiefly. Natural Theology stands far above all other sciences from the sublime and elevating nature of its objects. It tells of the creation of all things—of the mighty power that fashioned and that sustains the universe—of the exquisite skill that contrived the wings and beak, and feet of insects invisible to the naked eye—and that lighted the lamp of day, and launched into space comets a thousand times larger than the earth, whirling a million of times swifter than a cannon ball, and burning with a heat which a thousand centuries could not quench. It exceeds the bounds of material existence, and raises us from the creation to the Author of Nature. Its office is, not only to mark what things are, but for what purpose they were made by the infinite wisdom of an all-powerful being, with whose existence and attributes its high prerogative is to bring us acquainted. If we prize, and justly, the delightful contemplations of the other sciences; if we hold it a marvellous gratification to have ascertained exactly the swiftness of the remotest planets—the number of grains that a piece of lead would weigh at their surfaces—and the degree in which each has become flattened in shape by revolving on its axis: it is surely a yet more noble employment of our faculties, and a still higher privilege of our nature, humbly, but confidently, to ascend from the universe to its Great First Cause, and investigate the unity, the personality, the intentions, as well as the matchless skill and mighty power of him who made and sustains and moves those prodigious bodies, and all that inhabit them.

Now, all the gratification of which we have been treating, is purely scientific, and wholly independent of any views of practical benefit resulting from the science of Natural Theology. The pleasure in question is merely that double gratification which every science bestows—namely, the contemplation of truth, in tracing resemblances and differences, and the perception of the evidence by which that truth is established. Natural Theology gives this double pleasure, like all other branches of science —like the mathematics—like physics—and would give it if we were beings of an order different from man, and whose destinies never could be affected by the truth or the falsehood of the doctrines in question. Nay, we may put a still stronger case, one analogous to the instance given above of the pleasure derived from contemplating some fine invention of a surgical instrument. Persons of such lives as should make it extremely desirable to them that there was no God and no Future State, might very well, as philosophers, derive gratification from contemplating the truths of Natural Theology, and from following the chain of evidence by which these are established, and might in such sublime meditation, find some solace to the pain which reflection upon the past, and fears of the future are calculated to inflict upon them.

But it is equally certain that the science derives an interest incomparably greater from the consideration that we ourselves who cultivate it, are most of all concerned in its truth—that our own highest destinies are involved in the results of the investigation. This, indeed, makes it, beyond all doubt, the most interesting of the sciences, and sheds on the other branches of philosophy an interest beyond that which otherwise belongs to them, rendering them more attractive in proportion as they connect themselves with this grand branch of human knowledge, and are capable of being made subservient to its uses. See only in what contemplations the wisest of men end their most sublime inquiries! Mark where it is that a Newton finally reposes after piercing the thickest veil that envelops nature—grasping and arresting in their course the most subtile of her elements and the swiftest—traversing the regions of boundless space—exploring worlds beyond the solar way—giving out the law which binds the universe in eternal order! He rests, as by an inevitable necessity, upon the contemplation of the great First Cause, and holds it his highest glory to have made the evidence of his existence, and the dispensations of his power and of his wisdom, better understood by men.

If such are the peculiar pleasures which appertain to this science, it seems to follow that those philosophers are mistaken who would restrict us to a very few demonstrations, to one or two instances of design, as sufficient proofs of the Deity's power and skill in the creation of the world. That one sufficient proof of this kind is in a certain sense enough cannot be denied; a single such proof overthrows the dogmas of the atheist and dispels the doubts of the skeptic; but is it enough to the gratification of the contemplative mind? The great multiplication of proofs undeniably strengthens our positions; nor can we ever affirm respecting the theorems in a science, not of necessary but of contingent truth, that the evidence is sufficiently cogent without variety and repetition. But, independently altogether of this consideration, the gratification is renewed by each instance of design which we are led to contemplate. Each is different from the other. Each step renews our delight. The finding that at every step we make in one science, and with one object in view, a new proof is added to those before

possessed by another science, affords a perpetual source of new interest and fresh enjoyment. This would be true if the science in question were one of an ordinary description. But when we consider what its nature is—how intimately connected with our highest concerns—how immediately and necessarily leading to the religious adoration of the Supreme Being—can we doubt that the perpetually renewed proofs of his power, wisdom, and goodness tend to fix and to transport the mind, by the constant nourishment thus afforded to feelings of pure and rational devotion? It is, in truth, an exercise at once intellectual and moral, in which the highest faculties of the understanding and the warmest feelings of the heart alike partake, and in which not only without ceasing to be a philosopher the student feels as a man, but in which the more warmly his human feelings are excited, the more philosophically he handles the subject. What delight can be more elevating, more truly worthy of a rational creature's enjoyment, than to feel wherever we tread the paths of scientific inquiry, new evidence springing up around our footsteps—new traces of divine intelligence and power meeting our eye! We are never alone; at least, like the old Roman, we are never less alone than in our solitude. We walk with the Deity; we commune with the great First Cause, who sustains at every instant what the word of his power made. The delight is renewed at each step of our progress, though as far as evidence is concerned we have long ago had proof enough. But that is no more a reason for ceasing to contemplate the subject in its perpetually renovated and varied forms, than it would be a reason for resting satisfied with once seeing a long lost friend that his existence had been sufficiently proved by one interview. Thus, instead of restricting ourselves to the proofs alone required to refute atheism or remove skepticism, we should covet the indefinite multiplication of evidences of design and skill in the universe, as subservient in a threefold way to purposes of use and of gratification: *first*, as strengthening the foundation whereupon the system reposes; *secondly*, as conducive to the ordinary purposes of scientific gratification, each instance being a fresh renewal of that kind of enjoyment; and *thirdly*, as giving additional ground for devout, pleasing and wholesome adoration of the Great First Cause, who made and who sustains all nature.

It is, therefore, manifest that instead of resting satisfied with details and reasons barely sufficient to prove the existence of design in the universe, the gratification of a laudable scientific curiosity, and the proper indulgence of rational devotion, require that every occasion should be taken of exhibiting those evidences upon which the system of Natural Theology rests. The professed treatises upon that science do not suffice for this purpose, although they ought unquestionably to enter largely, and with very great variety of illustration, into the proofs; but each several branch of science natural and moral, should have a constant reference to this, and should never fail to apply its peculiar doctrines towards the proof and the illustration of the doctrines of Natural Theology.

SECTION III.

OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

The ordinary arguments against Natural Theology with which we have to contend are those of atheists and skeptics; of persons who deny the existence of a First Cause, or who involve the whole question in doubt; of persons who think they see a balance of reason for denying the existence of a Deity, or who consider the reasons on both sides so equally poised that they cannot decide either way. An objection of a very different nature has sometimes proceeded, unexpectedly, from a very different quarter—the friends of Revelation—who have been known, without due reflection, to contend that by the light of unassisted reason we can know absolutely nothing of God and a Future State. They appear to be alarmed lest the progress of Natural Religion should prove dangerous to the acceptance of Revealed; lest the former should, as it were, be taken as a substitute for the latter. They argue if the two systems were rivals, and whatever credit the one gained, were so much lost to the other. They seem to think that if any discovery of First Cause and another world were made by natural reason, it would no longer be true that "life and immortality were brought to light by the gospel." Although these reasoners are neither the most famous advocates of revelation, nor the most enlightened, we yet may do well to show the groundlessness of the alarms which they would excite.

1. In the *first* place, it is worthy of our consideration that the greatest advocates of Natural Theology have always been sincere and even zealous Christians. The names of Ray, Clarke, Derham, Keill, Paley, attest the truth of this assertion. None of these was likely to lend his support to any system the evidence of which put the outworks of Christianity in jeopardy. Some of them, as Clarke and Paley, have signalized themselves as strenuous and able defenders of the truth of Revelation. Derham actually delivered his celebrated work on the great truths of Natural Theology as a series of sermons preached in Bow Church, at a Lecture for the promotion of the Christian religion, founded by Mr. Boyle. At the same Lecture, in St. Paul's, was delivered Dr. Clarke's argument *a priori*, and indeed his whole "Evidence of Natural and Revealed Religion," as well as his "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God;" and Dr. Bentley, the first preacher upon that foundation, delivered in like manner as sermons his argument in favor of Natural Religion from the structure of the human mind, the animal body, and the universe at large.

This Lecture was expressly founded by Mr. Boyle in support of the Christian religion; and no reference to Natural Theology, apart from its uses in supporting Revelation, is to be found in the terms of the gift. The subject of the eight sermons is to be, in the words of the will, "The proof of the Christian religion against notorious infidels, viz. atheists, theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans, not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves." Yet the great Christian divines whom we have named so construed these words as to include a proof of Natural Religion among the most essential arguments for Christianity; and almost as many of the sermons preached at the Boyle Lecture, during the first forty years after its foundation, relate to the doctrines of Natural Theology as to those of Revelation. So far were the divines of that day from holding the two subjects as hostile to each other.*

2. But, *secondly*, Natural Theology is most serviceable to the support of Revelation. All the soundest arguments in behalf of the latter pre-suppose the former to be admitted. Witness the profound work of Butler, his "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion to the Order of Nature," the most argumentative and philosophical defence of Chris-

* If any one will read the vituperation rather than sermon against infidels with which Dr. Bentley commences his discourses upon Natural Religion, he will see no reason to doubt the zeal for Christianity of that most learned preacher.

tianity ever submitted to the world. But Lardner and Paley, and all other writers on the same side, abound in references to Natural Theology, and in the course of their reasonings assume its truths as postulates.

We may suppose tnat those practised controversialists and zealous Christians did not make such assumptions gratuitously. We may safely give them credit for not resting their case upon more postulates than the exigency of the argument required. Such a course if unnecessary would have been most unskilful, and might have proved dangerous by opening the door to new attacks. But they are not peculiar in their view of the subject. Boyle and Newton were as sincerely attached to Christianity as any men in any age, and they are likewise the most zealous advocates of Natural Religion. Lord Bacon, though imbued perhaps with a certain degree of prejudice on this subject, but of a philosophical and not a polemical origin, distinctly places the truth of Natural Religion at the entrance of theological study, and regards the evidences of Revelation as founded upon the previous demonstration of Natural Theology. "The latter," he says, "is the key of the former, and opens our understanding to the genuine spirit of the Scriptures, but also unlocks our belief, so that we may enter upon the serious contemplation of the Divine Power, the characters of which are so deeply graven in the works of the creation."* He elsewhere also lays it down as clear that atheism is to be refuted not by miracles, but by the contemplation of nature, and accurately takes the distinction between Revelation and Natural Religion; that the former declares the will of God as to the worship most acceptable, while the latter teaches his existence and powers, but is silent as to a ritual.†

3. Accordingly we proceed a step farther, and assert, *thirdly*, that it is a vain and ignorant thing to suppose that Natural Theology is not necessary to the support of Revelation. The latter may be untrue, though the former be admitted. It may be proved, or allowed, that there is a God, though it be denied that he sent any message to man, through men or other intermediate agents; as indeed the Epicurians believed in the existence of the gods, but held them to keep wholly aloof from human affairs, leaving the world, physical as well as moral, to itself, without the least interference in its concerns.‡ But Revelation cannot be true if Natural Religion is false, and cannot be demonstrated strictly by any argument, or established by any evidence without proving or assuming the latter. A little attention to the subject will clearly prove this proposition.

Suppose it were shown by incontestable proofs that a messenger sent immediately from heaven had appeared on the earth; suppose, to make the case more strong against our argument, that this messenger arrived in our own days, nay appeared before our eyes, and showed his divine title to have his message believed, by performing miracles in our presence. No one can by possibility imagine a stronger case; for it excludes all arguments upon the weight or the fallibility of testimony; it assumes all the ordinary difficulties in the way of Revelation to be got over. Now, even this strong evidence would not at all establish the truth of the doctrine promulgated by the messenger; for it would not show that the story he brought was worthy of belief in any one particular except his supernatural powers. These would be demonstrated by his working miracles. All the rest of his statement would rest on his assertion. But a being capable of working miracles might very well be capable of deceiving us. The possession of power does not of necessity exclude either fraud or malice. This messenger might come from an evil as well as from a good being; he might come from more beings than one; or he might come from one being of many existing in the universe. When Christianity was first promulgated, the miracles of Jesus were not denied by the ancients; but it was asserted that they came from evil beings, and that he was a magician. Such an explanation was consistent with the kind of belief to which the votaries of polytheism were accustomed. They were habitually credulous of miracles and of divine interpositions. But their argument was not at all unphilosophical. There is nothing whatever inconsistent in the power to work miracles being conferred upon a man or a minister by a supernatural being, who is either of limited power himself, or of great malignity, or who is one of many such beings. Yet it is certain that no means can be devised for attesting the supernatural agency of any one, except such a power of working miracles; therefore, it is plain that no sufficient evidence can ever be given by direct Revelation alone in favor of the great truths of religion. The messenger in question might have power to work miracles without end, and yet it would remain unproved, either that God was omnipotent, and one, and benevolent or that he destined his creatures to a future state, or that he had made them such as they are in their present state. All this might be true, indeed; but its truth would rest only on the messenger's assertion, and upon whatever internal evidence the nature of his communication afforded; and it might be false, without the least derogation to the truth of the fact that he came from a superior being, and possessed the power of suspending the laws of nature.

But the doctrines of the existence of a Deity and of his attributes, which Natural Religion teaches, preclude the possibility of such ambiguities and remove all those difficulties. We thus learn that the Creator of the world is one and the same; and we come to know his attributes, not merely of power, which alone the direct communication by miracles could convey, but of wisdom and goodness. Built upon this foundation, the message of Revelation becomes at once unimpeachable and invaluable. It converts every inference of reason into certainty, and above all, it communicates the Divine Being's intentions respecting our own lot, with a degree of precision which the inferences of Natural Theology very imperfectly possess. This, in truth, is the chief superiority of Revelation, and this is the praise justly given to the gospel in sacred writ—not that it teaches the being and attributes of God, but that it brings life and immortality to light.

It deserves, however, to be remarked, in perfect consistency with the argument which has here been maintained, that no mere revelation, no direct message, however avouched by miraculous gifts, could prove the faithfulness of the promises held out by the messenger, excepting by the slight inference which the nature of the message might afford. The portion of his credentials which consisted of his miraculous powers could not prove it. For unless we had first ascertained the unity and the benevolence

* De Dig. et Aug. lib. i.

† De Dig. lib. iii. c. 2.

‡ It is singular, too, that this sect inculcated religious duties towards the gods, whom nevertheless they neither believed to be the creators nor governors of the universe. Cicero says of its founder, "De sanctitate, de pietate adversus deos libros scripsit Epicurus. At quomodo in his loquitur? ut Coruncanum, ut Scævolam, Pontifices maximos te audire dicas." "You would think," says he, "to hear him, it was our high-priests descanting upon holiness and piety."

of the being that sent him, as those miracles only prove power, he might be sent to deceive us; and thus the hopes held out by him might be delusions. The doctrines of Natural Religion here come to our aid, and secure our belief to the messenger of one Being, whose goodness they have taught us to trust.

4. In other respects, the services of Natural Religion are far from inconsiderable, as subsidiary to, and co-operative with, the great help of Revelation. Thus, were our whole knowledge of the Deity drawn from Revelation, its foundation must become weaker and weaker as the distance in point of time increases from the actual interposition. Tradition, or the evidence of testimony, must of necessity be its only proof; for perpetual miracles must be wrought to give us evidence by our own senses. Now, a perpetual miracle is a contradiction in terms; for the exception to, or suspension of, the laws of nature so often repeated would destroy the laws themselves, and with the laws the force of the exception or suspension. Upon testimony, then, all Revelation must rest. Every age but the one in which the miracles were wrought, and every country but the one that witnessed them—indeed, all the people of that country itself save those actually present—must receive the proofs which they afford of Divine interposition upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, and of those to whom eye-witnesses told it. Even if the miracles were exhibited before all the nations of one age, the next must believe upon the authority of tradition; and if we suppose the interposition to be repeated from time to time, each repitition would incalculably weaken its force, because the laws of nature, though not wholly destroyed, as they must be by a constant violation, would yet lose their prevailing force, and each exception would become a slighter proof of supernatural agency. It is far otherwise with the proofs of Natural Religion; repetition only strengthens and extends them. We are by no means affirming that Revelation would lose its sanction by lapse of time, as long as it had the perpetually new and living evidence of Natural Religion to support it. We are only showing the use of that evidence to Revelation, by examining the inevitable consequences of its entire removal, and seeing how ill supported the truths of Revelation would be, if the prop were withdrawn which they borrow from Natural Theology; for then they would rest upon tradition alone.*

In truth, it is with Natural Religion as with many of the greatest blessings of our sublunary lot; they are so common, so habitually present to and enjoyed by us, that we become insensible of their value, and only estimate them aright when we lose them, or fancy them lost. Accustomed to handle the truths of Revelation in connection with, and in addition to, those of Natural Theology, and never having experienced any state of mind in which we were without the latter, we forget how essential they are to the former. As we are wont to forget the existence of the air we constantly breathe until put in mind of it by some violent change threatening suffocation, so it requires a violent fit of abstraction to figure to ourselves the state of our belief in Revelation were the lights of natural religion withdrawn. The existence and attributes of a God are so familiarly proved by every thing around us, that we can hardly picture to ourselves the state of our belief in this great truth, if we only knew it by the testimony borne to miracles, which, however, authentic, were yet wrought in a remote age and distant region.*

5. The use of Natural Theology to the believer in Revelation is equally remarkable in keeping alive the feelings of piety and devotion. As this topic has occurred under a former head, it is only to be presented here in close connection with Revealed Religion. It may be observed, then, that even the inspired penmen have constant recourse to the views which are derived from the contemplation of nature when they would exalt the Deity by a description of his attributes, or inculcate sentiments of devotion tawards him. "How excellent," says the Psalmist, "is thy name in all the earth; thou hast set thy glory above the heavens. I will consider the heavens, even the work of thy fingers; the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained." See also that singularly beautiful poem the 139th Psalm; and the Book of Job, from the 38th to the 41st chapter.

It is remarkable how little is to be found of particularity and precision in any thing that has been revealed to us respecting the nature of the Godhead. For the wisest purposes it has pleased Providence to veil in awful mystery almost all the attributes of the Ancient of Days beyond what natural reason teaches. By direct interposition, through miraculous agency, we become acquainted with his will, and are made more certain of his existence; but his peculiar attributes are nearly the same in the volume of nature and in that of his revealed word.

* Note V.

* Mr. Locke has said, upon a similar question, "He that takes away Reason to make way for Revelation puts out the light of both; and does much about the same as if he would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope."—(Human Understanding, iv. 19, 4.)

NOTES.

NOTE I.

Of the Classification of the Sciences.

I AM abundantly sensible, not only, as is stated in the text, how imperfect all such classifications must be, but that grave objections may be urged against the one I have adopted, and particularly against the threefold division of *physical*, *psychological*, and *ethical* or *moral*. It may be said that one part of the moral branch of Natural Theology belongs to psychology—namely, the arguments drawn from the nature of the mind in favor of a future state; and that this part ought therefore to have been classed with the second division of the ontological branch—namely, the psychological. But it must be borne in mind that the two first divisions, comprising the ontological branch, are confined to the doctrine of existences—the investigation of the Deity's existence and attributes; while the whole of the third division, or second branch, relates to the prospects of man with respect to his soul; and consequently, although the arguments respecting these prospects are partly of a psychological nature, yet they relate to the future, and not at all to the past or present—not at all to the doctrine of existence or attributes. This is therefore a sufficiently distinct ground for the separation. In all such classifications we should be guided by views of convenience, rather than by any desire to attain perfect symmetry; and that arrangement may be best suited to a particular purpose which plants the same things in one order, and separates them and unites them in one way, when an arrangement which should dispose those things differently might be preferable, if we had another purpose to serve. Thus the three divisions of physics, psychology, and morals may be convenient for the purposes of Natural Theology, and yet it may not so well suit the purposes of general science; although I own my opinion to be in favor of that classification for such general purposes also, keeping always in mind that whatever portion of moral science (using the term in its more ordinary sense) belongs to ontology comes within the second, and not the third, subdivision, and that the third deals with deontology alone.

The various classifications which, in ancient as well as modern times, have been made of the sciences, are well calculated to illustrate the difficulty of a perfect arrangement. The Greek philosophers distinguished them into physics, ethics, and logic. Under the first head was comprehended both the nature of mind and of the Deity; consequently, under physics were classed what we now term psychology and theology, as well as natural philosophy. Mr. Locke mainly adopted the same order when he ranged the objects of science into *physical*, *practical*, and *logical* (φυσικη, πρακτικη, σημειωτικη, or λογικη;)—or, 1. Things in themselves knowable, whether God himself, angels, spirits, bodies; or their affections, as number, figure, &c. 2. Actions, as they depend upon us in order to happiness; and 3. The use of signs, in order to knowledge. Thus, like the Greek philosophers, he classed natural philosophy, psychology, and theology under one head; but as he only stated ethics to be "the most considerable of the second head," it may be doubtful whether or not he included under it any practical application of the natural branches of the first head. One thing, too, is quite clear in this arrangement—that pure mathematics becomes part of the science of ontology—that is, of existences, natural and mental; and yet it bears a more close relation to the third, or logical division. It certainly appears somewhat violent to class fluxions with anatomy, metallurgy with psychology, and entomology with theology; while we make separate heads of ethics and logic. But yet more violent is M. Turgot's classification, by which he ranges, under the head of physical sciences, not only natural philosophy and metaphysics by name, but also logic and history. To thus classing history there is, indeed, a double objection. Not only is it doing unnecessary violence to common language, to make that which bears no exclusive relation to natural objects a part of physics, but to make history a science at all is perhaps yet more objectionable, unless in the sense in which inductive science is deemed historical by Lord Bacon—being considered by him as the history of facts. But this, too, is incorrect; for the history or record of facts is only the foundation of inductive science, which consists in the comparison, or reasoning from the comparison, of these facts, and marking their differences and resemblances; whereas history is applicable to all events and all sciences, being merely the record of things that have happened, of whatever kind, and implies no reasoning or comparing at all. Why is poetry, music, painting, omitted in such arrangement as that of Turgot? They are as much sciences as history.

Lord Bacon's own scientific classification is certainly not distinguished by peculiar felicity. He divides science into three parts, according as its object is the Deity, Man, or External Nature, naming these branches Natural Theology, Human Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy. Hence, while intellectual and moral philosophy are separated from theology, they are both classed with anatomy and medicine; while optics and acoustics, merely from their relation to the human eye and the human ear, are ranged under the same head with ethics, and separated from natural philosophy. Hence, too, the chemical nature of the blood and bones of man is made one part of one division—Human Philosophy; while the chemical nature of the blood and bones of all other animals is ranged under another head—Natural Philosophy. As for logic and the mathematics, they are treated as a kind of appendix to physics, rather than as deserving the name of sciences.

NOTE II.

Of the Psychological Argument from Final Causes.

DR. CLARKE maintains that the evidences of design are much more to be traced in the natural than in the moral world; but he plainly means by this proposition, not so much to compare the proofs of Divine wisdom exhibited in the phenomena of the material with those exhibited in the phenomena of the intellectual world, as to show that the designs or intentions of the Deity are more easily perceived in the arrangements of the world with which we are most conversant, than his plans for our happiness, and his general intentions respecting our fate, are to be inferred from moral considerations. It is, however, to be remarked that, like all other reasoners upon Natural Theology, Dr. Clarke confines his attention entirely to physical, and never adverts to psychological proofs.

Mr. Smith, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, has interspersed with his reasonings upon the constitution of the affections and feelings, reflections upon the purposes to which they are subservient; and Mr. Stewart's writings afford frequent instances of his attention having been alive to the soundness of the same speculation. Indeed, no one who had the accurate and just views of the nature of the sentient principle, and the steady conviction of its separate and immaterial nature, which prevail through all his writings, could fail to perceive the application of the argument *a posteriori* to our mental constitution. But these indications of this admirable writer's attention to the subject are accidental, and scattered through his works; and it is exceedingly to be regretted, nor, indeed, very easily to be explained, that he should have entirely omitted all reference to the constitution of our mental faculties in the otherwise full and able treatise upon Natural Religion which forms so large a part—above one third—of his "Philosophy of the Active Powers." With the exception of a single remark (vol. ii. p. 48,) and that only upon the adaptation of our faculties to our external circumstances, and a quotation from Locke, which relates more to the bodily than to the mental powers, there occurs nothing whatever upon this important part of the subject in that excellent work, where it would have been so peculiarly appropriate.

This silence of modern writers upon Natural Theology is easily accounted for by the same consideration to which Dr. Reid has referred in explaining how the modern skeptics have admitted the existence of appearances of design in the universe, and denied what he terms the major proposition—that design may be traced by its effects; while the ancient skeptics, admitting the latter proposition, denied the former. He considers this as owing to the great discoveries in physics made in modern times; and to the same cause may be ascribed the disposition of Natural Theologians to confine their attention to the evidences afforded by the material world. The ancients, on the other hand, whose progress in Natural Philosophy was extremely limited, bestow more attention, and with considerably greater success, upon Intellectual Philosophy; and accordingly we find that they drew their arguments *a posteriori* for the existence of design in the universe as much from moral as from physical considerations.

The discussion held by Socrates with Aristodemus, as recorded by Xenophon, is well known. After enumerating the various convenient arrangements of the bodily organs, he adds—Ου τοινυν μονον ηρκεσε τω θεω του σωματος επιμεληθηναι· αλλ' (ὁπερ μεγιστον εστι) και την ψυχην κρατιστην τω ανθρωπω ενεφυσε· τινος γαρ αλλου ζωου ψυχη πρωτα μεν θεων, των τα μεγιστα και καλλιστα συνταξαντων, ησθηται ὁτι εισι; τι δε φυλον αλλο η ανθρωποι, θεους θεραπευουσι; ποια δε ψυχη της ανθρωπινης ἱκανωτερα προφυλαττεσθαι, η λιμον, η διψος, η ψυχη, η θαλπη, η νοσοις επικουρησαι, η ῥωμην ασκησαι, η προς μαθησιν εκπονησαι, η ὁσα αν ακουση, η ιδη, η μαθη, ἱκανωτερα εστι δια μεμνησθαι;—"*Nor has the Deity been satisfied with taking care of the body alone; he has implanted in man what is a far greater work to have made—a most excellent soul; for what other animal possesses a mind that can perceive the existence of the Gods by whom all these vast and fair works have been formed? What other creature than man worships those Gods? What other intelligence is superior to man's in providing against hunger, and thirst, and cold, and heat? or in curing diseases, or in exercising strength, or in cultivating learning, or in storing up the recollection of things heard, and seen, and learnt?*"*—It may be observed here, in passing, that Mr. Stewart, who refers to this passage, has adopted the paraphrastic translation by Mrs. Fielding, and it is extremely unlike the original. Mr. Stewart justly praises the "almost divine simplicity" of the whole conversation, which is a just eulogy; but the translation, although well written, little resembles the Greek in that particular. The one I have here given is at least faithful.

In like manner, the discussion with Euthydemus, after showing the goodness of the Gods in adapting all things to man's use, closes with mentioning the senses given us to enjoy those gifts of external nature, and, lastly, the use of reason. Τοδε και λογισμον ἡμιν εμφυσαι, &c. &c.—"*They have implanted reason in our nature, whereby we inquire touching external things; and, arguing and remembering, we learn the uses of each, and hit upon many contrivances for attaining good and avoiding evil. Have they not also given us the gift of speech, by which we can communicate mutually all we have learnt, and thus instruct each other, and make laws, and regulate civil polity?*"*

Plato pursues the same course of reasoning. We may refer particularly to the tenth and twelfth books of the treatise *De Legg.* Thus, towards the end of the latter book, he states the argument for the Deity's existence as twofold—the nature of the mind, and the order of the worldly system. The first of his reasons is drawn from considering the qualities of the mind; its greater antiquity than that of the body and its immortality; for the Platonists certainly considered immortality to be so much of the essence of mind as to deduce from thence, as the less clear proposition, the existence of a Deity.

The Stoics reasoned in like manner, with an equal regard to mental and to natural phenomena. Epictetus, after deducing the inference of design from the adaptations of sensible objects, as of the eye to light, adds, correctly and philosophically, that "the constitution of the understanding, whereby it not only receives impressions through the senses, but also deals with the ideas thus received, and combines or composes something out of them, proceeding from things that are near to things quite remote, proves the existence of an Artificer; since things carrying such marks of contrivance could not," he contends, "exist spontaneously, and without design."†

The same train of reasoning is followed by Cicero in all those parts of his writings in which he treats of the existence of ■ Deity. Thus the famous passage so often quoted from the treatise *De Natura Deorum*, ends with ■ reference to our mental constitution, although this part of it is not so frequently attended to. "An vero si domum magnam, pulchramque videris, non possis adduci ut etiam si dominum non videas muribus illam et mustelis ædificatam putes; tantum vero ornatum mundi, tantam varietatem pulchritudinemque rerum celestium, tantam vim et magnitudinum maris atque terrarum si tuum ac non deorum immortalium domicilium putes, nonne plane desipere videare?" Thus far as to sensible objects. But he proceeds, "Aliud a terra sumsimus, aliud ab humore, aliud ab igne, aliud ab aere eo quem spiritu ducimus: illud autem quod vincit hæc omnia, rationem dico et si placet, pluribus verbis, mentem, consilium, cogitationem, prudentiam ubi invenimus? unde sustulimus?"‡

And again, in the same book, after speaking at large of the structure of the body, and the uses to which its various parts are adapted, he adds, "Jam vero animum ipsum, memtemque hominis, rationem, consilium, prudentiam, qui non divina cura perfecta

■ Xen. Memor. I. iv. 13.

■ Xen. Memor. IV. iii. 11.
† Epict. Enchir. i. 6.
‡ De Nat. Deor. ii. 6.

esse perspicit, is his ipsis rebus mihi videtur carere." He proceeds to show how great a gift reason is from its productions: "Ex quo scientia intelligitur quam vim habeat, qualis sit, qua ne in deo quidem est res ulla præstantior;" and he closes with the well known passage in praise of eloquence.*

In the Tusculan Questions he alludes to mind in a different manner. After going through the various provisions made for human enjoyment in the economy of nature, he adds, "Sic mentem hominis quamvis cum non videos ut deum non vides, tamen ut deum agnoscis ex operibus ejus, sic ex memoria rerum et inventione et celeritate motus omnique pulchritudine virtutis, vim divinam mentis agnoscito."†

The course of the argument in which he is engaged in this first part of his work, the immortality of the soul, leads him to use the phenomena of its faculties for the purpose of illustrating its separate existence; and, therefore, he only enumerates the arrangements of the natural world as proofs of Divine agency, and gives those proofs not as the main object of the argument, but as introductory to his statement of the soul's independent nature.

In these speculations of the ancient philosophers, we cannot find any process of strict inductive reasoning; and, accordingly, the facts are not turned to the best account for the purposes of the argument. But this defect appears, at the least, as much in the physical as in the psychological portion of the reasoning. Indeed, the latter comes more near to our own philosophy; and certainly we must admit that those old writers upon Natural Theology, in the place which they assigned to intellectual phenomena, pursued a more sound and consistent method of philosophizing, than the moderns have done when speculating upon the same subject.

NOTE III.

Of the Doctrine of Cause and Effect.

The argument deduced by skeptical writers from Mr. Hume's doctrine respecting causation, has tended to bring some discredit upon the doctrine itself, by raising a prejudice against it. The bad use, however, which is made of a sound principle, is not fairly a matter of charge against that principle. The only question is, whether or not the principle be just in itself; and it cannot be just if legitimate reasoning can deduce from it an absurd consequence. A dangerous consequence, how rigorously soever following from it, would of course form no reason against its reception, though it might justly be made the ground of examining very narrowly the foundations upon which the doctrine itself rested.

Mr. Stewart, in a valuable and learned note to the "Philosophy of the Human Mind," (vol. i. note D,) has brought together the authorities, which have all more or less not only countenanced, but even forestalled Mr. Hume in his position—that we know nothing of causation except by observing a constant junction between two events or two facts. This is unquestionably true. We expect that heat being applied to combustible bodies, they will take fire; and that air being excluded, they will cease to burn. We expect this, because between the application of heat and the ignition of the heated body, between the exclusion of air and the extinction of the fire, we have constantly observed the relation of sequence—the one event being always followed closely by the other. The inference which forms the ground of this expectation, forms the ground of our belief that the one event occasions the other—that there is between the two a connection beyond the mere relation of junction and sequence—and that the one, the preceding event, exerts an influence, a force, a power, over the other, and produces the other.

This constant conjunction, therefore, in point of fact, is the ground of our belief, and the origin of our ideas of casuality or causation. So far we must admit the doctrine in question. That it is the only ground of the belief, and the only origin of the idea, may admit of some doubt. This is the point on which turns the connection between the science of Natural Theology and the controversy we are now referring to; and therefore it deserves some consideration in the present note.

1. The mere constant and unvarying succession of two events would not of itself be sufficient to make us, even in popular language, denominate the one a cause of the other. Light uniformly succeeds dark—one o'clock always follows twelve; but no man ever thought of calling or of deeming night to be the cause of day, or noon of afternoon.* Another and a very important experiment or observation is required, before we pronounce the successive or conjoined events to be related one to the other as cause and effect. Not only must the second event always have been found to follow the first, but the second must never have been observed without the first preceding it, or at least without some other event preceding it—in which case the causation is predicated alike of both those preceding events. Thus, the clock pointing to one is not reckoned the effect of its having previously pointed to twelve; but it is reckoned the effect of a certain mechanism, namely, a spring unfolding itself, because if the spring is prevented from relaxing, the hand no longer points; and so it is also reckoned the effect of a weight pulling a cord, because, when that weight is stopped in its descent, the whole machinery stops.

2. But we derive not our notion of casuality from even this double proof—the positive and negative combined—the two observations that one event always follows the other, and that it ceases when the other ceases. This of itself would only tell us the fact, that when one event exists, the other exists immediately afterwards and not otherwise.—Our minds form, whether we will or no, another idea—not merely that of constant connection or succession, but of the one exerting a power over the other by an inherent force; and this is the idea of causation. Whence do we derive it? I apprehend only from our consciousness. We feel that we have a will and a power—that we can move a limb, and affect by our own powers, excited after our own volition, a change upon external objects. Now from this consciousness we derive the idea of power, and we transfer this idea and the relation on which it is founded between our own will and the change produced, to the relations between events wholly external to ourselves—assuming them to be connected, as we feel our volition and our movements are mutually connected.

If it be said that this idea by no means involves that of necessary connection, nothing can be more certain. The whole is a question of fact—of contingent truth. Just as the world might be so constituted that heat applied should not ignite, nor air excluded extinguish—so might our volition cease to make our limbs move, as it does cease in paralysis.

* De Nat. Deor. ii. 59. † Tusc. Qu. i. 29.

* Mr. Stewart's observation, that day follows night as much as night follows day, makes no difference in this illustration: for we may suppose the case of a person seeing day for the first time, or twelve o'clock for the first time, and the conclusion in the text would still hold good.

As it is, and because our will has hitherto had the power to move our limbs, we have acquired the idea of power and of causation. But if it had always been otherwise, and that no connection of succession had ever existed between our volition and our movements, I do not see how the idea of power or casuality could ever have been obtained by us from any observation of the sequence of events. The idea of design or contrivance, in like manner, must have been wanting to us; and hence, I cannot understand how, but for the consciousness of power, we could ever have been led to the belief in the existence of a First Cause. This is another, and, to my mind, a very strong, additional reason, for resisting the evidences of Natural Theology upon the argument *a posteriori* alone.

That they are greatly in error who confound, as has been too common, causation with necessary connection, and who deny the existence of the relation of casuality, merely because the relation is contingent and not necessary, is sufficiently manifest. Our ideas of power and of causation are solid and well founded, although they only refer to a power or a causation which may or may not exist. That one event causes another may be a proposition quite true, to which we affix a precise and definite meaning, and which we have learnt from observation and from consciousness, although the order of nature might easily have been so constituted, as that the two events should never have been found in sequence. At present the order of nature connects them, and we affirm that there exists the relation of cause and effect—a relation contingent, however, and not necessary. Of necessary causation we can by no possibility know any thing; but causation may be real enough, though contingent.

NOTE IV.

Of the "Systeme de la Nature," and the Hypothesis of Materialism.

THERE is no book of an atheistical description, which has ever made a greater impression than the famous *Systeme de la Nature*. It bears the impression of London, 1780, but was manifestly printed in France; also, it purports to be written by Mirabaud, secretary of the Academie Française; and in a prefatory advertisement by the supposed editor, who pronounces a great panegyric upon the work, enough appears to engender doubts of Mirabaud having been its author. He died in 1760; and it was twenty years before the work appeared—found, says the writer, among a collection of manuscripts made by a "savant curieux de rassembler des productions de ce genre." Robinet, the author of another work of similar tendency, called *De la Nature*, has been at different times said to be its author, without any proof, or indeed probability; but the general opinion now ascribes it to the Baron d'Holbach, aided, in all probability, by Diderot, Helvetius, and other members of the free-thinking society, who frequented the Baron's house, and who used to complain of Voltaire's excess of religious principle, not unfrequently ridiculing him for his fanaticism. Mirabaud; upon whom this publication most unjustifiably charges the book, by placing his name in the title-page without any doubt expressed, and reserving the doubts for the preface, was a man of unimpeachable integrity and amiable disposition. He had been educated in the College of the Jesuits, and afterwards was preceptor to some branches of the royal family; he died at the age of eighty-five, universally esteemed for his unblemished character, his strict probity, and his attractive manners. The Diderots and Grimms, though not perhaps persons of abandoned life, were very far from attaining such praise: indeed, the licentious works that proceeded from Diderot's pen attest his deficiency, at least in one branch of morals.

It is impossible to deny the merits of the *Systeme de la Nature*. The work of a great writer it unquestionably is; but its merit lies in the extraordinary eloquence of the composition, and the skill with which words substituted for ideas, and assumptions for proofs, are made to pass current, not only for arguments against existing beliefs, but for a new system planted in their stead. As a piece of reasoning, it never rises above a set of plausible sophisms—plausible only as long as the ear of the reader being filled with sounds, his attention is directed away from the sense. The chief resource of the writer is to take for granted the thing to be proved, and then to refer back to his assumption as a step in the demonstration, while he builds various conclusions upon it as if it were complete. Then he declaims against a doctrine seen from one point of view only, and erects another for our assent, which, besides being liable to the very same objections, has also no foundation whatever to rest upon. The grand secret, indeed, of the author goes even further *in petitione principii* than this; for we oftentimes find, that in the very substitute which he has provided for the notions of belief he would destroy, there lurks the very idea which he is combating, and that his idol is our own faith in a new form, but masked under different words and phrases.

The truth of these statements we are now to examine; but first it may be fitting to state why so much attention is bestowed upon this work. The reason is, that its bold character has imposed on multitudes of readers, seducing some by its tone of confidence, but intimidating others by its extreme audacity. It is the only* work of any consideration wherein atheism is openly avowed and preached—avowed, indeed, and preached in terms. (See, particularly, part ii. chap. 2.) This effect of its hardihood was certainly anticipated by its author; for the supposed editor, in his advertisement, describes it, somewhat complacently, if not boastingly, as "l'ouvrage le plus hardi et le plus extraordinaire que l'esprit humain ait ose produire jusqu'a present."

The grand object of the book being to show that there is no God, the author begins by endeavoring to establish the most rigorous materialism, by trying to show that there is no such thing as mind—nothing beyond or different from the material world. His whole fabric is built on this foundation; and it would be difficult to find in the history of metaphysical controversies such inconclusive reasoning, and such undisguised assumptions of the matter in dispute as this fundamental part of his system is composed of. He begins with asserting that man has no means of carrying his mind beyond the visible world; that he is necessarily confined within its limits; and that there exists nothing, and there can exist nothing, beyond the boundary which incloses all beings—that is, the material world. Nature, we are told, acts according to laws, simple, uniform, invariable, which we discover by experience. We are related to Universal Nature by our senses, which alone enable us to discover her secrets: and the instant we abandon the lessons which those senses teach us, we plunge into an abyss where we become the prey of imagination.

Thus the very first chapter—the opening of the work—has already made the gratuitous assumption

* The treatise of Robinet, *De la Nature*, which, though far less eloquent and dexterous, is superior in real merit, has never attracted any thing like the same notice.

of a being whom the author calls Nature, without either defining what that is, or how he arrived at a knowledge of its existence. He has also assumed another existence, that of matter, or the material world; and then he asserts, what is absolutely contrary to every day's experience, and to the first rudiments of science, that we know, and can know, nothing but what our senses tell us. It is a sufficient answer to ask, how we know any thing of mathematical truth? And in case a cavil should arise upon geometrical science (though it would be but a cavil) we shall speak only of analytical; and then it is certain that the whole science of numbers, from the rules of elementary arithmetic up to the highest branches of the modern calculus, could by possibility have been discovered by a person who had never in his life been out of a dark room—who had never touched any body but his own; nay, whose limbs had all his life been so fixed, that he had never exercised even upon his own body the sense of touch: indeed, we might even go so far as to say, who had never heard a sound uttered; for the primitive ideas of number might by possibility have suggested themselves to his mind, and been made the grounds of all further calculations. What becomes now of all our knowledge depending on the senses? But we need not go to so extreme a case as the one just put; there would be an end of the position we are dealing with, if a person so circumstanced could have discovered any one analytical or common arithmetical truth. Enough, indeed, is known to every one, how moderately soever imbued with mathematical learning, to satisfy him how little the intimations received from the senses have, or can have, to do with the whole science of number and quantity. That those intimations of the senses are themselves not at all of a material nature, we shall presently see.

After many discussions and much eloquence, in the course of which various agents are introduced besides Nature, as Necessity, Relation, and so forth, without definition of their qualities or proof of their existence, we come to the great demonstration that no soul, no mind, nothing separate from the body and from matter, exists, or indeed can exist: for this book is not content with skepticism; it rests not even satisfied with disproof: it affects to show the impossibility of the doctrines which it combats; and while perpetually complaining of dogmas, it is perhaps the most dogmatical work that was ever written. The sixth and seventh chapters, but the seventh especially, treat of this fundamental doctrine—the corner-stone of the whole building. The argument is, in fact, a mere vague and unintelligible combination of words, as when the author concludes by saying, The result of the whole is, that "the soul, far from being any thing distinguishable from the body, is only the body itself regarded relatively to some of its functions, or to some of the manners of acting or of being, whereof it is capable as long as it enjoys life"—(n'est que ce corps lui meme envisage relativement a quelqu'unes de ses fonctions ou a quelques façons d'etre et d'agir dont il est susceptible tant qu'il jouit de la vie.) Or when he describes those faculties which are vulgarly called intellectual, as modes or manners of being and of acting, which result from the organization of the body—(les facultes que l'on nomme intellectuelles ne sont que des modes ou des façons d'etre et d'agir resultant de l'organization de notre corps.)—Part i. chap. viii.

But there is still more to be remarked throughout the Treatise, an inconceivable forgetfulness of the evidence on which each party in the controversy most relies, a constant assumption of the thing in question, and even an involuntary assumption of that very separate and spiritual existence which it is the author's object to disprove.

Like all materialists, but far more grossly and dogmatically than almost any other, the author begins by assuming that Matter exists, that we can have no doubt whatever of this, and that any other existence is a thing to be proved. Now, what is this matter? Whence do we derive any knowledge of it? How do we assure ourselves of its existence? What evidence at all have we respecting either its being or its qualities? We feel, or taste, or smell something; that is, we have certain sensations, which make us conclude that something exists beyond ourselves. It will not do to say beyond our bodies; for our bodies themselves give us the same sensations. What we feel is something beyond, or out of, or external to, or other than and apart from *ourselves;* that is, from our minds. Our sensations give us the intimations of such existences. But what are our sensations? The feelings or thoughts of our minds. Then what we do is this: From certain ideas in our minds, produced no doubt by, and connected with our bodily senses, but independent of, and separate from them, we draw certain conclusions by reasoning, and those conclusions are in favor of the existence of something other than our sensations and our reasonings, and other than that which experiences the sensations and makes the reasonings—passive in the one case, active in the other. That something is what we call Mind. But plainly, whatever it is, we owe to it the knowledge that matter exists: for that knowledge is gained by means of a sensation or feeling, followed by a process of reasoning; it is gained by the mind having first suffered something, and then done something, and, therefore, to say there is no such thing as Matter, would be a much less absurd inference than to say there is no such thing as Mind. The very act of inferring, as we do by reasoning, that the object which affects our senses exists apart from ourselves, is wholly incapable of giving us any knowledge of the object's existence, without, at the same time, giving us a knowledge of our own; that is, of the Mind's existence. An external implies necessarily an internal; that there may be any thing beyond or without, there must needs be some other thing beyond or without which it is said to exist; that there may be a body which we feel abiding separate from us, namely, our own body, one part of which gives us sensations through another part—there must be a *we*, an *us*—that is, a *mind*. If, as the *Systeme de la Nature* often contends, we have a right to call spirit, or soul, or mind, a mere negation of the qualities of matter, surely this might just as well be retorted by saying, that matter is only a negation of the qualities of mind. But, in truth, the materialists cannot stir one step without the aid of that mind whose existence they deny.

Then what are those *qualities* of matter they are always speaking about? What but the effects, or the power of causing those effects produced by matter upon the mind through the senses? A remarkable instance, and a very instructive one, of the impossibility of a materialist arguing legitimately, strictly, or consistently, is to be found in the passage of this book, where the argument is as it were summed up against the existence of mind: "La matiere seule peut agir, sur *nos sens* sans *lesquels* il *nous* est impossible que rien se fasse *connoitre de nous.*" Here the author, in order to deny the possibility of mind, or any thing else than matter having an existence, uses, in two lines, expressions six times over, all drawn from the assumption of a something existing separate from and independent of matter. *Our—senses—which—us—known—by—us*—all these are words absolutely without meaning if there is nothing but matter in existence; and these are expressions conveying the ideas of which this fundamental proposition wholly consists. But that the

author refers to Bishop Berkeley, as well as Mr. Locke, it might have been supposed that he had never been made aware of the controversy upon the existence of matter. Indeed, the manner in which he mentions the speculations of Berkeley, is quite sufficient to show his ignorance of the nature of the question, and reminds us forcibly of the remark made by D'Alembert, that whoever had not at times doubted the existence of matter, might be assured he had not any genius for metaphysical inquiries. Would any one believe it possible, that an author who could dogmatically deny the possibility of mind existing in any form apart from matter, should be so little competent to discuss questions like this, as to speak in these terms of Berkeley? "Que disons nous d'un Berkeley qui s'efforce de nous prouver que tout dans ce monde n'est qu'une illusion chimerique; que l'univers entier n'existe que dans nous-memes, et dans notre imagination," &c. "Pour justifier des opinions si monstrueuses," &c.

The truth is, that we believe in the existence of matter, because we cannot help it. The inferences of our reason from our sensations impel us to this conclusion, and the steps are few and short by which we reach it. But the steps are fewer and shorter, and of the self-same nature, which lead us to believe in the existence of mind; for of that we have the evidence within ourselves, and wholly independent of our senses. Nor can we ever draw the inference in any one instance of the existence of matter, without at the same time exhibiting a proof of the existence of mind; for we are, by the supposition, reasoning, inferring, drawing a conclusion, forming a belief; therefore, there exists somebody, or something, to reason, to infer, to conclude, to believe; that is, *we*—not any fraction of matter, but a reasoning, inferring, believing being; in other words, a mind. In this sense the celebrated argument of Descartes—*cogito, ergo sum*—had a correct and a profound meaning. If, then, skepticism can have any place in our system, assuredly it relates to the existence of matter far more than of mind; yet the *Systeme de la Nature* is entirely founded upon the existence of matter being a self-evident truth, admitting of no proof, and standing in need of none.

We have combated the main body of the argument which runs through the whole book, and passed over some of the gross errors, apparently proceeding from ignorance of physical science, in which it abounds. Of these the most notable, no doubt, is that which Voltaire, in his *Essai sur le Systeme de la Nature*, considers (ch. i.) as the foundation of the whole theory—the absurd passage respecting the formation of eels. Certain it is, that in the second chapter of part i. the experiment of moistening flour, and thereby producing live microscopic insects, is referred to as a proof that "inanimate matter can pass into life," "which," adds the book, "is itself but the union of notions." No one indeed can accuse Voltaire of taking an unfair advantage when he relies on this piece of extraordinary ignorance; but it is not altogether just to represent the whole book as resting on this blunder.

As for the kind of comparisons or analogies by which, like all materialists, this writer tries to illustrate his hypothesis, and by which many materialists really are deceived—the mechanism of a watch, for example, consisting of parts each separately incapable of producing any result, but altogether forming a moving instrument that measures the efflux of time—nothing, surely, can be more puerile than the attempt to draw from thence an argument in favor of the confused, and, when examined closely, unintelligible position that Mind is a modification of Matter, or the result of a collocation of material particles. For the watch is material, doubtless, both in its whole and in each part separately; the combination never produces any effect that is not strictly of a material kind; the motions and the registration of time resulting from them are all as purely mechanical as the form of each part, and each part has in it every quality and incident in kind which the whole possesses. The difference in the case of Mind is, that we have something wholly of a new and peculiar kind, and in no respect resembling or belonging to the same class with any of the exertions or operations of the material parts, the combination of which is alleged by the materialist to have given it birth.

The first part having laid the foundation by disproving the existence of Mind, the second part of the "*Systeme*" proceeds to raise upon it the conclusion that the Deity's existence is impossible. This part is much more declamatory than the former, though often displaying great powers of eloquence, and reminding us of the more striking parts of Rousseau's early writings, especially his paradoxes against knowledge, perhaps in a more choice style, and with coloring more subdued. But reasoning it contains absolutely none, with the exception of the fourth chapter, where Dr. S. Clarke's argument *a priori* is dissected and refuted—a task, unfortunately, not very difficult to accomplish, though it is here done in an illegitimate manner. We cannot, however, fail to observe, that while the author proposes to go through the arguments of the various philosophers who have maintained the existence of a Deity; and while he does remark on Descartes, Malebranche, Newton and Clarke, (in a chapter which forms by far the most argumentative part of his book,) he never approaches those who have treated the question by the argument *a posteriori*. In one place (chap. vii.) he refers to Final Causes, but this passage only relates to the subject of man's superiority and the arguments of the optimists, and does not at all touch upon the evidences of design derived from the structure of the universe—the great foundation of Natural Theology. It is impossible to suppose the author ignorant of the argument *a posteriori*, for he in one place refers to Derham by name.—The omission of all reference to the most important branch of the subject is one of the things that most bring the good faith of this writer into question.

The purpose of this note having been to show how the atheistical argument grounded on materialism fails when examined in its connection with the evidences of the Mind's independent existence, to pursue further the Second Part of the work is unnecessary. But a few remarks are added to show how exactly the same assumption of the things to be proved prevails here which we observed in the First Part.

The first proposition, and supported at great length, is that all the ideas which man has formed of a First Cause have resulted from the evils of his lot, and that but for human suffering a Deity would never have been thought of. "Inquiry and speculation," says the author, "is itself an evil; and no creature living easy and happy, without pain and without wants, would ever give himself the trouble and annoyance of arguing on a First Cause. But fear and evil, especially pain and death—the terrors of earthquake, eclipse, tempest—the horrors of death—drove the mind to seek out the source of all these dangers, and to appease or disarm its supposed wrath; and thus the sky was peopled with gods and spirits."

Now, that the fears and the ignorance of men have been the fruitful source of polytheism, no one doubts; but it is wholly false to assert that genuine and philosophical religion could have had no other origin. To affirm that, but for their sufferings and fears, men never would have encountered the pain

or the trouble of speculating on a First Cause, is quite contrary to the most obvious facts. Those speculations, far from being painful or troublesome, are gratifying in the highest degree. As well might it be said that all the pleasures of scientific discovery and study would have been foregone by all men, but for some physical inconvenience that drove them into those paths of investigation. Of all writers, the authors of the great improvements in physical science are they who have been least under the pressure of want, and have gained the least by their labors. But such speculations are productive of the greatest gratification, both to the guide who originally points out the way, and to those who more humbly follow in his footsteps. So the sublime contemplations of Natural Theology have engaged men's attention and exercised their faculties, wholly independent of any sufferings they were exposed to, or any fears they entertained; and far from being a source of pain, this study has ever been found to reward its votaries with the purest enjoyment.

That the study and the knowledge of a Deity would have existed without any relation to evil is therefore clear. Man's curiosity—his natural desire of tracing the origin of what he saw around him—his anxiety to know whence he came, and whither he was going, and how the frame of the universe was contrived and sustained—would have led to the study and knowledge of a Creator without any such motives as this book supposes.

It is remarkable, that in the latter, as in the former portion of the work, blind assumptions are not only always made, but an entire disregard is shown to the evidence which often arises out of those very assumptions, and proves the truths its author is endeavoring to subvert. Thus, in the second chapter, he says: "Whether the human race has always existed on this earth, or that it is a recent and transitory production of nature...." Now, if it be a recent production of nature, surely this admits the creative power—the very divinity the book is contending against; for what can be the meaning of a state of things, in which, up to a certain time—*i. e.* six or seven thousand years ago—the human species had no existence, and then this species coming into existence, or, as the book says, being produced by nature? What but that a superintending power, which had not before acted in this way, now for the first time began thus to act? To call this Nature is only changing the name—a Deity is the plain and the true meaning, and the only thing which can be meant.

Indeed, nothing can be more absurd and unreflecting than the play made throughout the book with mere words. Thus, in the same chapter it is asked—whether a Theologian "can really be sincere in believing himself to have made a step by substituting the vague words spirit, incorporeal substance, divinity, &c., for those intelligible words"—what? what words so much less vague and more intelligible* than spirit?—"those intelligible words, matter, nature, mobility, necessity!" Now, we may safely ask, if all language furnishes two words more vague and less intelligible than two out of these four—viz. nature and necessity? But we have, in truth, already shown that Matter, as far as the present controversy is concerned, offers no more precise idea to our contemplation than Mind or spirit, and that its existence and qualities rest on less conclusive evidence than do those of Mind. Possibly the reader of this passage, and especially if he casts his eye back upon the former parts of the argument, may be inclined to adopt the writer's description of Theology, and apply it to the dogmatical Atheism of the *Systeme de la Nature*.

* There occurs every where in this book a vague and mysterious idea of a force of living power belonging to Matter, and almost a *deification* of this power, utterly unintelligible; but in a hater of Deity—a derider of all gods—quite marvellous. The passage in which this idea is most strikingly announced is the 11th chapter of part ii., where he is answering the position that there is no such thing as an Atheist in the world—"Si par *Athee* l'on designe un homme qui nieroit l'existence d'une *force inherente a la nature* et sans laquelle l'on ne peut concevoir *la Nature*, et si c'est a cette force motive qu'on donne le nom de *Dieu*, il n'existe point d'Athees et le mot sous lequel on les designe, n'annonceroit que des fous."—Can any one doubt, that after rejecting all reasonable and consistent notions of a Deity, this writer had really made unto himself other gods, and bowed down before them, and worshipped them? For what is "the force inherent in matter?" and what is "nature," and the essence of nature, or that thing "without which nature cannot be conceived?"

NOTE V.

Of Mr. Hume's Skeptical Writings, and the Argument respecting Providence.

The two most celebrated and most dangerous treatises of this great author, upon religious subjects, are those in which he has attacked the foundations of Natural and of Revealed Religion—the *Essay on Providence and a Future State*, and the *Essay on Miracles*. Others of his writings have a similar tendency, and more covertly though as surely sap the principles of religion. But the two essays to which we have referred are the most important writings of this eminent philosopher, because they bring his skeptical opinions more directly to bear upon the systems of actual belief.

I. The argument of Tillotson against the doctrine of the Real Presence is stated to have suggested that against the truth, or rather the possibility of Miracles; but there is this most material difference between the two questions—that they who assert the Real Presence drive us to admit a proposition contrary to the evidence of our senses, upon a subject respecting which the senses alone can decide, and to admit it by the force of reasonings ultimately drawn from the senses—reasonings far more likely to deceive than they, because applicable to a matter not so well fitted for argument as for perception, but reasonings at any rate incapable of exceeding the evidence the senses give. Nothing, therefore, can be more conclusive than Tillotson's argument—that against the Real Presence we have of necessity every argument, and of the self-same kind with those which it purports to rest upon, and a good deal more besides; for if we must not believe our senses when they tell us that a piece of bread is merely bread, what right have we to believe those same senses, when they convey to us the words in which the arguments of the Fathers are couched, or the quotations from Scripture itself, to make us suppose the bread is not bread, but flesh? And as ultimately even the testimony of a witness who should tell us that he had heard an apostle or the Deity himself affirm the Real Presence, must resolve itself into the evidence of that witness's senses, what possible ground can we have for believing that he heard the divine affirmation, stronger than the evidence which our own senses plainly give us to the contrary?

This is very far from being the case with the argument on Miracles. There, the evidence for and the evidence against do not coincide in kind, but take opposite directions. There, we have not to disbelieve indications of the same nature with those

upon which our belief is challenged. The testimony of witnesses is adduced to prove a Miracle, or deviation from the ordinary laws of nature; but, says Mr. Hume, it is more likely that the witnesses should be deceived or should deceive, than that the laws of nature should be broken; and at all events we believe testimony only because it is a law of nature that men should tell the truth. This may very possibly be true; doubtless it is, generally speaking, so likely to be true, that the belief of a miracle is, and ought to be, most difficult to bring about; but at least, it is not like the belief in the Real Presence: it does not at one and the same time assume the accuracy of the indications given by our senses, and set that accuracy at nought;—it does not at once desire us implicitly to trust, and entirely to disregard the evidence of testimony, as the doctrine of Transubstantiation calls upon us at once to trust and disregard the evidence of our senses.

There are two answers, however, to which the doctrine proposed by Mr. Hume is exposed, and either appears sufficient to shake it.

First—Our belief in the uniformity of the laws of nature rests not altogether upon our own experience. We believe no man ever was raised from the dead—not merely because we ourselves never saw it, for indeed that would be a very limited ground of deduction; and our belief was fixed on the subject long before we had any considerable experience—fixed chiefly by authority—that is, by deference to other men's experience. We found our confident belief in this negative position partly, perhaps chiefly, upon the testimony of others; and at all events, our belief that in times before our own the same position held good, must of necessity be drawn from our trusting the relations of other men—that is, it depends upon the evidence of testimony. If, then, the existence of the law of nature is proved, in great part at least, by such evidence, can we wholly reject the like evidence when it comes to prove an exception to the rule—a deviation from the law?—The more numerous are the cases of the law being kept—the more rare those of its being broken—the more scrupulous certainly ought we to be in admitting the proofs of the breach. But that testimony is capable of making good the proof there seems no doubt. In truth, the degree of excellence and of strength to which testimony may rise seems almost indefinite. There is hardly any cogency which it is not capable by possible supposition of attaining. The endless multiplication of witnesses—the unbounded variety of their habits of thinking, their prejudices, their interests—afford the means of conceiving the force of their testimony augmented *ad infinitum*, because these circumstances afford the means of diminishing indefinitely the chances of their being all mistaken, all misled, or all combining to deceive us. Let any man try to calculate the chances of a thousand persons who come from different quarters, and never saw each other before, and who all vary in their habits, stations, opinions, interests—being mistaken or combining to deceive us, when they give the same account of an event as having happened before their eyes—these chances are many hundreds of thousands to one. And yet we can conceive them multiplied indefinitely; for one hundred thousand such witnesses may all in like manner bear the same testimony; and they may all tell us their story within twenty-four hours after the transaction, and in the next parish. And yet, according to Mr. Hume's argument, we are bound to disbelieve them all, because they speak to a thing contrary to our own experience, and to the accounts which other witnesses had formerly given us of the laws of nature, and which our forefathers had handed down to us as derived from witnesses who lived in the old time before them. It is unnecessary to add that no testimony of the witnesses whom we are supposing to concur in their relation contradicts any testimony of our own senses. If it did, the argument would resemble Archbishop Tillotson's upon the Real Presence, and our disbelief would be at once warranted.*

Secondly—This leads us to the next objection to which Mr. Hume's argument is liable, and which we have in part anticipated while illustrating the first. He requires us to withhold our belief in circumstances which would force every man of common understanding to lend his assent, and to act upon the supposition of the story told being true. For suppose either such numbers of various witnesses as we have spoken of; or, what is perhaps stronger, suppose a miracle reported to us, first by a number of relators, and then by three or four of the very soundest judges and most incorruptibly honest men we know—men noted for their difficult belief of wonders, and, above all, steady unbelievers in Miracles, without any bias in favor of religion, but rather accustomed to doubt, if not disbelieve—most people would lend an easy belief to any Miracle thus vouched. But let us add this circumstance, that a friend on his death-bed had been attended by us, and that we had told him a fact known only to ourselves—something that we had secretly done the very moment before we told it to the dying man, and which to no other being we had ever revealed—and that the credible witnesses we are supposing inform us that the deceased appeared to them, conversed with them, remained with them a day or two, accompanying them, and to avouch the fact of his re-appearance on this earth, communicated to them the secret of which we had made him the sole depository the moment before his death;—according to Mr. Hume we are bound rather to believe, not only that those credible witnesses deceive us, or that those sound and unprejudiced men were themselves deceived, and fancied things without real existence, but further, that they all hit by chance upon the discovery of a real secret, known only to ourselves and the dead man. Mr. Hume's argument requires us to believe this as the lesser improbability of the two—as less unlikely than the rising of one from the dead; and yet every one must feel convinced, that were he placed in the situation we have been figuring, he would not only lend his belief to the relation, but, if the relators accompanied it with a special warning from the deceased person to avoid a certain contemplated act, he would, acting upon the belief of their story, take the warning, and avoid doing the forbid-

* Prophecy is classed by Mr. Hume under the same head with Miracle—every prophecy being, he says, a miracle. This is not, however, quite correct. A prophecy—that is the happening of an event which was foretold—may be proved even by the evidence of the senses of the whole world. Suppose it had one thousand years ago been foretold, that, on a certain day this year, one person of every family in the world should be seized with a particular distemper, it is evident that every family would be at once certain that the event had happened, and that it had been foretold. To future generations the fulfilment would no doubt come within the description of a miracle in all respects. The truth is, that the event happening which was foretold may be compared to the miracle; and Mr. Hume's argument will then be, not that there is any thing miraculous in the event itself, but only in its happening after it had been foretold. Bishop Sherlock wrote discourses on this subject, which Dr. Middleton answered: the former denying that prophecy was more exempt from the scope of the skeptical argument than miracles. On the whole, however, it does seem more exempt.

den deed. Mr. Hume's argument makes no exception. This is its scope; and whether he chooses to push it thus far or no, all Miracles are of necessity denied by it, without the least regard to the kind or the quantity of the proof on which they are rested; and the testimony which we have supposed, accompanied by the test or check we have supposed, would fall within the grasp of the argument just as much and as clearly as any other Miracle avouched by more ordinary combinations of evidence.

The use of Mr. Hume's argument is this, and it is an important and a valuable one. It teaches us to sift closely and rigorously the evidence for miraculous events. It bids us remember that the probabilities are always, and must always be, incomparably greater against than for the truth of these relations, because it is always far more likely that the testimony should be mistaken or false, than that the general laws of nature should be suspended. Further than this the doctrine cannot in soundness of reason be carried. It does not go the length of proving that those general laws cannot, by the force of human testimony, be shown to have been, in ■ particular instance, and with a particular purpose, suspended.

It is unnecessary to add, that the argument here has only been conducted to one point, and upon one ground—namely, to refute the doctrine that a miracle cannot be proved by any evidence of testimony. It is for those who maintain the truth of any revelation to show in what manner the evidence suffices to prove the Miracles on which that revelation rests. This treatise is not directed to that object; but in commenting upon Mr. Hume's celebrated argument, we have dealt with a fundamental objection to all Revelation, and one which, until removed, precludes the possibility of any such system being established.

II. The Essay upon Miracles being supposed by its author sufficient to dispose of Revelation, the Essay on Providence and a Future State appears to have been aimed as a blow equally fatal to Natural Religion. Its merits are, however, of a very superior order. There is nothing of the sarcasm so unbecoming on subjects of this most serious kind, which disfigures the concluding portion of the former treatise. The tone is more philosophic, and the skeptical character is better sustained. There cannot, indeed, be said to prevail through it any thing of a dogmatical spirit, and certainly we here meet with none of that propensity to assume the thing in question, to insist upon propositions as proved which have only been annunciated, to supply by sounds the place of ideas, which we remark in the "*Systeme de la Nature*." On the contrary, the argument, whether sound or not, is of ■ substantial nature; it is rested on very plausible grounds; and we may the rather conclude that it is not very easily answered, because, in fact, it has rarely, if ever, been encountered by writers on theological subjects. Nevertheless, it strikes at the root of all Natural Religion, and requires a careful consideration.

Mr. Hume does not deny that the reasoning from the appearances and operations of nature to the existence of an intelligent cause is logical and sound; at least he admits this for argument's sake. But he takes this nice and subtle distinction. We are here, he observes, dealing with an agent, an intelligence, a being, wholly unlike all we elsewhere see or hitherto have known; our inferences, therefore, must be confined strictly to the facts from whence they are drawn. When we see a foot-mark imprinted on the sand, we conclude that a man has walked there, and that his other foot had likewise left its print, which the waves have effaced. But this inference is not drawn from the inspection of the foot alone; it comes from a previous knowledge of the human body, of which the foot makes a part. Had we never seen that body, or any other that walked on feet, the observation of the mark in the sand could have led to no other conclusion than that some body or thing had been there with ■ form like the mark. So, when we are to reason from the works of nature to their cause, we are entitled to conclude that a being exists whose power and skill created them such as we behold them, and consequently that this being is possessed of skill and power sufficient to contrive and to execute those works —that is, those precise works, and no more. We have no right to infer that this being has the skill or the power to contrive and create one single blade of grass or grain of sand beyond what we see. It follows, then, that the argument *a posteriori* only leads to the conclusion that a finite and not an infinitely or an indefinitely wise and powerful Being exists; and it further follows that we are left without any evidence of his power (much less of his intention) to perpetuate our existence after death, as well as without any proof of the capacity of the soul to receive such a continuation of being after its separation from the body. This is the sum of the very ingenious, subtle, and original argument of Mr. Hume, affording a mighty contrast to the flimsy sophisms, the declamatory assertions, of the French writers, and giving the Natural Theologian, it must be allowed, a good deal to answer. We have stated it as strongly as we could, in order to meet it fully; and it appears capable of ■ satisfactory answer.

The whole argument *a posteriori* rests upon the assumption, that if we perceive arrangements made, by means of which certain effects are produced, and if seeing such arrangements among the works of men, we should at once conclude that they were designed to produce those effects, we are entitled to say that the arrangements which we see and which we know not to be the work of man, are the work of an intelligent cause, contriving them for the purpose of producing the effects observed. In truth, such must needs be the assumption on which the argument rests, because we have no other knowledge of what design and contrivance are. They necessarily bear reference to our own nature and the knowledge we have of our own minds, derived from our own consciousness and experience; and of this we have treated in the text, Sect. III. and IV. of Part I.

If we found anywhere a mechanism of any kind, a watch for instance, as Paley puts the case, we should at once conclude that some skilful and intelligent being had been there, and had left his works on the spot. We should conclude (indeed this is involved in the former inference) that he was capable of doing what we saw he had done, and that he had intended to produce a particular effect by the exercise of his skill; but we should also conclude that he who could do this could repeat the operation if he chose, and the probability would be that his skill had not been confined to the single exertion of it which we had observed. There is nothing peculiar in the nature of human workmanship or of the human character to make us draw this conclusion.—We arrive at it just as we arrive at the inference of design and contrivance; we believe in them because we are wholly unable to conceive such an adaptation without such an intention; and we are equally unable to conceive that any being, or any intelligence, or any power, which had sufficed to perform the operation we see, should be confined to that single exertion. We can conceive no reason whatever why the same power should not be capable of repeating the operation. There is nothing peculiar—no limit—no sufficient reason, of an exclusive nature, why the same power should not be

again exercised and with the same result. All induction proceeds upon similar grounds. It is the generalization of particulars; it is the concluding from a certain limited number of instances to an indefinite number—to any number unless circumstances arise to restrict the generality—to any number, where nothing arises to vary or limit the conclusion. We mix an acid and alkali, and form a neutral salt having peculiar properties. We pass a sunbeam or the light of a candle through a prism, and observe the rays separated into lights making certain colors. Why do we conclude from hence that all the acid made by burning sulphur, in what way soever the sulphur was produced or the combustion effected, will be neutralized by soda wheresoever produced and howsoever obtained, and that their union will always make Glauber's salts? Or, that all light, of all kinds, even that obtained by burning newly-discovered bodies, as the metal of potassium, unseen, unknown before the year 1807, will be found resolvable into the seven primary colors? According to Mr. Hume's argument, we have no right to infer that any one portion of acid or alkali, save the one we have subjected to our experiments, or any light save that of the formerly-known combustible bodies, or rather of those classes of them on which we had experimented—nay of the individuals of those classes which we have burnt—will produce the effects we have experienced in our laboratory, or in our darkened chamber. In other words, according to this argument, all experimental knowledge must stand still, generalizing be at an end, and philosophers be content never to make a single step, or draw one conclusion beyond the mere facts observed by them; in a word, Inductive Science must be turned from a process of general reasoning upon particular facts, into a bare dry record of those particular facts themselves.

If, indeed, it be said that we never can be so certain of the things we infer as we are of those we have observed, and on which our inference is grounded, we may admit this to be true. But no one therefore denies the value of the science which is composed of the inferences. So we cannot be so well assured of the Deity's power to repeat and to vary and to extend his operations, as we are of his having created what we actually observe; and yet our assurance may be quite sufficient to merit entire confidence. Nor will any student of Natural Theology complain if the only result of the argument we are combating be to place the higher truths of the science but a very little lower in point of proof than the inferences of design in the works actually examined. The self-same difference is to be found in the inferences composing the other branches of inductive science, and it in no perceptible degree lessens our confidence in the inductive method.

It has oftentimes been asked, why we believe that the same result will happen from the same cause acting in the like circumstances—the foundation of all induction; and no answer has ever been given except that we cannot help so believing—that the condition of our being—the nature of our minds—compels us so to believe; and we take this as an ultimate fact incapable of being resolved into any fact more general. Can we help believing that a being capable of creating what we see and examine, is also capable of exercising other acts of skill and power? Can we avoid believing that the same power which made all the animals and vegetables on our globe suffices to people and provide other worlds in like manner? Again, can we by any effort bring our minds to suppose that this being's whole skill and power were exhausted by one effort, and that having sufficed to create the universe, it ceases to be effective for any other purpose whatever? The answer is, that we cannot—that we can as soon believe in the sun not rising to-morrow, or in his light ceasing to be differently refrangible.

Much is said in the course of arguments like the present of the word "*infinite*." Whether or not we are able to form any precise idea of that which has no bounds in power or in duration may be another question. But when we see such stupendous exertions of power, upon a scale so vast as far to pass all our faculties of comprehension, and with a minuteness at the same time so absolute, that as we can on the one hand perceive nothing beyond its grasp, so we are on the other hand unable to find any thing too minute to escape its notice, we are irresistibly led to conclude that there is nothing above or below such an agent, and that nothing which we can conceive is impossible for such an intelligence. The argument of Mr. Hume supposes or admits that the whole universe is its work, and that animal life is its creation. We can no more avoid believing that the same power which created the universe can sustain it—that the same power which created our souls can prolong their existence after death—than we can avoid believing that the power which sustained the universe up to the instant we are speaking, is able to continue it in being for a thousand years to come. But indeed Mr. Hume's argument would go the length of making us disbelieve that the Deity has the power of continuing the existence of the creation for a day. We are only entitled, according to this argument, to conclude that the Deity had the power of working the works we have seen and no more. Last spring and autumn we observed the powers of nature in vegetation, that is, we noted the operations of the Deity in that portion of his works, and were entitled, Mr. Hume admits, to infer that he had the skill and the power to produce that harvest from that seed time, but no more. We had, says the argument, no right whatever to infer that the Deity's power extended to another revolution of the seasons. The argument is this, or it is nothing. Confining its scope, as Mr. Hume would confine it, to the universe as a whole, and excluding all inferences as to a future state or other worlds, is wholly gratuitous. The argument applies to all that we have seen of the already past and the actually executed in this universe, and excludes all respecting this same universe which is yet to come; consequently if it be good for any thing, it is sufficient to prove that, although our experience may authorize us to conclude that the Deity has skill and power sufficient to maintain the world in is present state up to this hour, yet that experience is wholly insufficient to prove that he has either skill or power to continue its existence a moment longer. Every one of the topics applied by him to a Future State applies to this. If we have no right to believe that one exertion of skill proves the author of nature adequate to another exertion of a kind no more difficult and only a little varied, we can have no right to believe that one exertion of skill proves him adequate to a repetition of the same identical operation. Now no man living carries or can carry his disbelief so far as this. Indeed such doubts would not only shake all inductive science to pieces, but would put a stop to the whole business of life. And assuredly we may be well contented to rest the truths of Natural Theology on the same foundation upon which those of all the other sciences, as well as the practical conduct of all human affairs, must for ever repose.

NOTE VI.

Of the ancient Doctrines respecting Mind.

The opinions of the ancient philosophers upon the nature of the Soul were not very consistent

with themselves; and in some respects were difficult to reconcile with the doctrine of its immateriality which most of them maintained. It may suffice to mention a few of those theories.

Plato and his pupil Aristotle may certainly be said to have held the Soul's immateriality; at least, they maintained that it was of a nature wholly different from the body; and they appear often to hold that it was unlike all matter whatever, and a substance or existence of a nature quite peculiar to itself. Their language is nearly the same upon this subject. Plato speaks of the *ουσια ασωματος και νοητης*—*a bodiless* or *incorporeal and intelligent being*; and of such existences he says, in one place, *τα ασωματα καλλιστα οντα και μεγιστα λογω μονον, αλλω δε ουδενι σαφως δεικνυται*, "*Things incorporeal being the most excellent and the greatest of all, are made manifest by reason alone, and no otherwise.*" (*Politicus.*) So again in the *Cratylus*, he derives *σωμα* from *σωζεσθαι*, and represents the body as a prison of the soul, *εικονα δεσμοτηριου ειναι ουν της ψυχης αυτο εως ην τα οφειλομενα το σωμα*, following herein the doctrine said to have been delivered by Orpheus. Aristotle, too, speaks of a being separable and separated from things perceivable by the senses—*ουσια χωριστη και κεχωζισμενη των αισθητων*. Nevertheless, these philosophers frequently speak of the soul as being always, and as it were necessarily, connected with matter of some kind or other—*αει ψυχη επιτεταγμενη σωματι, τοτε μεν αλλω, τοτ εδε αλλω. The soul is always annexed to a body, sometimes to one and sometimes to another.*—*De Legg.* x. Thus Aristotle, (*De Gen. Anim.* ii. 4.) *ἡ γαρ ψυχη ουσια σωματος τινος εστι*—*the soul is the substance of some kind of body.* And in the Treatise *De Anima*, ii. 2, he says—*και δια τουτο καλως υπολαμβανουσιν οἱς δοκει μητε ανευ σωματος ειναι μητε σωμα τε ψυχη. σωμα μεν γαρ ουκ εστι, σωματος δε τι*—"*Those therefore rightly hold who think that the soul cannot exist without the body, and yet that it is not body; it is not the body, but somewhat of the body.*"

This corporeal connection is stated by Plutarch, in the *Quæst. Platon.*, still more plainly to have been the Platonic doctrine—*ψυχην πρεσβυτεραν του σωματος, αιτιαν τε της εκεινου γενεσεως και αρχην· ουκ α γενεσθαι ψυχην ανευ σωματος ουδε νουν ανευ ψυχης αλλα ψυχην μεν εν σωματι, νουν δε εν τη ψυχη.* "*The soul is older than the body, and the cause and origin of its existence: not that the soul exists without the body, or the understanding without the soul; but that the soul is in the body, and the understanding in the soul.*"

According to these representations and quotations taken together, Plato held the soul to be an immaterial substance, separable from any given body, but incapable of existing without somebody or other, and the mind or understanding to be a part of the soul. The residue of the soul was, as we shall afterwards see, its sensitive or mortal portion.

The idea of motion seems to have been intimately connected in their views with mind or spirit, and in so far their doctrines approach those, if we can call them doctrines, of the modern atheists (See Note IV.)—*το ἑαυτο κινειν* (says Plato,) *φης λογον εχειν την αυτην ουσιαν ἡνπερ τουνομα ὁ δε παντες ψυχην προσαγορευμεν; φημιγε*—*You say that the substance* (or *being*) *to which we all give the name of soul, has for its definition* "*that which moves itself?*" *I certainly do say so.*—*De Legg.* x.

But the same philosophers also held the soul to be an emanation from the Deity, and that each individual soul was a portion of the Divine Essence, or Spirit: consequently, they could not mean to assert that the divine essence was inseparable from matter of some kind, but only those portions of that essence which they represented to be severed, and as it were torn off from the divine mind—*συναφεις τω θεω, ἁτε αυτου μορια ουσια και αποσπασματα.*—(*Epict.*)

Plutarch, in the work already cited, says—*ἡ δε ψυχη ουκ εργον εστι μονον αλλα και μερος· ουδ' ὑπ αυτου αλλ' επ' αυτου, και εξ αυτου γεγονεν*—"*The soul is not only his work, but a part of himself; it was not created by him, but from him and out of him.*"

NOTE VII.

Of the ancient Doctrines respecting the Deity and Matter.

The notions of the Supreme Being entertained by the ancient philosophers were more simple and consistent than their theory of the soul; and but for the belief, which they never shook off, in the eternity of matter, would very nearly have coincided with our own. They give him the very same names, and clothe him apparently in the like attributes. He is not only *αθανατος, αφθαρτος, ανωλεθρος*—*immortal, incorruptible, indestructible*—but *αγιννητος, αυτογενης, αυτοφυης, αυθυποστατος*—*uncreated, self-made, self-originating, self-existing*. *Ζωον πασαν εχον μακαριοτητα μετ' αφθαρσιας*, says Epicurus—"*A Being having all happiness, with an incorruptible nature.*" Again, he is *παντοκρατωρ, παγκρατης*—*omnipotent, all-powerful*; *δυναται γαρ απαντα*, says Homer (*Odyss. ξ*)—"*He has power over all things.*" The creative power is also in words at least ascribed to him—*κοσμοποιητης, δημιουργος*—*the maker of the world, the great artificer.* Aristotle, too, in a very remarkable passage of the Metaphysics, says that God seems to be the cause of all things, and, as it were, a beginning, or principle—*Θεος δοκει το αιτιον πασιν ειναι και αρχη τις*: and, indeed, by implication, this is ascribed in the terms *uncreated, self-created*, and *self-existing*; for in soundness of reason the being who had no creator, and much more the being who created himself (if we can conceive such an idea,) must have created all things else. Nevertheless, such was certainly not so plain an inference of reasoning with the ancients; for whether it be that by *αυτοφυης* and *αυτογενης*, they only meant to convey the idea of *αγιννητος*—of a being uncreated and existing from all eternity—or that they took some nice distinction, to us incomprehensible, between self-creation and the creation of other beings or things—certain it is, that the same philosophers who so described the Deity clung to the notion of matter being also eternal, and co-existent with the supreme power, and that by creator and artificer they rather seem to have meant the arranger of atoms—the power giving form to chaotic matter, than the power calling things into existence. They appear to have been all pressed by the difficulty (and who shall deny it?) of conceiving the act of creation—the act of calling existences out of nothing. Accordingly, the maxim which generally prevailed among most of the Greek sects, and which led to very serious and even practical consequences in their systems, was *ουδεν εκ του μη οντος* (or *εκ ουδενος*) *γινεσθαι*—*that nothing is made of what has no existence, or of nothing.* Aristotle represents this as the common opinion of all natural philosophers before him—*κοινην δοξην των φυσικων.* He says, in another passage (*De Cœlo.* iii. 1.)—*οἱ μεν αυτων* (*προτερον φιλοσοφησαντες*) *ανειλον ὁλως γενεσιν και φθορα·ν· ουδεν γαρ ουτε γιγνεσθαι φασιν ουτε φθειρεσθαι των οντων*—"*Some of those* (*older philosophers*) *took away* (or *abolished*) *all generation and destruction, for they hold that none of the things which exist are either created or destroyed.*" Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that the Platonic doctrine was of the same kind, and that Aristotle, in truth, ascribed only a qualified creative power to the Deity. Plutarch's statement of the Platonic doctrine is precise to this point—*βελτιον ουν Πλατωνι πειθομενους τον μεν κοσμον υπο θεου γεγονεναι λεγειν και αδειν· ὁ μεν γαρ καλλιστος των γεγονοτων, ὁδε αριστος των αιτιων· την δε ουσιαν και υλην εξ ης γεγονεν, ου γενομενην, αλλα υποκει μευην αει τω δημιουργω, εις διαθεσιν και ταξιν αυτης και προς αυτον εξομοιωσιν*

ως δυνατον ην παρασχειν· ου γαρ εκ του μη οντος γενεσις, αλλ' εκ του μη καλως, μηδ' ικανως εχοντος, ως οικιας, και ιματιου, και ανδριαντος—"*Better then be convinced by Plato, and say and sing that the world was made by God; for the world is the most excellent of all created things, and he the best of all causes. But the substance or matter* (literally *timber*) *of which he made it, was not created, but always lay ready for the artificer, to be arranged and ordered by him; for the creation was not out of nothing, but out of what had been without form and unfit, as a house, or a garment, or a statue are made.*" And thus it seems that when Maker or Creator is used by the Academics, we are rather to regard them as meaning Maker in the sense in which an artificer is said to make or fabricate the object of his art. Εποιησεν (says Aristotle) ων τονδε των κοσμον εξ απασας της ὑλας—*He made the world of all kinds of matter.—De An. Mund.* Indeed I can in no other way understand that very obscure, and but for some such gloss, contradictory passage of Aristotle, in the first book of the *Physics*, where he is giving his own doctrine in opposition to the tenets of the elder philosophers on this point—Ημεις δε και αυτοι φα μεν γιγεσθαι μεν ουδεν απλως εκ του μη οντος, ωμως μεντοι γιγνεσθαι εκ μη οντος οἱτε κατα συμβεβηκος· εκ γαρ της στερησεως ὁ εστι καθ' αυτο μη ον, ουκ ενυπαρχοντος γιγνεται τι. θαυμαζεται δε τουτο και αδυνατον οὑτω δοκει γιγνεσθαι τι εκ του μη οντος—"*We ourselves however say that nothing is absolutely* (or *merely*) *produced from what has no existence, yet that something is produced from that which has no existence as far as regards accidents* (or *accessory qualities*;) *for something is produced from privation, which has no existence in itself, and not from any thing inherent. But this is wonderful, and seems impossible, that something should be produced out of that which has no existence.*"—(*Phys.* i. 8.) Indeed he had said in the same treatise, just before, that all confessed it impossible and inconceivable that *any being could either be created out of nothing, or be utterly destroyed*—εκ του μη οντος γινεσθαι τοτε ου εξολλυσθαι ανηνυστον και αῤῥηκτον. (*Ib.* i. 5.)

Upon the uncreated nature of things—for the doctrine extended to mind as well as to matter—the ancient philosophers founded another tenet of great importance. Matter and soul were reckoned not only uncreated, but indestructible; their existence was eternal in every sense of the word, without end as without beginning: μηδεν εκ του μη οντος γινεσθαι, μηδε εις το μη ον φθειρεσθαι—"*Nothing can be produced out of that which has no existence, nor can any thing be reduced to nonentity.*" Such is Diogenes Laertius's account of Democritus's doctrine, or the Atomic principle,

"Principium hinc cujus nobis exordia sumet,
Nullam rem e nihilo gigni divinitus unquam"—
"Huc accedit uti quidque in sua corpora rursum
Dissolvat natura, neque ad nihilum intereunt res"—
"Haud igitur redit ad nihilum res ulla, sed omnes
Discidio redeunt in corpora materiai"—

are the expressions of Lucretius, in giving an account of the Epicurean Philosophy (i. 151, 217, 249,) or, as Persius more shortly expresses it,

"De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti."
Sat. iii. 84.

And it must be admitted that they reasoned with great consistency in this respect: for if the difficulty of comprehending the act of creation out of nothing was a sufficient ground for holding all things to be eternal *a parte ante*—the equal difficulty of comprehending the act of annihilation was as good a ground for believing in their eternity *a parte post*—there being manifestly just as much difficulty, and of the same kind, in comprehending how a being can cease to exist, as how it can come into existence.

From this doctrine mainly it is that the Greek philosophers derive the immortality of the soul, as far as the metaphysical and more subtle arguments for their belief go; and accordingly its pre-existence is a part of their faith as much as its future life, the eternity *ab ante* being as much considered as the eternity *post*. Thus Plato says that "*our soul was somewhere before it existed in the human form, as also it seems to be immortal afterwards*"—ην πυν ημων η ψυκη πριν εν τωδε τω ανθρωπινω ειδει γενεσθαι, ωστε και ταυτη αθανατον τι εοικεν η ψυχη ειναι.—(*Phæd.*) Nevertheless, it must be admitted that their doctrine of future existence is most unsatisfactory as far as it is thus derived, that is, their psychological argument: and for two reasons—*first*, because it is coupled with the tenet of pre-existence, and having no kind of evidence of that from reasoning, we not only are prone to reject it, but are driven to suppose that our future existence will in like manner be severed by want of recollection from all consideration of personal identity; *secondly*, because, according to the doctrine of the soul being an emanation from the Deity, its future state implies a return to the divine essence, and a confusion with or absorption in that supreme intelligence, and consequently an extinction of individual existence: a doctrine which was accordingly held by some of the metaphysical philosophers who maintained a Future State.

In one important particular there was an entire difference of opinion among the ancient philosophers; in truth, so important a difference, that those were held not to be theists, but atheists, who maintained one side of the argument—I mean as to Providence. The Atomists and Epicureans held that there were Gods, and upon the subject of creative power they did not materially differ from those generally called theists; but they denied that these Gods ever interfered in the affairs of the universe. The language of Plato and the other theists upon this subject is very strong. They regard such a doctrine as one of the three kinds of blasphemy or sacrilege; and in the Republic of that philosopher, all the three crimes are made equally punishable with death. The first species is denying the existence of a Deity, or of Gods: το δε δευτερον, οντας (θεους) ου φροντιζειν ανθρωπον. "*The second, admitting their existence, but denying that they care for man.*" The third kind of blasphemy was that of men attempting to propitiate the Gods towards criminal conduct, as φθονοι and αδικηματα, *slaughters* and *outrages upon justice*, "*by prayers, thanksgivings, and sacrifices; thus making those pure beings the accomplices of their crimes, by sharing with them a small portion of the spoil, as the wolves do with the dogs.*"—*De Legg.* x.*

NOTE VIII.

Of the ancient Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul.

That the ancient philosophers for the most part believed in the Future Existence of the Soul after

*Who can read these, and such passages as these, without wishing that some who call themselves Christians, some Christian principalities and powers, had taken a lesson from the heathen sage, and (if their nature forbade them to abstain from massacres and injustice) at least had not committed the scandalous impiety, as he calls it, of singing in places of Christian worship, and for the accomplishment of their enormous crimes, Te Deums, which in Plato's Republic would have been punished as blasphemy? Who, indeed, can refrain from lamenting another pernicious kind of sacrilege (an anthropomorphism) yet more frequent: that of making Christian temples resound with prayers for victory over our enemies, and thanksgiving for their defeat? Assuredly such a ritual as this is not taken from the New Testament.

death is undeniable. It is equally certain that their opinions upon this important subject varied exceedingly, and that the kind of immortality admitted by one class can hardly be allowed to deserve the name. Thus they who considered it as a portion of the Divine essence severed for a time, in order to be united with a perishable body, believed in a future existence without memory or consciousness of personal identity, and merely as a reuniting of it with the Divine mind. Such, however, was not the belief of the more pure and enlightened theists, and to their opinion, as approaching nearest our own, it is proposed to confine the present notice.

In one respect, even the most philosophical of those theories differed widely from the Christian faith, and indeed departed almost as widely from the intimations of sound reason. They all believed in the soul's pre-existence. This is expressly given as proved by facts, and as one argument for immortality or future existence, by Plato in the most elaborate treatise which remains upon the subject, the *Phædo*. He considers that all learning is only recollection, *την μαθησιν αναμνησιν ειναι*, and seems to think it inconceivable that any idea could ever come into the mind, of which the rudiments had not formerly been implanted there. In the *Timæus* and other writings the same doctrine is further expounded. *Ην που ημων, η ψυχη πριν εν τω δε τω ανθρωπινω ειδει γενεσραι, ωστε και ταυτη αθανατον τι εοικεν ἡ ψυχη ειναι.* "*Our soul existed somewhere before it was produced in the human form* (or *body*,) *so it seems to be immortal also.*" The arguments indeed, generally speaking, on which both Plato and other philosophers ground their positions, derive their chief interest from the importance of the subject, and from the exquisite language in which they are clothed. As reasonings they are of little force or value. Thus it is elaborately shown, or rather asserted in the *Phædo*, that contraries always come from contraries, as life from death, and death from life, in the works of nature. Another argument is that the nature or essence of the soul is immortality, and hence it is easily inferred that it exists after death, a kind of reasoning hardly deserving the name;—*Οποτε δη τον αθανατον και αδιαφθορον εστιν, αλλοτι ψυχη η, ει αθανατος τυγχανει ουσα, και ανωλεθρος αν ειη*—"*Since that which is immortal is also indestructible, what else can we conclude but that the soul being* (or *happening to be*) *immortal, must also be imperishable.*"—(*Phæd.*) A more cogent topic is that of its simplicity, from whence the inference is drawn that it must be indestructible, because what we mean by the destruction of matter is its resolution into the elements that compose it. In one passage, Plato comes very near the argument relied on in the text respecting the changes which the body undergoes; but it appears from the rest of the passage that he had another topic or illustration in view—*αλλα γαρ αν φαιην ἑκαστην των ψυχων πολλα σωματα κατατριβειν, αλλως, τε καν πολλα ετη βιω. Ει γαρ ρεσι το σωμα και απολλυυιτο ετι ζωντος του ανθρωπου αλλ' ἡ ψυχη αει το κατατριβομενον ανυφαινοι αναγκαιον μενη' αν ειη, οποτε απολλυοιτο ἡ ψηχη, τον τε λευταιον ὑφασμα τυχειν αυτην εχουσαν, δε τουτου μονου προτεραν απολλυσθαι*—"*But I should rather say that each of our souls wears out many bodies, though these should live many years; for if the body runs out and is destroyed, the man still lives, but the soul always repairs that which is worn out, it would follow of necessity that the soul when it perished would happen to have its last covering, and to perish only just before that covering.*"—*Phæd.* A singular instance of the incapacity of the ancients to observe facts, or at least the habitual carelessness with which they admitted relations of them, is afforded in another of these arguments. Socrates is made to refer, in the *Phædo*, to the appearance of ghosts near places of burial as a well known and admitted fact, and as proving that a portion of the soul for a while survived the body, but partook of its nature and likeness, and was not altogether immortal. This distinction between the mortal or sensitive and the immortal or intellectual part of the soul pervades the Platonic theism. We have observed already in the statement of Plutarch, that the Platonists held the *νους* or intellect to be contained in the *ψυχη* or soul, and the same doctrine occurs in other passages. Aristotle regards the soul in like manner as composed of two parts; the active, or *νους*, and the passive; the former he represents as alone immortal and eternal; the latter as destructible, *τουτο μονον αθανατον και ειδιον, δ δε παθητικης φθαρτος.—Nic. Eth.*

It must, however, be admitted, that the belief of the ancients was more firm and more sound than their reasonings were cogent. The whole tenor of the doctrine in the *Phædo* refers to a renewal or continuation of the soul as a separate and individual existence, after the dissolution of the body, and with a complete consciousness of personal identity; in short, to a continuance of the same rational beings existence after death. The liberation from the body is treated as the beginning of a new and more perfect life—*τοτε γαρ αυτη καθ' αυτην η ψυχη εσται χωρις του σωματος' προτερον δ' ου* (*τελυτησασι*). Xenophon thus makes Cyrus deliver himself to his children on his death-bed: *Ουτοι εγωγε, ω παιδης, ουδε τουτο πωποτε επεισθαν ως ἡ ψυκη, εως μεν αν εν θνητο σωματι η, ζην, οταν δε τουτου απαλλαγα, τεθνηκεν—ουδε γε ὁπος αφρων εσται ἡ ψυχη, επειδαν του αφρονος σοματος διχα γενηται, ουδε τουτο πεπεισμαι' αλλ' οταν ακρατος και καθαρος η νους εκριθη, τοτε και φρονιμωτατον εικος αυτον ειναι.** Cicero has translated the whole passage upon this subject beautifully, though somewhat pharaphrastically; but this portion he has given more literally: "Mihi quidem nunquam persuaderi potuit, animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere; quum exissent ex iis, emori: nec vero tum animum esse insipientem, quum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed quum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse cœpisset, eum esse sapientem."†

None of the ancients, indeed, has expressed himself more clearly or more beautifully upon the subject than this great philosopher and rhetorician. His reasoning, too, respecting it greatly exceeds in soundness and in sagacity that of the Grecian sages. Witness the admirable argument in the Tusculan Questions. They who deny the doctrine, says he, can only allege as the ground of their disbelief the difficulty of comprehending the state of the soul severed from the body, as if they could comprehend its state in the body. "Quasi vero intelligant, qualis sit in ipso corpore, quæ conformatio, quæ magnitudo, qui locus."—"Hæc reputent isti (he adds) qui negant animum sine corpore se intelligere posse; videbunt quem in ipso corpore intelligant. Mihi quidem naturam animi intuenti, multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, multoque obscurior, qualis animus in corpore sit, tanquam alienæ domi, quam qualis, cum exierit, et in liberum cœlum quasi domum suum venerit."‡ That he derived the most refined gratifications from such contemplations, many passages of his writings attest. None more than those towards the close of the Cato Major, which must often have cheered the honest laborers for their country and their kind in the midst of an ungrateful and unworthy generation. "An censes (ut de me ipso aliquid more senem glorier) me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque, domi militiæque suscepturum fuisse, si iisdem finibus glo-

* Cyrop. ii.

† De Senect. 80. Here the words "omni admixtione," &c. are added.

‡ Tusc. Quæst. i. 22.

riam meam, quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam ætatem et quietam sine ullo labore aut contentione traducere?" "Think you—to speak somewhat of myself after the manner of old men—think you that I should ever have undergone such toils, by day and by night, at home and abroad, had I believed that the term of my life was to be the period of my renown? How much better would it have been to while away a listless being and a tranquil, void of all strife, and free from any labor?"* And again, that famous passage: "O præclarum diem quum ad illud divinum onimorum concilium cætumque proficiscar; quumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam!" "Delightful hour! when I shall journey towards that divine assemblage of spirits, and depart from this crowd of polluted things!"†

The Platonic ideas of a future state, as well as those adopted by the Roman sage, distinctly referred to an account rendered, and rewards or punishments awarded for the things done in the body—χρη παντα ποιειν, says Plato, ωστε αρετης και φρονησεως εν τω βιω μετασχειν· καλον γαρ ταθλον και η ελπις μεγαλη —"*We ought to act in all things so as to pursue virtue and wisdom, in this life, for the labor is excellent and the hope great.*"—(*De Legg.* x.) Τον δε ονται ημων εκαστον οντως αθανατον ειναι, ψυχην επονομαζομενον, παρα θεοις αλλοις απιεναι, δωσοντα λογον, καθαπερ ὁ νομος ο πατρως λεγει, τω μεν αγαθω θαρραλεον, τω δε κακω μαλα φοβερον —"*In truth each of us—that is to say, each soul—is immortal, and departs to other Gods* (or *Gods in another world*) *to render an account as the laws of the state declare. This to the good is matter of confidence, but to the wicked of terror.*"—(*De Legg.* xii.) So in the beginning of the *Epinomis* he says that a glorious prospect (καλη ελπις) is held out to us of attaining, when we die, the happiness not to be enjoyed on earth, and to gain which after death, we had exerted all our efforts. In the *Phædo*, where he is giving a somewhat fanciful picture of the next world, he tells us that souls which have committed lesser crimes come εις την λιμνην και εκει οικουσι τε και καθαιρομενοι των δε αδικηματων διδοντες δικας ἀπολυονται ει τις τι ηδικησε—"*they remain in that space, and being cleansed* (or *purged*) *of their offences, are released;*" (from whence the idea and the name of *purgatory* has been taken.) But such as have been incurably wicked, murderers and others, are driven, he says, into Tartarus, οθεν ουποτε εκβαινουσιν, "*whence they never more escape.*"‡ It is remarkable, that in the same work, Plato, if some words have not been interpolated in the text, looks forward to some direct divine communications of light upon this subject; but recommends abiding by the light of reason till that shall be granted. Let us, he says, choose the best human reason, and, sitting on it like a raft, pass through the dangers of life, unless (or until) ει μητις δυναιτο ασφαλεστερον και ακινδυνοτερον επι βεβαιοτερου οχηματος η λογου θειου τινος διαπορευθηναι—"*unless some one can pass us over more easily and safely upon some stronger vehicle or divine word.*"§

The passage in the *Somnium Scipionis*, where celestial enjoyments are held out as the rewards of public virtue, is well known. The precision, indeed, of the language touching a future state, which marks this treatise, is singular, approaching to that of the New Testament. This has given rise to doubts of the authenticity of the treatise—doubts easily removed by looking to the many absurdities respecting the celestial bodies, and the other accompaniments of heaven with which the work abounds; to the Platonic doctrine respecting motion as the essence of mind, which it adopts; and also to the doctrine distinctly stated of the pre-existent state.

* De Senect. 82. † Ibid. 85. ‡ Phæd. § Ibid.

NOTE IX.

Of Bishop Warburton's Theory concerning the ancient Doctrine of a Future State.

To any one who had read the extracts in the last Note, but still more to one who was familiar with the ancient writers from whose works they are taken, it might appear quite impossible that a question should ever be raised upon the general belief of antiquity in a Future State, and the belief of some of the most eminent of the philosophers, at least, in a state of rewards and punishments.—Nevertheless, as there is nothing so plain to which the influence of a preconceived opinion and the desire of furthering a favorite hypothesis, will not blind men, and as their blindness in such cases bears even a proportion to their learning and ingenuity, it has thus fared with the point in question, and Bishop Warburton has denied that any of the ancients except Socrates, really believed in a future state of the soul individually, and subject to reward or punishment. He took up this argument because it seemed to strengthen his extraordinary reasoning upon the Legation of Moses. It is therefore necessary first to state how his doctrine bears upon that reasoning.

His reasoning is this. The inculcating of a future state of retribution is necessary to the well being of society. All men, and especially all the wisest nations of antiquity, have agreed in holding such a doctrine necessary to be inculcated. But there is nothing of the kind to be found in the Mosaic dispensation. And here he pauses to observe that these propositions seem too clear to require any proof. Nevertheless his whole work is consumed in proving them; and the conclusion from the whole, that therefore the Mosaic law is of Divine original, is left for a further work, which never appeared; and yet this is the very position which all, or almost all who may read the book, and even yield their assent to it, are the most inclined to reject. Indeed, it may well be doubted if this work, learned and acute as it is, and showing the author to be both well read and well fitted for controversy, ever satisfied any one except perhaps Bishop Hurd, or ever can demonstrate any thing so well, as it proves the preposterous and perverted ingenuity of an able and industrious man.

That such was very far from being the author's opinion, we have ample proof. He terms his work "A Demonstration." He describes his reasoning "as very little short of mathematical certainty," and "to which nothing but a mere physical possibility of the contrary can be opposed;" and he declares his only difficulty to be in "telling whether the pleasure of the discovery or the wonder that it is now to make be the greater." Accordingly, in the correspondence between him and his friend Bishop Hurd, the complete success of the "Demonstration" is always assumed, and the glory of it is made the topic of endless and even mutual gratulation, not without pity and even vituperation of all who can remain dissatisfied, and who are habitually and complacently classed by name with the subjects of Pope's well known satire.

The two things which the author always overlooked, were the possibility of a human lawgiver making an imperfect system, and of skeptics holding the want of the sanction in question to be no argument for the divine origin of the Mosaic law, but rather a proof of its flowing from a human and fallible source. As these "mere possibilities" are wholly independent of the admission that every word in the book is correct, and all the positions are demonstrated, and as nothing whatever is said to exclude such suppositions, it is manifest that a more useless and absurd argument never was main-

tained upon any grave and important subject. The merit of the book lies in its learning and its collateral argument; indeed, nearly the whole is collateral, and unconnected with the purpose of the reasoning. But much even of that collateral matter is fanciful and unsound. The fancy that the descent of Æneas to hell in the sixth book of the Æneid, is a veiled account of the Eleusinian Mysteries, has probably made as few proselytes as the main body of the "Demonstration;" and if any one has lent his ear to the theory that the ancients had no belief in a future state of retribution, it can only be from being led away by confident assertion from the examination of the facts.

This position of Bishop Warburton is manifestly wholly unnecessary to the proof of his general theory. But he thought it would show more strongly the opinion entertained of the uses to be derived from inculcating the doctrine of a Future State, if he could prove that they who held it in public and with political views, did not themselves believe it.

The way in which he tries to prove this, is by observing that there prevailed among the old philosophers as well as lawgivers, a principle of propagating what they knew to be false opinions for the public benefit, and of thus holding one kind of doctrine in secret, the *esoteric*, and another, the *exoteric*, in public. Of this fact there is no doubt, but its origin is hardly to be thus traced to design always prevailing. The most ancient notions of religion were the birth of fear and ignorance in the earliest ages, and the fancy of the poets mingled with these, multiplying, and improving, and polishing, the rude imaginations of popular terror and simplicity. The rulers of the community, aiding themselves by the sanctions which they drew from thence, favored the continuance and propagation of the delusions; and philosophers who afterwards rose among the people, were neither disposed themselves, nor permitted by the magistrate, openly to expose the errors of the popular faith. Hence they taught one doctrine in private, while in public they conformed to the prevailing creed, and the observances which it enjoined.

But whatever be the origin of the double doctrine, Bishop Warburton cannot expect that its mere existence, and the use made of it by ancient writers and teachers, will prove his position, unless he can show that the future state of retribution is only mentioned by them upon occasions of an *exoterical* kind, and never when *esoterically* occupied. Now this he most signally fails to do; indeed, he can hardly be said fairly to make the attempt, for his rule is to make the tenor of the doctrine the criterion of *esoteric* or *exoteric*, instead of showing the occasion to be one or the other from extrinsic circumstances, which is manifestly begging the question most unscrupulously. It seems hardly credible that so acute and practised a controversialist should so conduct an argument, but it is quite true. As often as any thing occurs in favor of a Future State, he says it was said *exoterically*; and whenever he can find any thing on the opposite side, or leaning towards it, (which is really hardly at all in the Platonic or Ciceronian writings,) he sets this down for the *esoteric* sentiments of the writer. But surely if there be any meaning at all in the double doctrine, whatever may have been its origin, the occasion is every thing, and there can be no difficulty in telling whether any given opinion was maintained *exoterically* or not, by the circumstances in which, and the purposes for which, it was propounded.

The argument on which he dwells most, is drawn from the allusion made by Cæsar in the discussion upon the punishment of the conspirators, as related by Sallust, "Ultra (mortem) neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse;" and from the way in which Cato and Cicero evade, he says, rather than answer him, appealing to the traditions of antiquity and the authority of their ancestors instead of arguing the point. (*Div. Leg. III.* 2, 5.) Can any thing be more inconclusive than this? Granting that Sallust, in making speeches for Cæsar and Cato, (whom, by the way, he makes speak in the self-same style, that is, in his own Sallustian style,) adhered to the sentiments each delivered; and further, that Cæsar uses this strange topic, not as a mere rhetorical figure, but as a serious reason against capital punishment, and as showing that there is mercy and not severity in such inflictions, (a very strong supposition to make respecting so practised and so practical a reasoner as Caius Cæsar;) surely so bold a position as practical atheism brought forward in the Roman Senate, was far more likely to be met, whether by the decorum of Cato or the skill of Cicero, with a general appeal to the prevalence of the contrary belief, and its resting on ancient tradition, than with a metaphysical or theological discourse singularly out of season in such a debate. To make the case our own: let us suppose some member of Parliament, or of the Chamber of Deputies, so ill-judged as to denounce, in short but plain terms, the religion of the country, would any person advert further to so extravagant a speech than to blame it, and in general expressions, signify the indignation it had excited? Would not an answer out of Lardner, or Paley, or Pascal, be deemed almost as ill timed as the attack? To be sure, neither Cato nor Cicero are represented as testifying any great disgust at the language of Cæsar, but this, as well indeed as the topic being introduced at all by the latter, only shows that the doctrine of a Future State was not one of the tenets much diffused among the people, or held peculiarly sacred by them. Had the orator vindicated Catiline, by showing how much less flagitious his bad life was than that of some of the gods to whom altars were erected and worship rendered, a very different burst of invective would have been called down upon the blasphemous offender.

In truth, the passage thus relied upon only shows, like all the rest of the facts, that the doctrine of retribution was rather more *esoteric* than *exoteric* among the ancients. The elaborate dissertation of Bishop Warburton's upon the Mysteries, proves this effectually, and clearly refutes his whole argument. For to prove that the doctrine of future retribution was used at all as an engine of state, he is forced to allege that it was the secret disclosed to the initiated in the Sacred Mysteries; which, according to Cicero, were not to be viewed by the imprudent eye. (Ne imprudentiam quidem oculorum adjici fas est, *De Legg. II.* 14.) Surely this would rather indicate that such doctrines were not inculcated indiscriminately, and that at all events, when a philosopher gives them a place in his works, it cannot be in pursuance of a plan for deceiving the multitude into a belief different from his own. It is, indeed, plain enough that the bulk of the people were restrained, if by any sanctions higher than those of the penal laws, rather by the belief of constant interposition from the gods. An expectation of help from their favor, or of punishment from their anger, in this life and without any delay, formed the creed of the Greeks and Romans; and nothing else is to be found in either the preamble to Zaleucus, the Locrian's laws, quoted by Bishop Warburton, or in the passages of Cicero's treatise, to which he also refers. (*Div. Leg. II.* 3.)

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